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THE COVER

"The Last Vigil," a Henry F. Farny illustration from *Harper's Weekly*, New York, February 14, 1891 (see p. 17). Other Farny pictures from *Harper's Weekly* are reproduced between pp. 16 and 17.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XVIII

February, 1950

Number 1

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

X. ARTISTS OF INDIAN LIFE: HENRY F. FARNY

ROBERT TAFT

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THE American Indian, especially the Indian of the West, has long been a subject for the artist's brush. The opinions of artists and of art critics, however, upon the Indian as a theme in art have been extremely varied, ranging all the way from gushing acceptance to rabid and outspoken distaste. For the moment we are not concerned with the pictorial record for purposes of ethnography, which was the primary object of George Catlin, the pioneer painter of the Western Indian, and of his successors; rather we are concerned with the Indian as a subject, who, when treated with skill, knowledge and imagination, gave rise to pictures of genuine artistic merit—that is, to pictures of beauty.

That the opinion of the profession has varied greatly can be seen from the two following comments, both now nearly a century old. In 1856 the editor of *The Crayon*, a pioneer art journal in this country, devoted two columns to a discussion of "The Indians in American Art." He wrote:

We should rejoice to see the Indian figure more often on our canvas, and the costumed European less. As it is, what with the romancer and the so-called historical painter, he [the Indian] stands a chance of figuring on the picture canvas as a kind of savage harlequin, lost in a cloud of feathers and brilliant stuffs; or else in the other extreme, hung about with skulls, scalps, and the half-devoured fragments of the white man's carcass. All this is dramatic enough, but it is not the truest color of the historical Indian, absorbed in his quiet dignity, brave, honest, eminently truthful, and always thoroughly in earnest, he stands grandly apart from all the other known savage life.¹

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, May and August, 1948, May, August and November, 1949. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. *The Crayon*, New York, v. 3 (1856), January, p. 28.

It is difficult to say whether this grandiloquent plea for the Indian in art had any effect on the profession as it was constituted in 1856. It is true that several Eastern artists made Western trips about this time, notably J. F. Kensett and Eastman Johnson.²

A few years later, however, the art critic of the *New York Tribune*, hearing that Johnson was considering still another Western trip wrote:

We regret to learn that Mr. Eastman Johnson intends going off on an extended tour at the North-west for the purpose of making sketches among the half breeds and Indians who live beyond the confines of civilized life. We cannot but think that he might find better subjects for his pencil in the back slums of the Atlantic cities.³

Whether this caustic comment deterred Johnson or whether his failure to sell pictures resulting from his earlier Western trips was the important factor, we have no way of knowing; in any case Johnson's trip was abandoned.

"The Rocky Mountain school" as Hartmann, one of the historians of American painting, called it, originated about the time the matters described above were under discussion. Albert Bierstadt, logically to be regarded as the leader of this school, made his first Western trip in 1859, for example.⁴ But the artists of this school were interested in the West only as it presented panoramic and melodramatic stretches of plain and mountain scenery, and the Indian was only introduced occasionally to lend color and add interest. Many of the canvases of William Cary, to be considered later in this series, were of Indian subjects, but here again the Indian was used to record a way of life or to tell a story.

In fact, before 1890 there were very few artists who considered the Indian as a subject of artistic imagination. Possibly the best-known names in this select group were: George de Forest Brush, De Cost Smith, Edwin Willard Deming and Henry F. Farny. Smith and Deming, although they had begun work before 1890, did not achieve their wide recognition until after 1890 (as a matter of exact fact, not until after 1900) and belong to a later story than ours; Farny al-

2. For mention of Kensett's Western experience see No. VII in this series, "Alfred E. Mathews," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17 (1949), May, p. 102; for Johnson's Western trips of 1856-1857, see Bertha L. Heilbron, "A Pioneer Artist on Lake Superior," *Minnesota History*, St. Paul, v. 21 (1940), June, pp. 149-157; John I. H. Baur, *Eastman Johnson* (Brooklyn, 1940), pp. 15, 16. Johnson made two trips to the Northwest of his day in the region around Superior, Wis. The first trip was made in the summer and fall of 1856, the second in the summer of 1857. Kensett's trip up the Missouri river was reported in 1856.

3. *New York Daily Tribune*, March 31, 1860, p. 4.

4. Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art* (London, 1903), v. 1, p. 78. Hartmann spoke about the decline of the Rocky Mountain school in 1860 as exemplified in the work of Bierstadt, Thomas Moran, William Keith and Thomas Hill. The important work of these men was all done after 1860. For Bierstadt's Western experiences on the trip of 1859 see his letter dated, "Rocky Mountains, July 10, 1859," *The Crayon*, v. 6 (1859), September, p. 287.

though known as an "Indian artist" was an artist of a far wider Western scene and we shall consider his work in some detail in the pages that follow. Brush, on the other hand, completed the phase of his career that warrants mention of his name here in the decade of the 1880's.⁵

He was born in Shelbyville, Tenn., in 1855, and by the time he was 16 was attending art school in New York City at the Academy of Design. This training was followed by six years (1874-1880) in the studio of the celebrated Gérôme, painter of "Gladiators Before Caesar," in Paris. He thus had a technical training far beyond that of most painters who essayed the Western scene. On Brush's return to this country, he set out to portray the Indian, and once wrote:

But in choosing Indians as subjects for art, I do not paint from the historian's or the antiquary's point of view; I do not care to represent them in any curious habits which could not be comprehended by us; I am interested in those habits and deeds in which we have feelings in common. Therefore, I hesitate to attempt to add any interest to my pictures by supplying historical facts. If I were required to resort to this in order to bring out the poetry, I would drop the subject at once.⁶

5. In 1939 I had considerable correspondence with De Cost Smith who wrote me that his decision to become an Indian artist was made after seeing some of Brush's pictures in the early 1880's. In 1884 Smith visited the Rosebud, Lower Brule and Standing Rock Indian agencies in Dakota territory—his first Western experiences—and spent the winter at Standing Rock and Fort Yates. After that time he made many Western trips. Some of Smith's life in the West is described in his posthumously published volume, *Indian Experiences* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1943). Mr. Smith died on December 7, 1939, at the age of 75.

Deming's first Western experiences after his professional training as an artist occurred in 1887 when he visited the reservations of the Apaches and Pueblos in the Southwest and the Umatillas in Oregon. His paintings of Indians first appeared in 1891. For a brief account of his career, see *E. W. Deming. His Work*, Therese O. Deming, privately printed, 1925. Mr. Deming died on October 15, 1942, at the age of 82.

A series of three articles in *Outing*, New York, "Sketching Among the Sioux," v. 23 (1893), October, pp. 3-13; "Sketching Among the Crow Indians," v. 24 (1894), May, pp. 83-91, and "With Gun and Palette Among the Red Skins," v. 25 (1895), February, pp. 355-363, are almost contemporary accounts of the experiences of De Cost Smith and Deming among the Indians, as they traveled together for a time. The first two of the above articles are credited to "Man-Afraid-of-His-Name," but Mr. Deming wrote me in 1940 that he and Smith were responsible both for the illustrations of these two articles and for the text. The third of the above articles is credited to Smith and Deming in the text but curiously enough the illustrations are by Frederic Remington.

If any of my readers think I have forgotten the Taos school in considering artists who used the Indian theme, they are mistaken. I may pay my respects to them later in this series, especially to J. H. Sharp and E. L. Blumenschein. The Taos school, however, is almost too late for consideration in this series of articles.

The same consideration applies also to the noted painter of Indian portraits, Elbridge Ayer Burbank (1858-1949). Burbank began his painting of the American Indian in 1897 (*Who's Who in America*, v. 13 [1924-1925], p. 579) but his reputation was achieved largely after the turn of the century. Some of Burbank's experiences in the West are recounted in *Burbank Among the Indians* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1944), ed. by Frank J. Taylor. According to the *New York Times*, March 22, 1949, p. 25, Burbank died in San Francisco on March 21, 1949.

Henry H. Cross (1837-1918) should also be mentioned with the group of artists we are here considering. Cross, however, was mostly a portrait painter, many of whose canvases were Indian subjects. Several examples of his work are to be found in the T. B. Walker collection, now on loan to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and in the Chicago Historical Society. Brief accounts of Cross' life will be found in the article "In Memorium—H. H. Cross," *Horse Review*, Chicago, April 10, 1918; in a death notice in the *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 1918, and in R. H. Adams' *Illustrated Catalogue of Indian Portraits* (n. p., 1927). A revision of this catalogue, with reproduction of a number of the Cross paintings in color, was published in 1948 by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

6. The biographical data on Brush given in the text above comes from *The Century Magazine*, New York, N. S., v. 21 (1892), February, p. 638; the quotation from the short article by Brush, "An Artist Among the Indians," *ibid.*, v. 8 (1885), May, pp. 54-57.

And it is "poetry" for which Brush's oil paintings are truly notable. Brush spent some time during the early 1880's in the West and in Canada. He was on the Crow reservation (present Montana), on various Sioux reservations, and apparently saw a few of the survivors of the fast disappearing Mandans, that tribe on the upper Missouri made well known to posterity by Lewis and Clark and George Catlin.⁷

Among the best known of Brush's paintings resulting from these travels and studies are: "Mourning Her Brave," "The Sioux Brave," "The Indian and the Lily," "The Silence Broken," "The Ball-Game," "The Aztec Sculptor," "The Weaver," "Dawn," "Evening," "Killing the Moose" and best of all "The Picture-Writer." The last painting Brush said "is supposed to be a scene in the interior of a Mandan lodge." It depicted a native artist tracing a design on a buffalo robe.⁸

Despite the wide acclaim given many of these pictures, few art patrons were interested in their purchase. Brush, therefore, decided to change both his theme and his manner and in 1890 he went abroad again for further training. On his return he devoted himself almost exclusively to the portrayal of mother and child and of beautiful women where he again won distinction for the skill of his draftsman-

7. Information on Brush's Western travels is meager. The brief article by Brush mentioned in Footnote 6 referred to the Crows and the Mandans. A note in *Harper's Weekly*, New York, v. 30 (1886), November 20, p. 743, stated that Brush had returned "after four years' work among the Indians of Canada and the far West." Thomas Donaldson in his memoir on Catlin mentioned that Brush worked among the Sioux and "obtained material from their every-day life," *House Misc. Doc. No. 15, Pt. 5, 49 Cong., 1 Sess. (1885-1886)*, p. 807. An article by Lula Merriek, "Brush's Indian Pictures," *International Studio*, New York, v. 76 (1922), December, pp. 187-193, stated, without any evidence of the source, that Brush visited Wyoming and Montana in 1884.

Recently I have had correspondence with Mrs. Nancy Douglas Bowditch of Brookline, Mass., a daughter of Brush, who has been working on a biography of her father. Mrs. Bowditch wrote me that Mr. Brush kept no diary and "practically none" of his early letters were known to her and that she "was obliged to write much of his early life with the Indians from the memories of stories he told us." Mrs. Bowditch further wrote:

"My father went to live among the Indians after his return from his studies in Paris. It was in about 1881. He lived with several tribes and became familiar with their habits and customs. He was at Fort Washaka [Washakie], in Wyoming, where the Arapahoes and the Shoshones were camped together. He spent a winter at the Crow Agency, which was, I believe, about fifty miles from Billings, Montana. At that time the town had just been started and the drug store was in a tent. The Indians were still hunting for their meat.

"He never could forget his early impressions of the Indians, of whom he was very fond, and later in life he would occasionally paint an Indian picture. He witnessed the religious ceremony of the Sun Dance, which was the festival to the sun."

8. Reproductions of these oils in black and white (with one exception) will be found in the order listed above, as follows: *The Century*, N. S. v. 8 (1885), May, p. 54; *International Studio*, v. 34 (1908), Supplement, April, p. LIV; Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 263; *Harper's Weekly*, v. 30 (1886), November 27, p. 760; *The Century*, N. S. v. 22 (1892), June, p. 274; "The Aztec Sculptor" (in color), "The Weaver," "Dawn" and "Evening" in *International Studio*, v. 76 (1922), December, pp. 187-193; *The Century*, N. S. v. 21 (1892), February, p. 600, and *ibid.*, v. 8 (1885), May, p. 56.

Although Brush's Indian paintings have been praised and admired for their skillful and beautiful execution and for the highly imaginative faculty displayed by Brush, they have been on occasion criticized for their details of composition. Thus the art critic of the *New York Tribune*, April 22, 1888, p. 14, in commenting on Brush's "Aztec Sculptor" (the critic appears confused and was more probably referring to Brush's "The King and the Sculptor") stated: ". . . it is a little confusing to find Central American sculpture a Navajo blanket, a Pompeian oil or grain jar, Italian marble, one figure Oriental in color if not in face, and another a North American Indian in face and very largely in costume, all combined in one picture. . . ."

ship and for his studied dignity of manner. Neuhaus called him "A unique and distinguished figure in our art."⁹

If only a few artists have devoted extended portions of their careers to the Indian theme, there have been sporadic efforts in this direction by a considerable number of the profession. One of the most striking of these instances occurred just at the time the frontier in American history had ceased to exist—or at least had been officially read out of existence in the famed statement of the bureau of the census in 1890. Furthermore, the mass attack—if such it can be called—of the artists on the Indian occurred in connection with this same census. Following the suggestion of Thomas Donaldson, the compiler of the massive but heterogeneous report on George Catlin, the census bureau sent out a group of "special agents" to take the census of 1890 among the Indians. Among these special agents were the artists, Julian Scott, Peter Moran, Gilbert Gaul, Walter Shirlaw and Henry R. Poore.¹⁰

From the efforts of this group, and many others, there resulted the voluminous document *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed*.¹¹ Within its 683 pages will be found one of the most exhaustive sources of information on the American Indian ever published. In addition to statistics (which show that there were Indians in every state of the Union and the District of Columbia), history, condition, ethnology, legal status, review of Indian wars and many other topics will be found on its pages. Of immediate concern to us, however, are the illustrations, for, in addition to many maps, there are numerous photographs and many examples of the work of the five artists mentioned above. The majority of the illustrations appear in black and white but there are also included elegant reproductions in full color of 19 paintings; in addition, there are two tinted illustrations. For these reasons, it is an astonishing fact that this volume has not become one of the most sought after items of Western Americana but up until the writing of this account, this volume can still

9. His return to Paris is reported in *The Century*, N. S. v. 21 (1892), February, p. 638, and his change of style in *ibid.*, v. 29 (1896), April, p. 954. For accounts of his work subsequent to 1896 see Hartmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-271; Minna C. Smith, "George de Forest Brush," *International Studio*, v. 34 (1908), Supplement, April, pp. XLVII-LVI. Eugen Neuhaus' appraisal will be found in his book, *The History and Ideals of American Art* (Stanford University, 1931), p. 209.

10. The reference to the statement of the census bureau and the end of the frontier is, of course, the statement made famous by Turner; see Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), p. 39. That the suggestion of sending artists among the Indians in connection with the 11th U. S. census (1890) came from Donaldson is so stated in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 36 (1892), October 8, p. 975. This account mentions six artists rather than the five I have enumerated in the text. Possibly the *Harper's Weekly* account, however, included George F. Kunz, a gem expert who is reported to have made investigations among the Indians for the 11th census.

11. The complete title reads, *Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1894).

be secured at a very moderate price. Among the color illustrations, for example, are found a striking portrait of Sitting Bull, painted from life by Gilbert Gaul in September, 1890, a few months before the death of this chieftain, probably the best-known Indian in American history; an equally interesting portrait of Washakie, chief of the Shoshones, and almost as well-known a name as Sitting Bull, painted at Fort Washakie, Wyo., in 1891, by Julian Scott, and a portrait, also by Scott, of a very beautiful Indian girl of the pueblo of Sichumnaui, Ariz., in 1891. Although most of the color illustrations are portraits (12 out of 19), there are color reproductions of "Pack Train Leaving Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico," by Poore; "Sioux Camp.—Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota, September, 1890," by Gaul; "Hunting Party of Shoshones.—Shoshone Agency, Wyoming, August, 1890," by Moran, and "Issue Day" at the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita agency, Oklahoma, 1890, by Scott. All these color reproductions are full pages, the print size being about seven by nine inches on a page nine by 11½ inches. The largest illustrations in the volume, however, are two folding reproductions in color of paintings by Walter Shirlaw measuring seven by 18 inches: "The Race.—Crow Indians.—Crow Reservation, Montana, August, 1890," and "Omaha Dance.—Northern Cheyennes.—Tongue River Agency, Montana, August, 1890." In these paintings, almost impressionistic in design, Shirlaw has recorded aspects of Indian life against the sweep and color of the vast Montana plains and hills.

Of the five artists represented in the volume, Scott had credit for most of the illustrations both in color and in black and white, being represented by over 30 drawings or paintings. Moran had three; Shirlaw and Gaul, two each, and Poore only one. Each artist, however, had to double in brass, for in addition to their artistic labors, each prepared a report on at least one Indian agency. Thus Scott reported on the Moqui pueblos of Arizona, Poore on 16 New Mexico pueblos, Shirlaw on the Tongue River agency (Northern Cheyennes) and the Crow agency, Gaul on the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock agencies and Moran on the Shoshone agency.¹²

Several of this group had been in the West previous to their gov-

12. *Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed*, pp. 186-198, 440-446 (Scott); pp. 424-440 (Poore); pp. 360-363 (Shirlaw); pp. 519-526, 584-588 (Gaul); pp. 629-634 (Moran). A letter addressed to the bureau of census recently brought a reply to the writer from David S. Phillips, chief of the administrative service division, dated March 29, 1949. Mr. Phillips stated that the census bureau had no knowledge of the paintings made for the bureau in 1890 and 1891 and that the correspondence with the special agents "was destroyed years ago."

A number of the illustrations in this census volume plus some additional ones also appeared in Thomas Donaldson's *Moqui Pueblo Indians of Arizona and Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, Extra Census Bulletin, Eleventh Census of the United States* (Washington, 1893). This account contains more detailed accounts of the Western experiences of Scott, Poore and Moran than does the larger volume.

ernment employment in 1890; Shirlaw is reported to have been on the plains for six months in 1869 and Poore was probably in Colorado about 1878. Moran had made several Western journeys before 1890.¹³ Of these, his trip in 1881 was probably the most extensive. In August he accompanied a party led by Capt. John G. Bourke which visited a number of the Indian pueblos in (present) New Mexico and Arizona. The party was interested primarily in the ethnological aspects of the Pueblo Indians as has been described by Bourke himself in his well-known book, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*.¹⁴ . . . Bourke mentioned Moran many times in his account, including the comment, after the ascent of a trail up a mesa, "Mr. Moran made excellent sketches of this romantic trail, as he had already made of everything of interest seen on our trip." Unfortunately none of these sketches, or paintings resulting from these sketches, have been located and even the illustrations in Bourke's book were by Sgt. A. F. Harmer, already referred to in this series.¹⁵

Moran's interest in the Indian is thus apparently largely ethnographical. As for the other artists of the 1890 census we have judgment on the American Indian as an art subject from Gaul and Shirlaw. Gaul, some years after his return, said he thought Indians were "very picturesque" and that "they were a good deal like the white men—that some were very good fellows and some were very bad."¹⁶

Shirlaw, when queried on the same point, is reported to have said, "The red Indians are undoubtedly pictorial and perhaps semi-picturesque." Hartmann, who reported this statement, interpreted it in this manner:

13. A mention of Shirlaw's 1869 trip is made in the *American Art Review*, Boston, v. 2 (1881), p. 98; Poore had a Western mining illustration, "From Mine to Mill," in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 22 (1878), September 14, pp. 732, 733; Moran was apparently in the West before 1880 as the *New York Tribune*, January 26, 1880, p. 5, reported the sale of a painting, "Bannack Indians Breaking a Pony," for \$400. The *American Art Review*, v. 2 (1881), Pt. 1, p. 163, and Pt. 2, p. 200, listed three (or four) Western paintings and the first of these references stated, "Moran will have left for New Mexico again by the time these lines are in print." *Indians Taxed and Not Taxed*, p. 195, stated that Moran and Capt. John G. Bourke witnessed "the snake dance at Walpi in August, 1883." There may be some confusion of dates here, and the Bourke-Moran trip of 1881 as described in the text is meant; see Footnote 14.

14. New York, 1884.

15. The quotation above will be found on p. 297 of Bourke's book. Bourke credited the illustrations (81 plates, lithographs, some in color) to Harmer in the "Preface" of his book. One of Harmer's illustrations is of the snake dance and is dated "August 12, 1881."

Biographical data on Moran is very meager. He was one of the famous Moran family of artists; see Frances M. Benson, "The Moran Family," *The Quarterly Illustrator*, New York, v. 1 (1892), pp. 87-84, which makes only brief reference to Peter Moran. Moran was born in 1841 and died in Philadelphia on November 9, 1914; see *American Art Annual*, Washington, v. 12 (1916), p. 260; an obituary will be found in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, November 11, 1914, p. 16.

Mention of Harmer is made in this series No. VIII, "Charles Graham and Rufus F. Zogbaum," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17 (1949), August, pp. 210, 211.

16. Jeannette L. Gilder, "A Painter of Soldiers," *The Outlook*, New York, v. 59 (1898), July 2, pp. 570-573. A biographical sketch of Gaul (1855-1919) is included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 7, p. 193. This account stated that Gaul spent "much time in the Far West" and was noted not only for his battle and military paintings but for his cowboy and Indian pictures as well. I have never seen any other mention of his cowboy pictures nor have I ever seen any listed or described.

The verdict, overexacting as it may seem, comes nearer to the truth than one may imagine at the first glance. These Western tribes, with their characteristic make-up, their wild way of living, and their peculiar ceremonious rites, contain for the artist all the elements of the pictorial, but even to the layman they can hardly claim to be as picturesque as, for instance, the Arabian horseman whom Schreyer paints.¹⁷

Just what Shirlaw did mean in his brief comment is uncertain. De Cost Smith also considered Shirlaw's comment and stated, "I think I know what he meant. He felt that the heavy striped blankets and wide-flapped leggings obscured the figure, which was true, though in their camps there was ample opportunity to see them in various degrees of nudity from partial to complete."¹⁸ Whatever Shirlaw meant, the number of his Indian pictures is limited, but he did describe in some detail—and painted—the melodramatic death of an Indian warrior, a scene that he himself witnessed while in the West in 1890.¹⁹

HENRY F. FARNY

A huge man, over six feet in height, broad shouldered, bulky in the waist line, an inveterate story teller, renowned as an after-dinner speaker, a man with innumerable friends, alive with interest in life; such is an epitome of Farny in his prime. Friend of Gen. U. S. Grant, of Gen. Nelson Miles, of President Theodore Roosevelt and of many other celebrities, his artistic labors were widely known in his day. Joseph Pennell, toward the close of the 19th century, listed him as one of a half-dozen or so American artists, the technique of whose work students could study with advantage and referred to him "as one of the most original, if erratic, of American artists."²⁰ Even abroad Farny won recognition, having been awarded a third medal at the Paris exhibition of 1889.²¹

Farny spent most of his mature years at his studio in Cincinnati but he made many Western journeys in search of material, especially from 1880 until 1900, and his fame rests largely on the Western pic-

17. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

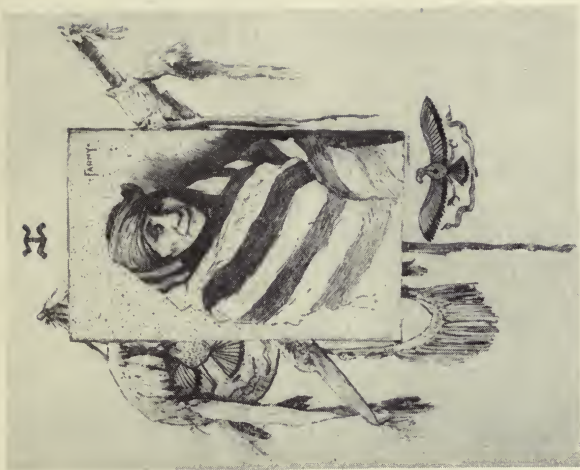
18. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

19. Walter Shirlaw, "Artists' Adventures: The Rush to Death," *The Century*, N. S. v. 25 (1893), November, pp. 41-45. The article is accompanied by several illustrations which are apparently portions of the larger painting, "A Rush to Death," which was reproduced in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 34 (1890), October 18, p. 812. Shirlaw died in Madrid, Spain, on December 26, 1909; see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 17, pp. 119, 120, for a brief sketch of his career.

Brief accounts of the life of Julian Scott and of Henry R. Poore, the remaining two artists of the 1890 census will be found in the *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1901, p. 2, Scott (1846-1901), and *New York Times*, August 16, 1940, p. 15, Poore (1859-1940).

20. Joseph Pennell, *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*, 3rd ed. (London and New York, 1897), pp. 226 and 231.

21. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 33 (1889), August 31, p. 699. Remington was awarded a second medal at the same exhibition and Gilbert Gaul also a third medal. In 1885 Farny had been awarded one of four prizes of \$250 each at the American Art Association by exhibiting an Indian subject.—*Ibid.*, v. 29 (1885), November 28, p. 771.



HENRY F. FARNY
(1847-1916)

A photograph taken in the West in the 1880's. Picture courtesy of Mrs. Henry F. Farny, Cincinnati, Ohio.

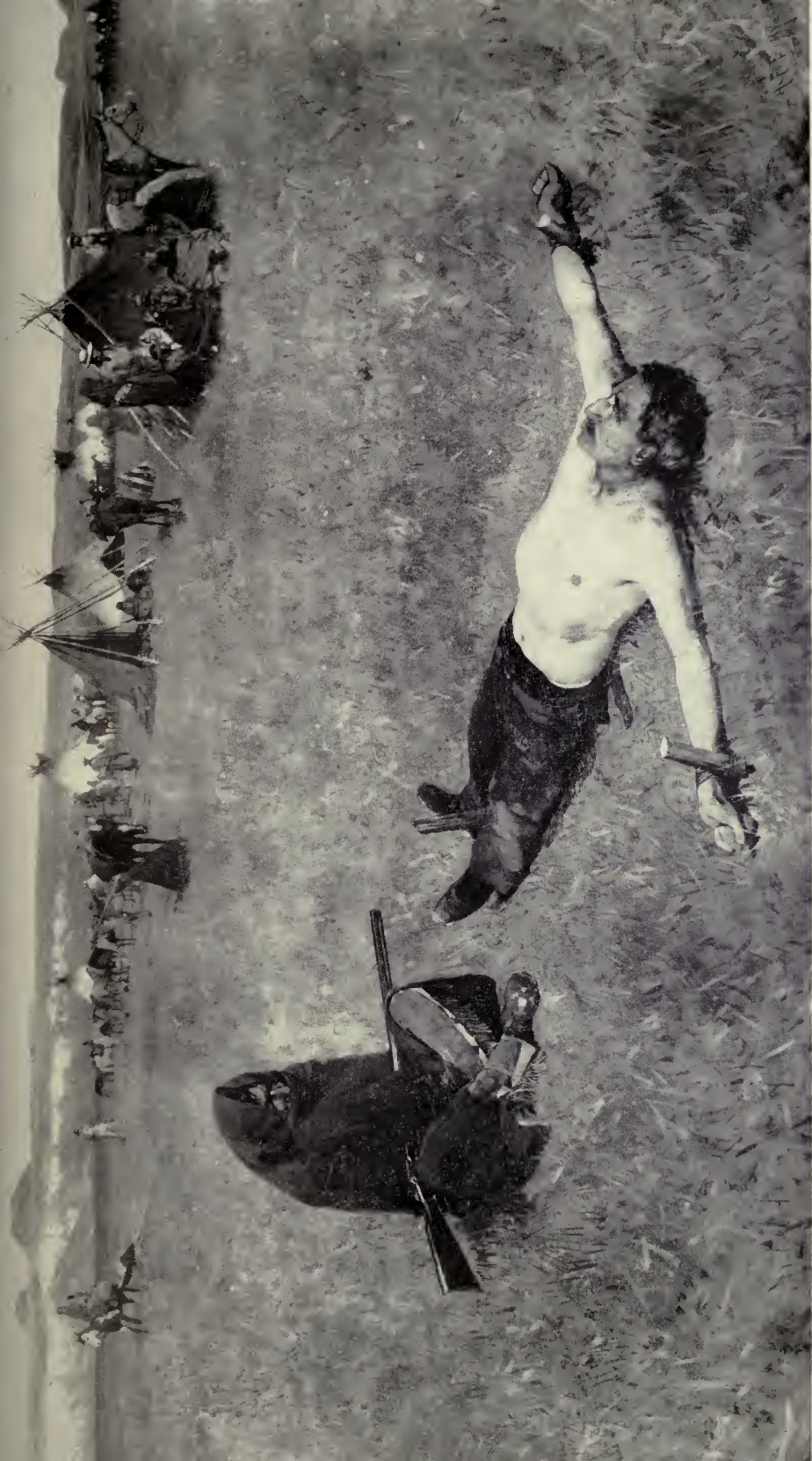


Farny's sketch (above), "Chief Priest of the Bow," is reproduced from Joseph Pennell's *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*.



"THE SONG OF THE TALKING WIRE" (1904)

An oil painting in the Taft Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, through whose courtesy it is reproduced.



"THE CAPTIVE"

A water color in the Cincinnati Art Museum through whose courtesy it is reproduced.



"THE COMPLETION OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY.—DRIVING THE LAST SPIKE" (1883)

From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York.

tures of this period. He has another claim to fame, however, for he was the illustrator, in the late 1870's, of the celebrated McGuffey readers.²²

Farny was born in Ribeauville, Alsace, in 1847. His father was a prominent Republican in opposition to the Napoleonic party which came to power in 1852. When the Farny family were forced to flee, they found their way to this country, and from 1853 until 1859 lived in the pine forests on the headwaters of the Allegheny river in western Pennsylvania. During the impressionable years of boyhood, young Farny came in contact with the Indian, for a Seneca in hunting costume appeared in the Farny dooryard, much to the consternation of the youngster. But the warrior was hunting a meal and not game, and after he had been fed, proved so agreeable a companion that young Farny made many visits to the Seneca camp not many miles away.²³

The western Pennsylvania home was in the wilderness. A desire to be nearer civilization and probably to provide more adequate education for his children, led the elder Farny to make another move; this time down the Allegheny on a raft to the Ohio, and then down the Ohio to the metropolis of Cincinnati, long a center of business, publishing and art. Here Henry Farny's artistic bent was soon apparent, for by the time he was 18 he had published a two-page spread

22. Biographical data on Farny in the text unless credited to other sources is from the *American Art Review*, v. 2 (1881), Pt. 2, pp. 1 and 2 (reprinted in *American Art and American Art Collections* [Boston, 1889], Walter Montgomery, ed., v. 1, pp. 145, 146); and a long article probably by Edward F. Flynn, "The Paintings of H. F. Farny—Something About the Career of the Eminent Cincinnati Artist," *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, March 14, 1893, p. 9. The last item mentioned the illustration of the McGuffey readers as do many other Cincinnati newspaper items in my possession. One from the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, September 12, 1889, p. 8, stated: ". . . the artist [Farny] prides himself not a little on the fact that he introduced to school book publishers a new and decent kind of school book illustration. In the old days schoolbook pictures never bore any relation to real life. There were impossible boys and impossible girls and impossible houses and trees that no botanist could recognize. Farny changed this. In illustrating the publications of Van Antwerp, Bragg and Co. [publishers of the McGuffey readers] he made sketches from life of real boys and girls, real houses and natural trees. The result was soon apparent and the other publishers followed suit."

As far as I know there has been no study made of the illustrations in the McGuffey readers. Harvey C. Minnich in *William Holmes McGuffey and the Peerless Pioneer McGuffey Readers* (Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 1928) had a brief paragraph on "Pictures" (pp. 45-47) but said nothing about their origin. Van Antwerp, Bragg and Company, according to Minnich (p. 87), were the parent publishing firm from 1877 to 1890, the present American Book Company of Cincinnati succeeding them. The annual production of McGuffey readers, also according to Minnich (pp. 40 and 71), reached its high mark of 1,700,000 in 1880 after the appearance of revised editions in 1879, presumably the ones illustrated by Farny.

The claim of Farny as a McGuffey illustrator for the 1879 editions, however, seems established, as Minnich later published *William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers* (American Book Company, 1936), in which on p. 118 there is reproduced an illustration from McGuffey's *Second Reader*, 1879, bearing Farny's initials and on p. 141 an illustration from the *Fifth Reader*, 1879, which also shows Farny's initials on the illustration.

Charles F. Goss, in his *Cincinnati, the Queen City* (Chicago and Cincinnati, 1912), v. 2, p. 449, had a brief discussion of Farny, pointing out that Farny was "one of the most notable figures in Cincinnati," and he went on to say "the children of Cincinnati soon came to know him in person and hailed him on the streets, to his delight, as the man who made the pictures for their school books. Perhaps he never enjoyed quite as thoroughly his great fame as a painter of pictures that are to be seen in public and private galleries as he did his reputation among children."

23. "In Farny's Studio," *Cincinnati Tribune*, October 6, 1895, p. 22. Farny's recollections of his boyhood experiences with Indians are also told in considerable detail in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 24, 1900, p. 17, "Artist Farny."

of Cincinnati views in the celebrated *Harper's Weekly*,²⁴ and was serving an apprenticeship as a lithographer in one of the numerous Cincinnati firms preparing views of the Civil War for sale.

The following year (1866) he went abroad for art training, first to Rome and later to Dusseldorf. Here he was a fellow student with Munkacsy, who at that time was working on the painting, "The Last Day of the Condemned Man," which brought him wide fame. Farny is said to have posed as the central figure in the painting. Funds were scarce, however, and Farny was forced to resort to intermittent labor to secure his livelihood. He wandered from Dusseldorf to Vienna, from Vienna to Munich, interspersing his art training with odd jobs. Three and a half years were thus spent in various European art centers, then in 1870 he returned to Cincinnati. Times were hard but occasional illustrations for *Harper's*, posters for John Robinson's circus, sketches and illustrations for Cincinnati publishing houses kept the wolf from the door.²⁵

He again went to Vienna in 1873 for a period of further training but returned shortly to Cincinnati. His decision to make a specialty of Indian and Western pictures appears to have been reached by 1881. The surrender to U. S. authorities of Sitting Bull in the summer of that year again focused national attention on the Indian problem. Sitting Bull, with a number of his followers, on the loose since 1876, the year of the Custer tragedy, had spent much of the time in intervening years across the Canadian border. Wearying of the constant pressure of the United States authorities for his return and greatly concerned about relatives, especially a daughter who was reported held in chains until his return, he gave up the unequal struggle and surrendered at Fort Buford, Dakota territory, on July 19, 1881.²⁶

Every move made by Sitting Bull in this period was eagerly reported by the newspapers of the country. The additional tragedy of Spotted Tail in the same year and the agitation of Helen Hunt Jackson and her followers raised the Indian question to one of the major topics of the day.²⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that Farny,

24. Volume 9 (1865), September 30, pp. 620, 621.

25. Illustrations of Cincinnati, Louisville and the Midwest by Farny are of occasional occurrence in *Harper's Weekly* during the period 1870-1890. His other sources of income are stated in the Flynn article cited in Footnote 22.

26. For Sitting Bull's reasons, see his statement, given to an interpreter, in the *New York Tribune*, September 6, 1881, p. 5. His surrender is reported in *ibid.*, July 21, 1881, p. 5, which also stated Sitting Bull's concern over his daughter.

27. See the large number of entries, for example, under the heading "Indians" in the *Index To the New York Daily Tribune, 1881*. The death of Spotted Tail was reported in the *New York Tribune* for August 7, 1881, p. 2, and August 13, 1881, p. 1. Mrs. Jackson's most celebrated thesis on the Indian question, *A Century of Dishonor*, was published in this year of 1881; she was also agitating the case of the Indian by letters to the papers; see her letter in the *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1881, p. 5.

after his boyhood experiences with the redskin, became interested in exploring the possibility of the Indian as an art theme. In the fall of 1881 he made a visit to the Sioux agency at Standing Rock, where Sitting Bull had been first "confined" after his surrender. He found that the famous Indian had been transferred to Fort Randall, but he discovered a wealth of material which he was soon to utilize. Not only were many drawings of the Sioux and of life at the agency secured for his sketchbook, but photographs and examples of Indian attire and equipment were brought back to his studio in Cincinnati in large quantity.²⁸ His enthusiasm for his new subject grew greater and greater as he began to put his experiences in permanent form. "The plains, the buttes, the whole country and its people," he ardently declared, "are fuller of material for the artist than any country in Europe." And a reporter making the rounds of Cincinnati studios after Farny had returned, commented: "He draws Indians, he paints Indians, he sleeps with an Indian tomahawk near him, he lays greatest store by his Indian necklaces and Indian pipe, he talks Indian and he dreams of Indian warfare."²⁹

The first finished work from Farny's brush resulting from the Western trip was "Toilers of the Plains," a painting which was sold almost immediately upon its completion. A reproduction in black and white appeared several years later as a full-page illustration in *Harper's Weekly*.³⁰ The picture depicted two squaws gathering firewood while their lord and master walked in unburdened dignity across the plain. The illustration is particularly striking in its play of light and shade across butte and valley, an effect which conveys successfully the feeling of a vast and lonesome land. At the same time, Farny completed a second painting for exhibition at the Paris salon on the same general theme, "The Sioux Women of the Burnt Plains," an effort that attracted the attention and favor of Oscar Wilde, who was lecturing on art in Cincinnati at the time.³¹ The picture which doubtlessly gave Farny the widest publicity of any made at this time was the bold and striking double-page illustration,

28. Farny's trip to the Standing Rock agency (Fort Yates) was reported in some detail in the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, November 8, 1881, p. 8, "Mr. Farny Among the Sioux," which stated that Farny returned from his trip, "on Saturday," and in the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, November 8, p. 8, "Lo! the Poor Indian," which stated that Farny did not see Sitting Bull as he had been taken to Fort Randall, a fact that had already been reported in the New York *Tribune*, September 12, 1881, p. 1. The *American Art Review*, v. 2 (1881), p. 2, in a brief review of Farny, commented: "Mr. Farny's studio in Cincinnati is a place rich in Indian trappings from the far West."

29. The quotation ascribed to Farny above was in the Cincinnati *Gazette* reference given in Footnote 28; the reporter's comment in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, December 1, 1881, p. 4.

30. The original display of the picture and report of its sale to one James McDonald was given in the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, January 28, 1882, p. 6. The *Harper's Weekly* illustration was in v. 28 (1884), June 21, p. 393.

31. Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, May 6, 1882, p. 6; May 13, 1882, p. 4.

"Ration Day at Standing Rock Agency," which appeared in 1883 in *Harper's Weekly*.³²

Before any of these illustrations were nationally known, however, Farny had attracted wide attention by his Indian portraits and drawings which appeared in Frank H. Cushing's remarkable memoir on his (Cushing's) life among the Zuni of (present) New Mexico published in *The Century Magazine*.³³

Cushing lived for several years in the pueblo of Zuni, having been sent by the Smithsonian Institution to study the life of these Indians. During his stay he made extensive notes and rough sketches and employed a photographer (John K. Hillers) to record their life in picture. When Cushing's story appeared in print, it was elaborately illustrated by Farny and by W. L. Metcalf.³⁴

Metcalf had spent two years in the Southwest in 1881 and 1882, had visited Cushing in Zuni and his illustrations, therefore, were based on direct observations of Indian life.

Farny, on the other hand, made no Southwestern trip, but visited Washington in 1882 where Cushing had induced some half-dozen Zuni head men to come and pay their respects to the Great White Father.³⁵

From the Hillers photographs, the Cushing notes and sketches, and from his personal observation of the visiting Zuni, Farny prepared his illustrations used in the Cushing articles.³⁶ The illustrations contributed by Farny are distinctly individualistic and are not only well drawn but are highly decorative, with the result that they attracted not only popular attention but the approval of critics as well. The "Chief Priest of the Bow" (see sketch facing p. 8), for example, was used by Pennell many years later as a model of excellence for pen

32. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 27 (1883), July 28, pp. 472, 473.

33. Frank H. Cushing, "My Adventures in Zuni," *The Century Magazine*, N. S. v. 3 (1882, 1883), pp. 191-207, 500-511; v. 4 (1883), pp. 28-47.

34. Willard Leroy Metcalf (1858-1925) according to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 12, pp. 582, 583, spent two years in New Mexico and Arizona presumably in the very early 1880's. This account made no mention of any Western illustrations or paintings by Metcalf, but stated: "His paintings were mostly of New England scenes. . . . There are, however, a number of illustrations in Sylvester Baxter's 'The Father of the Pueblos,' *Harper's Magazine*, v. 65 (1882), June, pp. 72-91, by Metcalf dated 'Zuni, 81,' and the article itself stated that Baxter and Metcalf, in company with Cushing, visited at the Zuni pueblo (one of the illustrations was a portrait of Cushing in Indian costume). Baxter also had an article, 'Along the Rio Grande,' *ibid.*, v. 70 (1885), April, pp. 687-700, which contained Metcalf illustrations of New Mexico and Texas dated 1882, one of which was signed 'W. L. Metcalf, El Paso.' It therefore seems reasonably well established that Metcalf was in the Southwest in 1881 and 1882.

35. The visit of the Zuni to Washington and other Eastern cities was reported in the *New York Tribune*, March 6, 1882, p. 1; March 8, 1882, p. 4, and March 29, 1882, p. 1.

36. The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, July 29, 1882, p. 7, contained the item: "Mr. Farny has returned from Washington having made a pronounced success of his Zuni sketches. One of the Zuni men has adopted Farny as his son, and bestowed upon him the name of Cohok-wah, White Medicine Bead."

and ink illustration. The manner in which the black and white illustration suggests color was noted particularly by Pennell, who also called attention to the strong character of the face. "The decorative manner in which the shield and bow are put in and balance each other," wrote Pennell, "is good and the whole drawing is very well put together."³⁷

Farny's next actual contact with the West was on the Henry Villard excursion which left St. Paul early in September, 1883, over the Northern Pacific railway. The excursionists witnessed the ceremony of the completion of this new transcontinental line and the joining of the rails of its eastern and western divisions near Missoula, Mont., on September 8 (*see picture facing p. 9*). Some 350 members were in the party, personally conducted by President Villard, including many notables both from the United States and abroad.³⁸

The railroad celebration and the cornerstone-laying of the territorial capitol at Bismarck had attracted a large and gala crowd drawn from many miles. Sitting Bull and many of his friends came up from the Standing Rock agency some 60 miles away, and the celebrated Indian was an object of overwhelming curiosity. Farny, who had missed the old chief on his previous trip to Dakota in 1881, made a special effort to meet him, and later introduced him to Villard and General Grant. Grant, the most famous American present, was also an object of curiosity to Sitting Bull, and the two eyed each other with respectful wonder. Both were called upon for speeches at the cornerstone-laying ceremony, Sitting Bull speaking through an interpreter.³⁹

Grant and Farny had mutual interests, for Grant too was interested in the West and in painting. He was an excellent draftsman, for all West Point men received training in drawing in the early days, and he even had essayed painting in oils. The only painting to which

37. Pennell, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

38. The excursion was extensively reported in the *New York Tribune*; *see especially the issues of September 1, p. 5, September 2, p. 1, September 9, p. 1, and September 10, 1883, p. 5, and the citations given in the footnotes immediately following this one.*

39. *New York Tribune*, September 6, 1883, p. 5. Farny recalled his part in the Bismarck celebration in the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, December 18, 1890, p. 12, shortly after the death of Sitting Bull. "I was exceedingly amused," Farny was quoted as saying, "at his [Sitting Bull's] first meeting with General Grant. It was on an afternoon in the town of Bismarck. I was talking with the great chief when Henry Villard and Grant drove up in a carriage. Mr. Villard, pointing to the Indians, asked me who they were, and when I told him that Sitting Bull was among them he asked me to bring him over to the carriage. Sitting Bull walked over to the party in a swaggering and indifferent way.

"When I introduced him to General Grant he turned to me and asked, 'Is that the great father?' I told him that it was and he instantly straightened up and assumed a dignified and important bearing, eyeing the great soldier from the crown of his hat to the soles of his shoes. General Grant also appeared to be interested in the Indian chief, for he scrutinized him pretty closely."

he is reported to have affixed his signature was a frontier scene including several Indian figures.⁴⁰

After Bismarck, no further stops were made until the excursionists reached Grey Cliff, Mont., on or near the Crow reservation. Here they witnessed a "grass" dance by 100 warriors.⁴¹ It continued well into the night and the weird spectacle of the dancing Crows with the long trains of the excursionists—brightly lighted in the distance—so impressed Farny that he made a sketch of the scene. The resulting illustration, "A Dance of Crow Indians," is one of Farny's most striking Westerns and appeared late in the year in *Harper's Weekly*⁴² (see picture facing p. 16).

The *Weekly* in describing the event in words for its readers, reported in part:

. . . Never had the extremes and highest types of savage and civilized life been brought together as on this unique occasion, when the dandified habitués of Pall Mall and spectacled German "Philistine" elbowed the painted warriors of the plains. The lurid light of the camp fires, deafening drum-beat, jingling bells of the dancers, and weird monotonous chant of the singers were echoed by the whistle of the locomotives as the excursion trains successively drew up. Great was the desire to secure mementos of the event amongst the foreign guests, and the untutored children of the desert sold the brass ornaments and bracelets which the President of the railroad had given them in the afternoon at a handsome advance over the original cost of the same. As the transatlantic guests are probably ignorant to this day of the fact of their distribution, the desire for souvenirs was gratified, and the Crows retired to their tepees with many shining silver dollars in their pouches.⁴³

The culmination of the trip where the ceremony of joining the rails was carried out resulted in a Farny illustration which appeared in *Leslie's Weekly*.⁴⁴

The next year (1884) Farny was back in Montana in company with Eugene V. Smalley, both of whom were sent by *The Century Magazine* to secure material for a magazine article. Smalley was

40. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 31 (1887), January 1, p. 3. This account stated that Grant gave the painting to A. E. Borie, Secretary of the Navy in Grant's cabinet and noted for his art collection. From Borie it passed to his nephew who gave it to Mrs. Grant after Grant's death in 1885. At the time the note was published the account stated: "It is the only specimen of her husband's art work in her possession."

41. *New York Tribune*, September 8, 1883, p. 1. The dispatch from Grey Cliff was dated September 6.

42. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 27 (1883), December 15, p. 800 (full page).

43. *Ibid.*, p. 799.

44. "The Completion of the Northern Pacific Railway.—Driving the Last Spike at the Point of Junction of the Eastern and Western Sections, Sixty Miles West of Helena, Sept. 8th," a full-page illustration in *Leslie's Weekly*, New York, September 22, 1883, p. 73, with text on pp. 70 and 71 (reproduced facing p. 9).

Charles Graham was also a member of this excursion party and readers of this series may recall his views of the "last spike" ceremony and those of the dedication of the capitol building at Bismarck in *Harper's Weekly*.—See this series, No. VIII, "Charles Graham and Rufus F. Zogbaum," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17 (1949), August, pp. 214, 215.

The Helena (Mont.) *Daily Herald*, September 7, 1883, p. 1, "Villard's Guests," listed "H. F. Farney, Esq., artist, *Century Magazine*." I am indebted to Mrs. Anne McDonnell of the Montana Historical Society for this last item.

a frequent contributor to *Century* in this period, his articles covering a wide variety of topics, many dealing with various aspects of life in the West. They arrived in Helena on September 14 and were entertained by a group of notables, among whom was Gov. John S. Crosby of Montana territory. An expedition was arranged which included a voyage down the Missouri river in two boats from near Helena to the Great Falls of the Missouri, a portage around the falls, and a brief extension of the down-river journey to historic Fort Benton which was, in the days preceding the coming of the railroad, the head of steamboat navigation on the Missouri.

During the first day's voyage, although the swift current carried them many miles, only one ranch was passed. As evening came on and the shadows began to fall, the landscape became lonelier than ever.

. . . Weird profiles and masks [wrote Smalley] looked down from the rocky walls. The talk and laughter, and the shouting for echoes, that had made the voyage a merry one so long as the sun shone, had ceased, and there came upon the wanderers a sense of loneliness and mystery, as though they had set out to penetrate an unknown wilderness. It was a relief to all to tie up to the bank at dark, to light a camp-fire, pitch the tents, and unload the boats; and the efforts of the party to eat supper on the ground, in darkness made visible by the flickering fire, were amusing enough to restore good humor all around.⁴⁵

The second day's run took them through the Gate of the Mountains, those towering cliffs through which the river passes and which had so impressed Lewis and Clark 80 years earlier that they had bestowed the name that has clung to them ever since. On the fourth day part of the group, including Farny and Smalley, left their boat and journeyed by wagon across a wide bend in the river, spending that night at the ranch of R. B. Harrison, son of Benjamin Harrison who was to become President. Portage of the boats around the Great Falls was made the next day and the river trip continued for 24 miles to Fort Benton.

The glory of the famed post and military center had departed. In 1884 it was a town of 1,500, "a queer conglomeration of handsome new brick structures and old cottonwood-log huts, with a few neat frame houses painted in the fashionable olives and browns." On the edge of the town, Smalley and Farny visited a dozen lodges of the Piegiens in one of which a young squaw lay hopelessly ill.

45. Eugene V. Smalley, "The Upper Missouri and the Great Falls," *The Century Magazine*, N. S. v. 13 (1888), January, pp. 408-418. Although this article did not appear until 1888, the trip was made in the fall of 1884 as has been established by Mrs. Anne McDonnell of the Montana Historical Society. Mrs. McDonnell has found newspaper references and accounts of the "expedition" in the *Helena Daily Independent*, September 16, p. 5, September 23, p. 5, and September 30, 1884, p. 5. This last was a rather long account of the trip which agreed with Smalley's account of 1888 and furnished additional details.

From Fort Benton, Smalley and Farny traveled overland by stage to the railroad at Billings, a journey of some 200 miles.

The Smalley article in *The Century* contained a number of Farny's illustrations resulting from the trip. All are excellently engraved and all are interesting. Probably the most important are: "Great Falls of the Missouri," one of the best drawings of the Great Falls I've seen, "Piegan Camp on Teton River" and "Ruins of Fort Benton." Concerning the last of these views, Smalley wrote:

The four towers at the corners of the quadrangle are in a good state of preservation, but portions of the connecting walls have fallen. The rooms where the trappers and traders used to count their profits and make merry are now a rookery of poor homeless people, and the court looks like the backyard of a block of New York tenement houses.

In the late fall of this year (1884) Farny attended the famous "Cattlemen's Convention" in St. Louis. The convention, the most extensive of its kind ever attempted, began on November 17 and lasted a week. Some 1,200 delegates, "the most influential assemblage of men engaged in pastoral pursuits heretofore held in the world," included representatives from the rapidly expanding cattle industry—one association represented was reported to control a 15,000,000-acre range on the Great Plains. St. Louis made a gala occasion of the event. Farny sketched the convention, a parade and a part of the celebrated Dodge City cowboy band.⁴⁶

It seems possible that two other *Harper's Weekly* illustrations appearing subsequent to Farny's Montana visits are to be attributed to the experiences of these years although they do not depict actual scenes. The first of these, "The Prisoner," shows a white captive staked on the plain, a passive Indian guard by his side and the tepee village in the distance. This imaginative scene is excellently done, the original—a water-color painting—now being in the collections of the Cincinnati Art Museum.⁴⁷ (Reproduced *between* pp. 8 and 9.)

If a realist were criticizing the painting he might observe that the prisoner, stripped of all clothes save his trousers, was treated with more consideration than was usually shown Indian captives. Farny, however, could not paint his captive in a state of complete nudity and expect to get the picture exhibited.

The second illustration was "Suspicious Guests," a double-page spread showing a group of hunters—one of whom is obviously an

46. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 28 (1884), December 6, p. 798, four illustrations on one page. A description of the convention will be found on p. 805 of the above issue.

47. The illustration appeared in *ibid.*, v. 30 (1886), February 13, p. 109. It is dated "'85." The painting in the Cincinnati Art Museum is titled "The Captive," and according to the exhibition catalogue, *Henry F. Farny and the American Indian* (Cincinnati, 1943), it is dated '05. Either an error of transcription in the date ("05" in place of "85") has been made, or Farny repainted the picture in 1905.



"A DANCE OF CROW INDIANS" (1883)

A Northern Pacific excursion train appears in the background.



"SUSPICIOUS GUESTS" (1887)

Englishman—cooking a meal in the shelter of a gully, snow covering the ground on a bleak and broken Western landscape. An Indian is approaching the party and in the distance, *behind* the party, can be seen several mounted Indians.⁴⁸ (Reproduced *facing* p. 17.)

Another illustration of this period suggests that in the middle 1880's Farny made a trip to Indian territory, although I have no other information on such a trip. The locality of the illustration, "A Cheyenne Courtship," is identified in the accompanying text as in the "western part of the Indian Territory."⁴⁹

That other Western trips by Farny were made in the late 1880's may be indicated by an illustration of San Francisco,⁵⁰ and an especially interesting group entitled, "Sketches on a Journey to California in the Overland Train," nine illustrations on two pages. Of these possibly "Nevada Stage Coach" and "Emigrant Camp, Omaha, Neb." are the most important; the last because it shows that overland migration by horse and wagon was still a factor in the westward movement.⁵¹

After 1890 Farny's illustrations in the popular magazines of the period nearly ceased.⁵² The disappearance of illustrations, however, but marked a change in his activities, for his efforts were directed chiefly toward painting imaginative Western scenes. The first of his more pretentious efforts in this direction was "The Last Vigil" (see cover of this issue) which was reproduced in *Harper's Weekly* in 1891 under the title, "The Last Scene of the Last Act of the Sioux War."⁵³ The title in the *Weekly*, of course, referred to the Pine Ridge massacre of 1890. The painting showed a squaw mourning beneath the body of a warrior which rested on the crude platform used by the Plains Indians to "bury" their dead.

48. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 31 (1887), February 5, pp. 96, 97.

49. *Ibid.*, v. 30 (1886), July 24, p. 465 (full page).

50. A double-page San Francisco illustration of a Chinese opium den will be found in *ibid.*, v. 32 (1888), October 13, pp. 776, 777. Farny's illustration, "The Snake Dance of the Moqui Indians," appeared in *ibid.*, v. 33 (1889), November 2, pp. 872, 873, but was drawn from photographs. Possibly, too, the seven illustrations, "The Great Salt Lake of Dakota," *ibid.*, March 9, p. 192, credited to Farny, were redrawn from photographs, as the author of the article accompanying the illustrations, Dwight W. Huntington, mentioned that he carried a camera.

51. *Ibid.*, v. 34 (1890), March 22, pp. 220, 221.

52. A bibliography of a half-dozen or so illustrations of Farny's appearing in the leading periodicals of the 1890's will be found in *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890-99* (New York, 1944), v. 1, p. 905. The bibliography includes illustrations of all kinds, Westerns as well as others.

53. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 35 (1891), February 14, p. 120 (full page). In 1940 the original of the painting was in the possession of Mr. George A. Rentschler of Hamilton, Ohio. Farny's change from illustrator to painter was described in the *Cincinnati Tribune*, October 6, 1895, p. 22, which stated that "for the last ten years he has done very little illustrating." Examination of the illustrated press, however, would put the date about five years later than that given by this report. Both the account cited above, however, and one in the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, March 8, 1896, p. 25, were in agreement that Farny's "first pretentious" painting was "The Last Vigil."

It was this painting, together with his previous illustrations, which led to Farny's designation as an "Indian painter." In depicting the Indian he was sympathetic but realistic. In much of his work he seemed to take particular delight in portraying contrasts between civilizations. "A Dance of Crow Indians," for example, shows a ritual of the Indian against a background of Northern Pacific trains (reproduced *facing* p. 16); "Ration Day at Standing Rock Agency" shows effective contrasts in costumes, as does "Suspicious Guests" (*facing* p. 17). Later in his career he painted "The Song of the Talking Wire," which shows an Indian with his ear intently placed against a telegraph pole listening to the hum of the wire.⁵⁴ (Reproduced *between* pp. 8 and 9.)

Farny was particularly successful in conveying the immensity and solitude of the country in which the Indians lived. Theodore Roosevelt, certainly as ardent a proponent of Western life as the East ever produced, saw Farny's pictures on several occasions. Among his favorites were, "The Last Vigil," "The Captive" and "The Edge of the Desert." The last shows a sagebrush and cactus desert in the foreground on which there is a single lonesome figure, with foothills in the middle distance and in the background the peaks of the Rockies. "That's great," said Roosevelt as he saw it in Cincinnati. "It is like going home to see that. I have seen exactly that landscape a hundred times. It is perfect. It is the real West. I am glad that I have seen it."⁵⁵ Roosevelt was as enthusiastic in his likes as in his dislikes, and although he cannot be taken as an authority on art, he knew the West intimately and he was well acquainted with the work of other Western artists.

How many Western paintings Farny produced in the last phase of his career, we do not know with certainty. In 1943 the Cincinnati Art Museum held an extensive exhibition of Farny's work which included 39 oil paintings and 104 water colors. Not all of these paintings were Westerns and it is difficult to decide from the printed catalogue which are Westerns and which are not. At least 24 of the oils belong to his Western group and 71 of the water colors.⁵⁶ Ref-

54. "The Song of the Talking Wire" apparently was painted in 1904 and in 1915 was reported as owned by Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati; it now belongs to the Taft Museum in Cincinnati.

55. Cincinnati *Times-Star*, September 12, 1910, p. 4. This account contained a photograph of Roosevelt and Farny. Roosevelt had also seen Farny's paintings while President. His visit and comments on this occasion were reported in the Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune*, September 21, 1902, p. 2.

56. *Henry F. Farny and the American Indian* (Cincinnati Art Museum), March 2 through April 4, 1943. This catalogue contains a woefully inaccurate and inadequate biography of Farny. In addition to the 39 oils and 104 water colors, there were exhibited an oil portrait of Farny by Frank Duveneck and four Farny drawings. It would appear from two of the drawings that Farny might have been in Cuba in 1898. The catalogue does not give the dimensions of the paintings shown, but it does give the owner of each painting at the time of the exhibition, Farny's signature and the date of the painting when these facts are shown on the painting.

erence to Western paintings by Farny not listed in the 1943 catalogue have been occasionally encountered. It would appear, therefore, that the total number of his Western paintings is something in excess of 100.

Although the record of Farny's Western trips from 1890 until his death in 1916 is incomplete, some journeys were undoubtedly made in search of fresh material. Many of the subjects of his Apache paintings were probably secured on a trip to Indian territory in the fall of 1894. He was invited to accompany General Miles to Fort Sill, where portions of the Kiowa and Comanche Indians were on reservation, and where Geronimo and remnants of his Apache band had just been transferred. Farny made much of his opportunities on this trip, securing among his sketches a portrait of Geronimo which the famous Apache himself signed. A newspaper account stated that Farny also took photographs,⁵⁷ which were used as the basis of future work.

It is odd, indeed, that artists of Farny's calibre have been so completely overlooked by the art historians. Famed and acknowledged in their day—much of their work is of historic value and intensely interesting for the stories their pictures tell, many times with more than ordinary ability—they have been needlessly forgotten. Many of them have made far more than ordinary effort, as did Farny, to secure authentic material and to make certain, by observation and study, that their work was essentially true to the spirit and the fact of their times. Yet Farny's 50 years of artistic labor are not mentioned in the usual sources of information on art in America.⁵⁸

57. The visit is reported in the *Cincinnati Tribune*, October 28, 1894, p. 15, and the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, October 28, 1894, p. 22. This last account contained a reproduction of a sketch of Geronimo dated, "Fort Sill, October 14/94."

According to the *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. 1, Pt. 2, 53 Cong., 3 Sess. (1894-1895)*, pp. 26, 27, and *ibid.*, *House Doc. 2, v. 1, 54 Cong., 1 Sess. (1895-1896)*, p. 130, the Apaches after being imprisoned since their capture in 1886 at Fort Pickens and Fort Marion, were transferred to Fort Sill and arrived at the latter place on October 4, 1894. The Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indians in 1894 had its headquarters at Anadarko, some 30 miles from Fort Sill.

An earlier trip to the Southwest and previous (to 1894) acquaintance with the Apache is suggested by the fact that one of Farny's best-known pictures, "The Renegade Apaches," had been completed by 1892 for it was on display in June of that year.—*Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, June 19, 1892, p. 17. (This account carried a reproduction of the painting.)

58. For example, Farny is not mentioned in Samuel Isham's *The History of American Painting*, supplemented by Royal Cortissoz (New York, 1927), nor in Eugen Neuhaus' *History and Ideals of American Art*, although Neuhaus is practically the only art historian to devote any consideration to the painters of Indian and frontier life. Even S. Hartmann, in his *History of American Art*, published while Farny was still well-known, had no comment on his work save a listing (v. 1, p. 260) of his name along with a number of other artists. Farny's death on December 23, 1916, is reported briefly in the *American Art Annual*, v. 14, p. 322. An obituary of greater length will be found, however, in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, December 25, 1916. I am indebted to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, for a copy of this obituary. Attention should also be directed to the fact that the Ohio society possesses an excellent file of Cincinnati newspapers which I used in securing the newspaper references contained in this article.

Lincoln College, Forerunner of Washburn Municipal University

PART ONE: FOUNDING A PIONEER CONGREGATIONAL COLLEGE

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

PIONEER PROJECTS

After God had carried us safe to *New England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. . . .¹

IN these words the Puritan chronicler expressed the great importance of education to the cause of religion, a matter which prompted the forefathers to carefully provide for a succession of able and learned ministers. They entertained great fear that without this "‘darkness must have soon covered the land, and gross darkness the people.’ . . . Wherefore a COLLEDGE . . . the best thing that ever New England thought upon!"²

In like manner their descendants, on a westward march across the continent, planted a chain of colleges, even before their settlements had attained maturity, so that the cause of religion and morality might not suffer. Again and again the missionaries on the border pointed out their dire need of help and despaired of a proper answer to their pleas, unless colleges near at hand could supply the deficiency.

In Kansas no one was more persistent in urging the need of "an educated and godly ministry"³ than Lewis Bodwell, agent of the American Home Missionary Society in 1866 when he wrote: "Whole

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1. "New England's First Fruits: In Respect of the Colledge, and the Proceedings of *Learning* Therein," *Old South Leaflets*, v. 3, No. 51, p. 1. This is "the oldest extant document which, in type, clearly recognizes the existence of Harvard College." It was dated, Boston, 1642, and published in London the following year.

2. Cotton Mather, "The History of Harvard College," *ibid.*, v. 8, No. 184, p. 3 (quoted from his *Magnalia*, London, 1702).

3. Extract from a letter of Bodwell appended to *An Appeal to Congregational Churches in Behalf of Lincoln College*, written in 1865. Two years later (October 23, 1867) he wrote to "Dear Bro. [H. Q.] Butterfield" in more detail: "Our *talked* of school has entered upon its second year with good & growing patronage, & the doubling of our population has brought into a still stronger light our desperate need of more ministers. . . . All abroad over our prairies destitute of the ministry hundreds . . . must die to all spiritual life & power. . . . Only the rearing of an educated ministry for the millions who are to live and die with or without Xt upon these prairies could have forced us to this work. . . ." (Manuscript in Washburn Municipal University library.)

towns and counties, with hundreds and thousands of inhabitants, are destitute of needed preaching." A champion of Lincoln College aptly stated the parallel with Puritan days:

In less than twenty years from the landing on Plymouth Rock, our Puritan fathers conceived the noble purpose of establishing a Christian college. . . . They did not wait for colonies to develop; but into the very incipency of that development were cast the germs of Christian institutions, which have now become the glory of the land, and whose leaves even are for the healing of the nations.

Following the example of these pioneers of Christ's kingdom in this land, we have taken effective steps toward the establishment of a college in Kansas, whose pattern shall be like that shown us in New England, the "Mount" of our early and hallowed associations.⁴

In its early stages the project of a college for Kansas, to champion the Puritan way of life, was inseparably connected with the New England plan of winning that region for freedom. The towns to be planted by the New England Emigrant Aid Company were to encourage the church, the school and the college, and by their strategic distribution and desirability attract the Northern settler who would hold the land against all comers from the "slave power."

From the very beginning this was true of Lawrence, where on the first day of 1855 stakes were driven and stone was hauled to a prospective college site on Mt. Oread.⁵ Somewhat later Topeka became an ardent rival of Lawrence for the site of the pioneer college. On December 25, 1856, a meeting of the citizenry was held at Lawrence to take the necessary steps.⁶ Not long thereafter Amos A. Lawrence, Free-State champion in New England, transferred to Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy, trustees, the two notes totaling \$10,000 which he had advanced Lawrence University of Appleton, Wis., thereby establishing a fund for higher education in Kansas.⁷

4. *An Appeal to Congregational Churches* . . . , cited above, being an appeal for financial aid, signed by the college trustees. Many denominational colleges, particularly in the Mississippi valley, were founded primarily to help solve the problem of ministerial training.

5. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 317. The work at Lawrence was under the direction of Charles Robinson, local agent of the Aid Company, and at the expense of that organization, but was terminated because of uncertainty of title.

6. Proceedings of meeting in Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, January 3, 1857. It had immediate repercussions at Manhattan where a similar convention was held January 12, 1857, and resolutions adopted in favor of a state university immediately in a central location and denying the claim of the Lawrence meeting of being a mass convention of the people of Kansas. Concerning the Manhattan movement, see J. T. Willard, "Blumont Central College, the Forerunner of Kansas State College," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 13 (1945), May, pp. 323-357.

7. Lawrence to Rev. E. Nute, dated Boston, February 11, 1857, in "Copies of Letters of Amos A. Lawrence About Kansas Affairs," p. 232, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

CONGREGATIONAL BEGINNINGS

Although settled somewhat later than Lawrence, Topeka also included a number who were imbued with the idea of founding in their midst a college dedicated to freedom. Among these none was more active in promoting a Congregational college than John Ritchie who, early in 1855, settled near Topeka. Harrison Hannahs, a founder of Lincoln College, has given us a good account of his introduction to this pioneer Congregationalist:

The men who first conceived the idea of founding a college in Topeka were all lay members of the Congregational Church. John Ritchey was the pioneer in the movement.

I arrived in Topeka on the 10th day of April, 1856, in company with a party of six free-state men. . . . The next day . . . I accepted an invitation from one of my traveling companions, W. H. Fitzpatrick, to take a walk with him out to the residence of his friend, John Ritchey, which was situated just outside the southern limits of the city. One of the Kansas zephyrs was blowing about 60 miles an hour, more or less, and Topeka real estate was very active. We waded . . . against the current, . . . until we finally reached Mr. Ritchey's palatial residence. It was a sod house about 12 by 18 feet, shingled with long prairie grass. The floor was covered with nature's axminster. The parlor, dining room, bed room and kitchen, all in one, not even a curtain to mark the divisions. . . . Mrs. Ritchey invited us to dine with them, and there, seated on the soft end of a nail keg for a dining chair, I partook of my first meal of corn dodger and bacon. . . .

After dinner, the wind having subsided, Mr. Ritchey took us out and showed us his claim of 80 acres, after which he invited us to accompany him to what was called the Davis claim, which is the present beautiful campus of Washburn College. Arriving there, he stretched out his hand and said: "Here is an ideal site for a college, . . . and I want you and other friends to join me in an effort to found a Christian college here."⁸

In the spring of 1857 as a great flood of emigrants, particularly from the Northern states, inundated eastern Kansas, the idea of a college dedicated to freedom moved the Congregationalists to action. At a meeting in Topeka, April 25-27, the "General Association of

8. Rome (N. Y.) *Daily Sentinel*, February 27, 1911, clipped in "Kansas Scrapbook," Biography H, v. 15, pp. 41-43. This article, quoting a speech of Hannahs at Washburn College, appeared shortly after his death in New York state.

John Ritchie was born in Uniontown, Ohio, in 1817, and when very young moved with his parents to Indiana, from where he emigrated to Kansas in the spring of 1855 and took a claim near the infant settlement of Topeka. A leading Free-State champion, he took an active part in the "troubles of 1856," and later was a member of the Leavenworth and Wyandotte constitutional conventions. A man of decided views, in 1860 he resisted arrest on the charge of having robbed the mails in 1856 and, in the altercation that followed, shot his opponent, Leonard Arms, a deputy United States marshal. Ritchie was freed by Justice Joseph C. Miller of Shawnee county, who termed the homicide "justifiable." During the Civil War Ritchie rose to the rank of captain of the Fifth Kansas cavalry and in the Indian troubles thereafter colonel of the Second Indian regiment. In all causes of a benevolent and humanitarian nature Ritchie was an outstanding leader—he was one of the chief builders of the First Congregational Church of Topeka, he was very active in the cause of temperance, and probably no one in Topeka did more to obtain a college for the city. His ideas for a college are said to have been derived from a visit to Knox College (Galesburg, Ill.), where he was greatly impressed by President Blanchard of that institution.

Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas" was formally reorganized and the following resolution adopted:

Voted, That a Committee of five be raised to obtain information in regard to the location of a College, under the patronage of this body, and, if they deem it expedient, to secure such a location.

Rev. Messrs. Bodwell, Parsons, and McCollom, and Brothers H. N. [M.] Simpson and Ritchie were appointed.⁹

Writing in retrospect many years later, Lewis Bodwell termed this incident the most impressive in the history of Washburn College, when on Saturday, April 25, 1857, a vote was taken "in a 'city' which had not a house of worship; in a small hired room, [by] seven ministers and three laymen, representing eight churches, and a reported constituency of eighty-five members, . . ." ¹⁰

The general association granted its committee wide discretionary power in this matter, but, as a regular meeting of the parent Congregational body was not scheduled until a year and a half later, no action as to location was taken until the summer of 1858, when the following notice appeared in the *Lawrence Republican*:

The General Association of Kansas, at its meeting in Topeka, October, 1856 [April, 1857], appointed a Committee, with power, "if they deem it expedient, to secure a location" for a College. That Committee will meet at Topeka, August 15, 1858, until which time proposals will be heard from any individual or company, with reference to its location at any particular point. A definite statement of what can and will be done, and on what conditions, is requested. We would thus be able to act fully and finally at that time.

JOHN RITCHEY,
Chairman of Committee.

TOPEKA, June 21, 1858.

Papers of the Territory please copy.¹¹

The Congregational Record later asserted that because of the "remonstrance of friends" the matter of location was referred to the general association at its meeting at Manhattan in the fall of 1858.

On October 9 the special committee reported to the association that they had "received no proposal which, in liberality and in point

9. "Minutes" of the general association, 1857, bound with volumes 1 to 5 of *The Congregational Record*, Lawrence (henceforth cited *Cong. Record*), p. 6.

William A. McCollom, Congregational pastor at Manhattan succeeding Charles Blood and later at Wabauensee and Council Grove, was for many years a storm center of church discipline. At an early date he was a trustee of Bluemont Central College.

10. Bodwell to "Dear Bro. Parker," then editor of *The Telephone*, Manhattan, written from Clifton Springs, N. Y., and published in the August, 1880, issue of that church paper. "You are writing up 'Washburn' and call on me for 'some scene of its early history; some tribute to its early workers; some grouping of its days of darkness; when it was only 'a thought and a prayer'; anything to impress its value upon our people. . . ."

"[Concerning the above vote] Planning for Christ and the Church, they believed in the need of the Christian college. To them it *had* come by faith; and at the best time, even the Masters, it would come in fact. . . ."

11. The same issue of this paper (July 8, 1858) stated that initiatory steps had been taken for the establishment at Lawrence of "Lawrence University," under Presbyterian auspices, with C. E. Miner, M. D., president.

of geographical position, is more favorable than that made by the citizens of Topeka and vicinity," and proposed its adoption. It provided:

160 acres of land within a mile and a half of Topeka; 20 acres on Topeka town-site; 840 acres in the Territory, as an endowment; and a building, equal to 40 by 50 feet, and two stories high, of stone or brick, to be completed on or before Jan. 1, 1860.

J. RITCHIEY, Chairman.¹²

The general association accepted this report and the recommendation of its committee, with the proviso that it would not be regarded as binding if the citizens of Topeka did not fulfill their pledge within the time specified. A committee, appointed to nominate a board of trustees, reported that a basis of organization was a preliminary necessity and submitted the following plan: The college was to be under the control of the general association or of a convention delegated by it and under the immediate direction of a president and board of trustees, the latter elected by the association. This board was to be empowered to locate the college at Topeka if the pledge of her citizens was fulfilled, otherwise to call a special meeting of the association *early in January, 1859*.¹³ Wide additional powers were to be granted the trustees, including the holding of funds and property of the college,¹⁴ the obtaining of donations, overseeing of buildings and grounds and general oversight of education and personnel. In the latter regard it was provided: "We recommend to the board, that they abandon the Western system of starvation salaries, and proceed at once to *offer and pay* liberal salaries to their professors—thus securing first-class men." Any charter of incorporation later adopted was to conform to this basis of organization. The report concluded by naming a board of 14 trustees.¹⁵

12. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), January, pp. 13-16, a report entitled, "College."

13. Concerning this seeming anomaly of date, see Footnotes 17 and 19 below.

14. Numerous restrictions were to be placed on the trustees in matters of property:

"The 160 acres near Topeka, belonging to the college, shall never be sold; but, after selecting forty acres—in the centre, if possible—for college grounds, the remainder shall be laid out in lots of five or ten acres, and leased, and the proceeds applied to the increase of the library.

"The twenty acres on Topeka town-site shall not be sold for less than two hundred and fifty dollars an acre.

"The 840 acres in other parts of the Territory shall not be sold for less than fifteen dollars an acre. . . .

"The proceeds from these last two items of property shall constitute the endowment of a professorship, to be called 'the Topeka professorship.'

"The board shall not have power to incur a debt of over \$10,000 without a special vote of the Association."—*Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), January, pp. 14, 15.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 15. The original slate of trustees follows: For two years—Elihu Whitenhall, Nemaha county; G. C. Morse, Emporia; L. Bodwell, Topeka, and T. D. Thacher and R. Cordley, Lawrence. For four years—S. C. Pomeroy, Atchison; James Taylor, Leavenworth; C. E. Blood, Manhattan; H. D. Rice, Topeka, and H. M. Simpson, Lawrence. For six years—R. D. Parker, Leavenworth; Geo. S. Hillyer, Grasshopper Falls; Harrison Hannahs, Topeka, and M. C. Welch, Wabaunsee.

The general association adopted this report, with some amendments, and named Lewis Bodwell temporary chairman of the board of trustees.¹⁶

The extremely liberal proposal made by Topeka succeeded in obtaining the prospective location at that point, but a satisfactory fulfillment of the terms was infinitely more difficult. The Ritchie report contained a pledge by Topeka to acquire the needed land and erect a building thereon by January 1, 1860. This was accepted by the association, but with the proviso that if the pledge was not fulfilled the college board was to call a special meeting of the association *early in January, 1859*.¹⁷ Apparently this latter provision was added to *compel* Topeka to acquire the land *immediately*, preliminary to obtaining a charter from the legislature,¹⁸ or forfeit her rights to a rival town. In view of the depression then prevailing and the problems involved in the transfer of so much land—20 acres on the townsite, 160 acres to the west of Topeka and 840 acres in the territory, the three months remaining before the January, 1859, deadline was a very short period. Furthermore, at the start neither Lewis Bodwell as temporary chairman of the college trustees nor the people of Topeka seem to have realized the urgency of the matter.¹⁹ Nevertheless, by early 1859 it was apparent that Topeka had failed to meet the requirements, but the temporary chairman of the trustees hesitated to act:

Being unwilling in mid-winter to call together, from so great distances, the persons named, unless assurances could be given of some business to transact, and, by an oversight, being in ignorance as to the duty of the board in regard to a special meeting, the chairman waited more than two months beyond the set time, for some action on the part of the citizens of Topeka.²⁰

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 15.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 13 *et seq.*, entitled, "College." The words of this report follow:

"3. This [college] board shall be empowered to negotiate with the citizens of Topeka in regard to the property pledged by that place. If Topeka fulfills the pledge made, or does what the board shall deem an equivalent, they shall declare the college located at Topeka. If Topeka fails to fulfill her pledge, said board of trustees shall call a special meeting of the Association, at Topeka, on the first Wednesday in January, 1859."

18. Broadside in Washburn Municipal University library, entitled *Congregational College*, which bears no date, but apparently was issued in April, 1859. See Footnote 21 and adjacent text.

19. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), April, pp. 35, 36, and July, pp. 44-47; *Topeka Tribune*, August 25, 1859. Concerning the deadline of January, 1859, Frank E. Melvin of the department of history, University of Kansas, who has made a study of the sectarian antecedents of that institution, writes that he suspects this "change was 'put over' by the Lawrence leaders to enable them to take advantage of the expected Topeka difficulties," and thereby promote a college at Lawrence. In view of the two months' extension granted Topeka, he doubts that it was so mistreated as to time, however.

20. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), April, pp. 35, 36. "By a union of circumstances connected with the general pecuniary pressure, and unexpected local hindrances, up to this time no satisfactory assurances have been given of an ability to make good the proposals of last autumn." These words suggest the omission of important facts and remind one of the phraseology of Lewis Bodwell, who had been made temporary chairman of the college trustees in October, 1858.

In view of the emergency which had thus arisen, with still "no satisfactory assurances . . . of an ability [on the part of Topeka] to make good the proposals," Bodwell and S. Y. Lum, the latter moderator of the general association, obtained the united consent of a group of Congregational ministers meeting at Lawrence and then (April, 1859) issued a circular to the Congregational churches of Kansas formally charging Topeka with failure. This circular invited new proposals for a college location, to be submitted to the May meeting of the association at Lawrence.²¹

At about this time a Topeka paper announced the successful conclusion of negotiations for the purchase of land for the college:

The proposition made by the Congregational Association to locate their College here has been before the people of Topeka some months. We are happy to announce that the land and means are provided, and that nothing now remains but to formally accept the proposition and locate the Institution in our city. The 160 acres of land formerly belonging to Mr. Davis, has been purchased, and the College will be erected thereon, within one half mile of the city. The [Topeka] Association has donated twenty acres of the Town Site, and the materials for the erection of the edifice are already pledged.²²

Despite this favorable announcement, doubt still exists whether Topeka had secured and *actually paid for* the land needed to fulfill her obligations. Harvey D. Rice, long identified with Washburn College and its predecessors, has left us a detailed story of how he borrowed \$2,000 in the East so that John Ritchie could pay for the Davis claim as a prospective college site at Topeka:

Col. John Ritchie was appointed chairman of a committee to secure the land at Topeka for the site. We wanted to get of George Davis, one-hundred and sixty acres where the college now stands, but could not then induce him to sell. We then tried to get the tract of land where the city of Potwin now stands, and a proposition to the Topeka Association to give the twenty acres where Bethany College now stands [Ninth and Polk streets] was voted to us on condition that the proposed college should be located near Topeka on the present Potwin site. This action was taken in the fall [of] 1858. Failing to get either site nothing further was done until April, 1859.

21. Broadside entitled, *Congregational College*, referred to above.

22. Topeka *Tribune*, April 21, 1859. A similar account in more detail appeared in this same paper on the following August 25, entitled, "The Congregational College." It pointed out that the most difficult requirement of all was to obtain 160 acres of land not over 1½ miles west of town. The owner of one such tract advanced his price \$1,000 when he learned that the college had been located in Topeka. Bodwell hesitated to accept an offer of a tract to the north as too munificent a gift. About April 1, 1859, the Davis claim was (allegedly) obtained. The amount required to secure the 840 acres in the territory and erect the necessary buildings was also on hand, according to this story, thereby meeting the required conditions, except that of time. H. D. Rice and John Ritchie concluded these negotiations.

"Thus, early in April last, the citizens of Topeka were fully ready to make over the title to the lot [Davis claim], and give bonds for the faithful fulfillment of the contract, . . . when a circular was issued, . . . stating that Topeka had failed. . . . Not anticipating such action we were greatly surprised; but, with full confidence in the Association, we concluded to await its action in the matter. . . ." (The narrative of Rice, quoted below, is at variance with this account.)

In 1858, gold was discovered near Pike's Peak. . . . The following spring a number left us for the gold field. George Davis wanted to go and he came to Mr. Ritchie and offered to sell for cash in hand his land. Mr. Ritchie came immediately to me, and said the land we must secure, . . . said he had no ready money. . . . I was like Ritchie, without ready money. I told Mr. Ritchie that if he could get enough money to pay my expenses east, I would put my time against the money for expenses and go and hire the money. He agreed to this and executed the power of attorney for me to hire for him two thousand dollars and to mortgage his home of one hundred and sixty acres to secure the payment of it. I left Topeka in April. . . . On arriving in New York City, I went to Brooklyn in search of H. W. Beecher. . . . Upon arriving at his house, I learned that he was absent from the city. I then went to Hartford, Conn., . . . where I had lived ten years, previous to coming to Kansas, and . . . after about two weeks' effort I had the promise of one thousand dollars only. Being somewhat discouraged, Mr. Joseph Davenport suggested that I go with him and make Mrs. John Hooker a visit, . . . a sister of Henry Ward Beecher. We therefore called one pleasant afternoon in May and found at Mrs. Hooker's, Miss Catherine Beecher, Mrs. Stowe of Uncle Tom's Cabin fame, Mrs. Frances Gillett, and other ladies. . . .

When they learned of my business they became greatly interested in the enterprise. Immediately after that visit I received a line from John Hooker asking me to call at his office. . . . I gave him the minutes of the Association proposing to locate a Christian college in Kansas, and further explained the inducements offered for its location in Topeka, after consulting with Hon. Francis Gillett his partner in business. . . .

They concluded to furnish the other one thousand dollars and made me the agent of Gillett & Hooker. Jos. Davenport and John Whitman, to take their money to . . . loan to John Ritchie under written instructions which I still have. The draft for two thousand dollars I brought to Topeka, where I arrived the 10th of June [1859]. . . .²³

MONUMENTAL COLLEGE

While Rice was absent in the East the general association convened at Lawrence. The college committee confirmed the charge that "The people of Topeka *did fail* to fulfill their pledge within the time specified," and reopened the whole matter. The report mentioned the failure of Lewis Bodwell to convene the college trustees early in January, 1859, and the circular that was subsequently issued charging Topeka with default.²⁴

23. *Reminiscences*, by H. D. Rice, pp. 9-11. (Read before the Congregational Pioneer Society of Topeka.) On the whole this story appears reliable, but the reader is referred to the account to appear in the concluding installment of this article, based on the minutes of the trustees of Lincoln College. Rice continued:

"On learning of this Lawrence proposition [Monumental College, already launched], I let Col. Ritchie have the money to pay for the Davis claim, so that we would be ready the next year to again bid for the location at Topeka, and have the site ready to deed. Col. Ritchie executed the mortgage and note in conformity with the instructions. . . . It took sixteen hundred dollars to pay Davis for the land."

24. "Minutes" of the general association, meeting at Plymouth church, Lawrence, May 26-28, 1859, in *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), July, pp. 44-47—a report entitled, "College." On September 14, 1859, Bodwell wrote to the American Home Missionary Society: "As

Lawrence, Topeka, Burlingame and Wabaunsee then submitted proposals, indicating that the problem of town rivalry, particularly between Lawrence and Topeka, was probably an important item in the whole matter. A resolution offered by C. B. Lines of Wabaunsee, "That it is inexpedient to locate the college at present," was thoroughly discussed, and it was decided by a majority vote to accept the Lawrence offer and thus place the college in "a large and prosperous town." A Lawrence paper remarked:

In the discussion relative to the location of their College, the question seemed to turn upon the propriety of placing a first-class College in a large and prosperous town. It was urged by some—by Mr. Lines, of Wabonsa, especially, in a very able and interesting speech—that large towns were destructive to the habits and morals of the students, and so insisted that the first College of Kansas should be put in a purely rural town. The convention finally, by almost an unanimous vote, located their Institution at this place.

. . . ²⁵

The offer of Lawrence appeared extremely liberal. According to one account it included the following:

An institution for religious education, called "Monumental College," designed to commemorate the triumph of Liberty over Slavery in Kansas, and to serve as a memorial of those who have assisted in achieving this victory, has been organized and located at Lawrence. The corporators have obtained twenty acres of land adjoining the town site of Lawrence on the south. They have also obtained three hundred acres of land adjoining the college site, to be divided into lots, . . . and one-half of the appraised value . . . to belong to the college. The corporators have also obtained . . . 1,220 acres of land, . . . 2,010 dollars, and 151 lots, situated in Lawrence, Topeka, Burlington, Delaware and other towns in Kansas. Gov. Robinson and Gen. Pomeroy, trustees of a fund called the "Lawrence Fund," and which amounts to thirteen thousand dollars, have signified their willingness to make over this fund to the "Monumental College," on condition that the Congregationalists have control of the institution. Mr. Lawrence himself expresses a desire that the fund should be placed at the disposal of the Congregational denomination.²⁶ The conditions on which the above donations (except the

to the right or wrong of my action I trust it will be enough to say that in a meeting of 12 ministers & 12 delegates, representing 10 of our ch'hs that action was endorsed by a vote of 22 to 1, & he [Harrison Hannahs] from Topeka."—"Bodwell Papers," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. Bodwell's course aroused opposition in his church in Topeka (see the writer's article, "Lewis Bodwell, Frontier Preacher," in v. 12 of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, p. 360).

H. D. Rice stated in his *Reminiscences* (p. 11): "Maj. Hannahs was the delegate of our Topeka church at the Association meeting, and strenuously opposed the opening of the college question, stating that Topeka had at that time an agent in the east to procure funds to purchase land for a site for the college, and while Topeka had failed in fulfilling its pledge, they were at work in good faith to do so, and he considered it neither just nor fair to open the question until they had, at least, heard from their agent. But his appeal was of no avail. The college was located at Lawrence on condition that Lawrence complied with its offer and it was called 'Monumental College.'"

25. *Lawrence Republican*, June 2, 1859.

26. This statement had a distinct "advertising value," but was plainly misrepresentation on the part of Simpson, as Amos Lawrence had not, by that date, committed himself so far. Mr. Lawrence entertained no prejudice against any group of real Christians that might control the new institution, but disliked to put himself in the ugly light of breaking

"Lawrence Fund,") have been obtained, are that the incorporators commence improvements on the college site within six months, and expend twenty-five thousand dollars on the site within eighteen months. . . .

S. N. SIMPSON.²⁷

The general association accepted the offer of Lawrence for Monumental College "on condition that the incorporators of the college make good within three months the proposition which they have sent in—a board of trustees, to be chosen by this Association, being judges: Provided, That the trustees of the college shall make no improvement upon the proposed college site until they have \$25,000 in hand for that purpose."²⁸ In a statement to the press the moderator of the association (Lewis Bodwell) termed the offer "exceedingly liberal," including 170 acres of land adjoining the townsite, 1,200 acres in other parts of the territory, \$15,000 in money and 151 town lots in Lawrence and elsewhere.²⁹

Before naming a board of trustees, a basis of organization was adopted, entitled, "Basis Adopted by the Association for Electing a Board of Trustees of Monumental College, and Defining Powers and Relations of Said Board." This instrument placed the projected college under the control of the association and under the immediate supervision of a board of trustees elected by that Congregational body. This board was granted the usual corporate powers, and was authorized to procure a liberal charter from the next legislature.³⁰

As the agent of Monumental College, S. N. Simpson went East to obtain pledges of money and land and for a short time maintained a Boston office with the firm of Clapp, Fuller & Browne. The Boston

a prior promise. Under Congregational pressure he shifted chief responsibility for the disposition of his fund to his trustee, Charles Robinson. In October, 1859, Robinson and his colleague, Pomeroy, advised Mr. Lawrence that they agreed conditionally to abandon the Presbyterian college project in favor of the Congregational.—S. C. Pomeroy and C. Robinson to A. A. Lawrence, October 3, 1859, in photostats of letters collected by Frank E. Melvin. (The writer is much indebted to Dr. Melvin for his kind help in the involved subject of Monumental College.)

27. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), July, pp. 45, 46.

28. *Ibid.* The three months' time granted to fulfill this offer seems quite as unreasonable as in the previous case at Topeka, but as a matter of fact a full year was given Lawrence.

29. *Lawrence Republican*, June 2, 1859. This list appears more correct than the one quoted above, signed by S. N. Simpson, and agrees with the account in the *Kansas Press*, Cottonwood Falls, of June 13, 1859. Lewis Bodwell added:

"The whole amount at the lowest estimate, is worth from \$40,000 to \$50,000, and some have estimated it at \$70,000. . . .

"The . . . whole sum was secured in little over three days. The paper on which the names of the donors are signed, makes a roll some eight feet long."

Peter McVicar termed the Lawrence subscription paper "the most formidable document ever presented to a Kansas assembly. . . . All other competitors, for the moment, were struck dumb with astonishment." Bodwell privately described the intense rivalry between towns which called forth such offers, as "astonishing, & when not contemptible is ridiculous."

30. The basis of organization is quoted in full in the *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), July, pp. 46, 47. Congregational ministers were prominent on the board of trustees named at this time, which included Charles Robinson, a trustee of the Lawrence fund. Robert F. Beine of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society informs me that no specific charter was granted Monumental College by the Kansas legislature.

Journal praised the movement for a college in Kansas and pointed out the urgent need of prompt aid:

It is to be called "Monumental College," from the circumstance, we presume, that it is contemplated to bury beneath its walls the remains of those who fell while defending the cause of freedom in Kansas. It is to be located at Lawrence probably, where an eligible site has been offered. An act of incorporation has been obtained, under which an organization has been effected, comprising several of the best known men of the Territory. Building lots and subscriptions in building materials and money, amounting to \$4,000, have been devoted to the enterprise in Kansas. A citizen of Massachusetts has given securities for \$11,000, besides one hundred and fifty shares in the stock of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Company, on condition that \$20,000 additional shall be raised before the first of January, 1861. The receiving committee are Messrs. Ezra Farnsworth, Edward S. Tobey and John Field, of this city. The reference committee are Prof. Park, of Andover, Rev. F. D. Huntington, of Cambridge, and Rev. Charles Mason, of this city. The collecting agent is S. N. Simpson, at Clapp, Fuller & Browne's. . . . It will be seen that the contingencies under which the present subscriptions have been made, necessitate some promptitude on the part of those who purpose pecuniary aid. . . .³¹

The response to this campaign was not encouraging—apparently not sufficient money could be obtained within the limited time.³² As had been foreseen by the proponents of a college at Topeka, such as Harvey D. Rice and John Ritchie, the Monumental College project soon entered an eclipse. Although he continued his efforts some months longer, by May, 1860, even Simpson spoke of it as a failure and was willing to give up any claim on the Amos Lawrence fund.³³ In short, the Monumental College episode was largely an attempt to induce the Congregationalists to abandon the idea of a college at Topeka for one at Lawrence inspired by local sectarian and personal motives. With the coöperation of the Rev. Richard Cordley, it was promoted by S. N. Simpson, his Sunday School superintendent, a typical early Kansas speculator in real estate.³⁴

31. Copied in *Cong. Record*, v. 2 (1860), January, pp. 15-17, with the title, "Monumental College." Obviously it was based on data furnished by Simpson and for promotional purposes casts too favorable a light upon the college prospects. No act of incorporation had been passed, and the \$11,000 in securities with Emigrant Aid Company stock (Lawrence fund) was still in the control of the donor and his trustees.

32. From the start Monumental College competed with the Presbyterian Lawrence University, particularly for possession of the Lawrence fund. In midsummer of 1858 the initial steps were taken for the latter college, which was later chartered by the territorial legislature. Early in 1859 frequent meetings were held to complete organization and start the work of construction. Subsequently work was begun on a college building on Mt. Oread, Lawrence, and in August, 1859, the trustees, headed by Dr. C. E. Miner, announced that the Presbyterian Board of Education at Philadelphia had adopted the college and advanced limited funds for construction.

33. Rev. Charles Reynolds, Episcopal minister at Lawrence, to Amos A. Lawrence, May 31, 1860, in photostats of letters collected by Frank E. Melvin. The Episcopalians succeeded the Congregationalists as candidates for the Lawrence fund, but did not qualify for its award. In 1863 the fund played a large role in inducing the legislature to locate the state university at Lawrence.

34. Frank E. Melvin to the writer, dated June 28, 1947. He adds: "I knew and admired Dr. Cordley. . . . He doubtless was sincere but he was sectarian and he put across his objectives very determinedly without always being too particular how. Maybe

DEPRESSION, DROUGHT AND WAR

The general association of the Congregational church convened at Topeka late in May, 1860, and appointed a committee to report on the college.³⁵ Early in August this committee met at Topeka, where a local paper remarked: "No place having made better offers for the college than Topeka, it was accordingly located here."³⁶ The terms of the offer resembled those of the previous occasion, including 160 acres of land (the George Davis claim, later termed the "permanent site") and a building for an academy.³⁷ By this time, however, a searing drought was adding its havoc to that caused by financial depression, and by 1861 civil war further darkened the picture.

Nevertheless, in May of that year the general association, in its meeting at Leavenworth, received an offer from Maj. H. W. Farnsworth of Topeka, the president of the board of trustees, which it voted "fair and just," and recommended that the trustees obtain a charter and "that the property already acquired be transferred to this incorporated body. . . ."³⁸ Depression and war seem to have proven insurmountable obstacles to the erection of a school building at this time.

The Congregational Record mourned the three tragic years that had followed the meeting of October, 1858, in Manhattan, when the college project was formally launched:

We had just originated a College—on a magnificent scale. That College would need an organ, and the Professors would constitute an able corps of writers. In two years the College would be in full blast, and there would be a demand for an enlargement of the *Record*. . . . Verily, we blew some large bubbles at that meeting. . . . We could not then foresee that three such years of trial were to settle upon our history. Kansas *had* four years of turmoil, and we proudly believed she had received her share. . . .

Cordley was taken in by Simpson. Mr. Lawrence felt *he* was. *He* was glad when Simpson dropped the campaign for the college, soon after queering the bona fide Presbyterian effort, and went into a political campaign instead. . . . Later Simpson and Robinson fell out and Robinson told plenty which was evidently true about Simpson's chicanery. Indeed Mr. Lawrence ought to have been adequately warned by a letter of May 9, 1859, from Robinson telling him that the Congregationalists (i. e. Simpson) were working up a rival movement with dubious features."

35. *Cong. Record*, v. 2 (1860), July, p. 42. It was soon rumored that the college "has been permanently located in Topeka."—See the *Topeka Tribune*, June 2, 1860.

36. *Topeka State Record*, copied in Lawrence *Republican*, August 16, 1860.

37. Rice states in his *Reminiscences* (p. 11): "The spring of 1860, the Association met at Topeka. The college question again came up. Lawrence not having complied with its pledge, it was open for propositions. Topeka offered one hundred and sixty acres together with a building for the school, which was accepted by the Association, thus securing for Topeka the location. The college was known as the 'Topeka Institute.' The spring of 1861 found Kansas a State. . . . The Association called for a deed to the land, Col. Ritchie having gone into the army sent to me a power of attorney to execute with his wife a deed to the land. Mrs. Ritchie and myself executed the first deed to the college site where Washburn now stands. On account of the war nothing more was done until 1865. . . ."

38. *Cong. Record*, v. 3 (1861), July, p. 42.

Financial disaster followed on the heels of civil tumult, and famine completed the desolation. Few States have gone through the fire as Kansas has. It is no wonder her progress has fallen short of our expectations. . . .³⁹

Despite hardship and uncertainty, when the general association met at Burlingame late in May, 1863, it resolved to take steps toward obtaining "a liberal endowment of lands and other property as a vested fund for the benefit of such educational institutions as the interest of the cause, in connection with our body may require."⁴⁰ By this means it was hoped to supply destitute fields with missionaries, "by raising up, so far as possible, young men from our own churches, and in part, or wholly, preparing them for the Gospel ministry." It was also resolved:

That it shall be discretionary with the Board of Trustees when to start an Academy of a high literary order and religious tone; to be located at or near Topeka; open to both sexes; and whose especial aim and object shall be to prepare young men for the Gospel ministry.

WHEREAS: State Colleges have been located at Manhattan and Lawrence, and largely endowed, which, if properly conducted, may meet the wants of the churches and the people of the State.

Resolved, That we will cordially co-operate in, and urge upon others, the work of building up these Colleges on a thoroughly un-sectarian and evangelical basis.⁴¹

During the years of conflict the Kansas border was plagued by guerrilla warfare, the raids of Quantrill and Price in particular casting a reign of fear over the entire region. From her sparse population Kansas contributed so many men to the armed forces that thousands of acres once fenced and tilled now became the prey of weeds and prairie fires.⁴² The shortage of manpower affected the state of religion, inducing the Kansas agent of the American Home Missionary Society, Lewis Bodwell, to deplore the lack of a *trained* and *intelligent* ministry:

39. *Ibid.*, October, pp. 61, 62, entitled, "Three Years Old."

40. *Ibid.*, v. 5 (1863), July and August, p. 79, being the "Report of the Committee on Colleges," appended to the "minutes" of the general association. It was also voted to appoint a board of nine trustees, "to be composed of efficient men, in different parts of our State, to solicit and secure grants of land and other property, to be vested for the above specified purposes. . . ." The following board of trustees was named:

For one year—Rev. Peter McVicar, Rev. R. Cordley, Rev. S. D. Storrs.

For two years—Dr. E. Teft, Rev. J. D. Liggett, J. E. Platt.

For three years—H. D. Rice, H. D. Preston, R. M. Wright.

In the obtaining of an adequate endowment a denominational school was at a disadvantage, as compared to public institutions, which after the Morrill act of 1862 could under certain conditions obtain federal lands to aid in industrial and mechanical education.—*U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 12, pp. 503-505.

41. *Cong. Record*, v. 5 (1863), July and August, p. 79. In May, 1864, the general association, meeting at Grasshopper Falls, received merely a verbal report from its committee on education. McVicar, Cordley and Storrs were re-elected college trustees.

42. The records of the United States Adjutant General state (quoted in Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, p. 416): "Under all calls, the quota of Kansas was 12,931; she furnished 20,151; the aggregate, reduced to a three-years standard, was 18,706."

At least seventeen organized counties of our state, each peopled by from 500 to 5400 of our brethren . . . are almost wholly destitute of the ministrations of a pure & intelligently taught gospel.⁴³

INCORPORATION OF LINCOLN COLLEGE

Finally late in 1864 and early in 1865 "light began to dawn upon the nation. Sherman was marching triumphantly to the sea, while Grant was holding the siege at Richmond, thus rendering the victory of the Union army assured." ⁴⁴ Now seemed to be the time to found a Christian college in Kansas, which would carry on in the West the precepts of the Pilgrim forefathers, provide a trained ministry close at hand and serve as a living memorial to the final victory of freedom. The committee on education of the general association later remarked (May, 1865):

Such, however, was the disrupted condition of our State and country, that the Trustees did not deem it advisable to move in the matter, until the commencement of the present year, when the prospect of a speedy and permanent peace, together with the consequent development of the State, impressed the conviction that the time had come for definite and earnest action in the direction marked out by the resolutions of the General Association [of 1863]. The unprecedented liberality of the public and christian mind at the East in the endowment of colleges, urged itself as an additional reason for making an immediate effort.

The first step, of course, was to investigate the legality of the Incorporation. But it was soon ascertained that no act of incorporation had ever been complied with, and that the title to the permanent site was conveyed to a body having no legal existence. After due consultation . . . it was thought best to organize at once, with the required number of corporators, adopt a corporate name, together with articles of association, and become a body corporate, with power to elect a Board of Trustees and submit the whole to the approval of the General Association at its present meeting.⁴⁵

On January 25, 1865, a meeting of the incorporators of Lincoln College was held in the city of Topeka, and an instrument of in-

43. Annual report to the American Home Missionary Society, dated Geneva, Allen county, March 1, 1864, in "Bodwell Papers," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. He continued: "Much that is spoken of & gloried in, as the spread of evangelical religion, is in my opinion but little better than heathenism slightly civilized; & its services carried on with Scripture phraseology; but only in *exceptional cases* transforming the life, whatever it may do with the heart. Honesty, truthfulness, peacefulness, study of the word, & regard for the Sabbath; seldom long surviving the two or three weeks of a biennial or tri-ennial season of shouting, screaming, dancing & rolling on the floor; called a revival! I speak what I have seen of the most common form of pioneer 'evangelisation.'"

By September, 1865, the ministerial shortage was so great that the Congregationalists, meeting at Grasshopper Falls, offered encouragement to lay brothers of suitable qualifications to apply for licenses to preach.

44. McVicar's *An Historical Sketch of Washburn College, by the President* (Topeka, 1886), p. 5.

45. Minutes of the general association, meeting at Topeka, May 18-22, 1865.—*Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, pp. 8-12.

corporation drafted, entitled, "Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College."⁴⁶ It was soon learned that if they were to transact business in a legal manner, without a formal act of incorporation from the legislature, they must meet the requirements set forth in "An act to enable the Trustees of Colleges, Academies, Universities and other Institutions, Societies and Companies, to become bodies corporate," approved February 9, 1859.⁴⁷ To comply with the law the incorporators delegated a committee to make application to Alfred I. Winans, probate judge of Shawnee county, who, on February 4, 1865, appointed Joshua Knowles, Joseph C. Miller and John Elliott appraisers. These men prepared a complete schedule of the property and other assets of the college, which totaled \$7,228. Judge Winans thereupon affixed his signature and official seal, February 6, 1865, with the assertion that this amount "is considered to be a sufficient sum for the commencement of the purpose of said parties applying."⁴⁸ The appraisers' list included property, cash and services "for the use and benefit of *Lincoln College*, to be located at Topeka, Kansas." The nature of these entries makes it clear that many items were really pledges, and the whole

46. "First Secretary's Book of Lincoln and Washburn College," pp. 5-7. This valuable record, which contains the minutes of the meetings of the college trustees, is deposited in the archives of Washburn Municipal University; hereafter it will be cited as the "First Secretary's Book." The writer looked in vain for contemporary accounts of the first meetings, but was defeated by a serious lack of newspaper coverage for Topeka at that time. The *Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College* were printed separately, and were also published in the *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), July, pp. 23, 24, but since they appear with further remarks added at the meetings of February 6, 1865, they will be quoted below from the "First Secretary's Book."

47. *General Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1859*, Ch. 36, pp. 305-327. Section 2 of this act provided that three appraisers submit to the probate judge a complete schedule of all the "goods, chattels, lands and tenements, choses in action, rights, credits and subscriptions as such applicants shall exhibit to said appraisers . . . and if the amount so found shall be equal to the sum required for the commencement of any such institution as said applicants desire, such probate judge shall give such applicants a certificate of the fact, and they shall enter it in a book of records . . . which, together with their corporate name, and the articles of association, they shall also cause to be recorded in the recorder's office of the county where such institution is or is intended to be located, and they shall thenceforward be a body corporate and politic, according to the provisions of this act. . . ."

48. The "First Secretary's Book," p. 9, contains the certification of Judge Winans. A marginal notation, repeated several times, states that the *Articles of Association* and accompanying documents were "Rec'd for Record February 6th 5 o'Clock P. M., 1865. Recorded in Vol. 9 Page 239 [and 240] G. B Holmes Register"—Holmes then being the Register of Deeds of Shawnee county.

In the library of Washburn Municipal University there is a manuscript booklet which reviews this procedure, entitled, "Steps in Law pertaining to Trustees of Lincoln Col.—Alias Lincoln College—Alias Washburn College." The *Articles of Association*, a circular prepared for general distribution, made no mention of these steps in the probate court.

In 1866, when Lincoln College applied for aid from the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, the officials of that organization raised the question of the legality of incorporation, but after examining the *Articles of Association* along with the *Revised Statutes of Kansas*, they were entirely satisfied.

schedule was more a subscription list than a statement of fluid resources. Contributions included the following:

APPRAISER'S LIST—INITIAL DONATIONS TO LINCOLN COLLEGE

John Ritchie	
¼ Sec. Land (Davis Claim) ⁴⁹	\$2,400
2 Lots, 25 x 75 feet, corner Kansas & 10th Av.....	200
Cash	400
Harvey D. Rice	
Cash and labor at cash price	1,000
Erastus Tefft	
80 acres Land—Auburn	200
In cash	250
C. F. Van Horne	
80 acres Land—Mission Creek	175
S. D. Bowker—Cash	100
E. W. Hyde, "	100
F. P. Baker, within one year cash.....	95
Douthitt & Greer	
40 acres of Land, Town 12—Range 15	80
John Elliott—Labor	50
S. J. Crawford, Cash in 6 months	100
S. K. Gilchrist—Cash one & two years	90
F. L. Crane	
One Lot valued at Cash	100
D. H. Horne Cash	100
J. R. Swallow	100
Wychoff & Stringham	
In Painting &c. at Cash price	75
Theodore Mills Cash	50
W. E. Bowker "	50
Joseph & Nelson Ritchie	
in teaming at Cash price	100
[and 43 other contributions]	

[Total] \$7,228 ⁵⁰

The complete preamble and articles of incorporation which were thus made effective read as follows:

49. The narrative of H. D. Rice, quoted above, makes it clear that \$1,600, from a sum of \$2,000 which he borrowed in the East in 1859, was used to buy the George Davis claim, Ritchie giving a mortgage on his farm for repayment of the loan. In the early years Ritchie seems to have acted as informal trustee of this "permanent site" of the college.

50. This schedule appears on pages 10, 11 and 12 of the "First Secretary's Book," and is signed by the appraisers, Joshua Knowles, Joseph C. Miller and John Elliott. This writer has added a title.

Articles of Association in the Incorporation of
LINCOLN COLLEGE

We, the Undersigned, desirous of becoming a body corporate and politic, by the name and title of

"TRUSTEES OF LINCOLN COLLEGE,"

do associate ourselves together, for the purposes set forth in the Preamble and Articles of Association, adopted by us, at a meeting held in the City of Topeka on the 25th day of January 1865, and which read as follows—

PREAMBLE

Desiring to promote the diffusion of knowledge and the advancement of virtue and religion, we do associate ourselves together for the object and purposes herein certified— To wit: ⁵¹

ARTICLE 1ST.

To establish at, or near the City of Topeka, the Capital of Kansas, and secure the Incorporation of an institution of learning, of a high literary and religious character, to be named "LINCOLN COLLEGE," which shall commemorate the triumph of Liberty over Slavery in our nation, and serve as a memorial of those fallen in defence of their country

ARTICLE II.

To make said College an engine for the furtherance of those ideas of civil and religious liberty which actuated our Fathers in the Revolutionary struggle, and which are now achieving a signal victory in the triumph of free principles.

ARTICLE III.

To afford to all classes, without distinction of color, the advantages of a liberal education, thus fitting them for positions of responsibility and usefulness—

ARTICLE IV.

To aid deserving young men to obtain an education, such as shall fit them for the Gospel Ministry, thereby helping to supply the pressing demand for laborers in the States and Territories west of the Missouri River.

ARTICLE V.

To establish a number of free Scholarships that shall afford tuition free of charge, to indigent and meritorious young persons

ARTICLE VI

To raise by subscription or otherwise, such a sum of money as shall be sufficient to erect a suitable building for the Preparatory Department of the College, and to continue to solicit funds until an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars shall be secured.

ARTICLE VII

Be it further declared that it is the intent and purpose of this Association, that the Board of Trustees of said College, shall be so constituted at all times

⁵¹ The "Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College," published in circular form and also in the *Congregational Record*, has a preamble of somewhat different wording than this text from the "First Secretary's Book," but the seven articles that follow are identical, with the exception of a few errors.

that its members shall be acceptable to the General Association of the Congregational Ministers and churches in Kansas.

We do hereby make an application to the Hon. Judge of Probate of Shawnee County, State of Kansas, to select three disinterested and judicious free holders of said County to appraise all moneys, lands, trusts, credits and subscriptions of said applicants according to Section 2 of an Act entitled "An Act to enable the Trustees of Colleges Academies Universities and other institutions Societies and Companies to become bodies corporate," approved February 9th 1859.

Names

Harrison Hannahs
Peter McVicar
J. W. Fox
H. D. Rice
Ira H. Smith

Lewis Bodwell
H. W. Farnsworth
W. E. Bowker
A. G. Bodwell⁵²

[Here follow the records of the Probate Court summarized above.]

On February 6, 1865, the incorporators of Lincoln College met "pursuant to adjournment" and "accepted and adopted" the report of their committee on incorporation.⁵³ By-laws and other regulations were also adopted defining the qualifications and powers of the college trustees.⁵⁴ The first board of trustees was then elected to hold office until the first annual election in May, 1865. It was decided that the governor of the state and, when chosen, the president of the college should be members of this body, ex-officio. The regular members follow:

Rev. Peter McVicar
Rev. S. D. Storrs
Rev. J. D. Liggett
Rev. Ira H. Smith
Rev. R. Cordley
Harrison Hannah Esq.

Col. J. Ritchie
H. D. Rice Esq.
W. E. Bowker Esq.
Rev. J. W. Fox
Maj. H. W. Farnsworth
W. W. H. Lawrence Esq.

Ira H. Smith Secretary⁵⁵

Immediately thereafter the first meeting of the college trustees was held, with Peter McVicar as chairman. Officers were elected, a building committee was chosen, and the Rev. Samuel D. Bowker

52. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 5-9; "Record Book" of the register of deeds of Shawnee county, v. 9, pp. 239, 240; also, for the seven "Articles" see *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), July, pp. 23, 24, and the separately published *Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College*.

53. "First Secretary's Book," p. 13—the first meeting recorded in the "minutes." McVicar, Fox, Rice, W. E. Bowker and A. G. Bodwell were present.

54. The board of trustees was to consist of 12 persons, chosen by ballot, five of whom were to constitute a quorum to transact business. At all times five were to be resident free-holders of Shawnee county. The trustees were authorized to fill vacancies in their board and to possess all powers regularly conferred upon such officials by the third and fifth sections of the corporation law of 1859. Special meetings were to be announced in a Topeka paper at least ten days in advance.

55. *Ibid.* The slate published in the *Articles of Association* is similar, but places the governor of the state at the head of the list.

was made financial agent.⁵⁶ The building committee was instructed "to select a site for a preparatory school and contract for the building of a two-story house the cost of which shall not exceed seven thousand dollars."⁵⁷ Bowker was made agent of the trustees and empowered to raise funds in the East toward a college endowment, in accord with his proposal of January 20, 1865.⁵⁸ These arrangements were intended to take care of the more weighty business matters of the new college until the first annual meeting late in May of that year.

THE NAMING OF LINCOLN COLLEGE

Since the new college was designed as a memorial to the victory of freedom over slavery and was to be located where the first successful skirmishes had been carried out to stop the expansion of the "peculiar institution," it was regarded particularly fitting to adopt the name of "Lincoln College." A circular of 1866 pointed out:

The *name* chosen was selected out of respect and love for him who was then the Chief Magistrate of the nation, Abraham Lincoln. Among the reasons that led to the choice of that name were the following:

1. It was in connection with the discussion of those great public questions that grew out of the settlement of Kansas that Mr. Lincoln became known to the country.

2. It was understood that Kansas gave the largest popular majority for his re-election, in proportion to her population, of any State in the Union.

3. The name of President Lincoln was in the minds of the founders of the College, indissolubly connected with the perpetuity of the American Union and the triumph of Free Institutions, and as such appropriate for a College whose establishment was sought by those who would perpetuate civil and religious liberty.⁵⁹

On his trip east as agent of the college trustees, Samuel D. Bowker called on President Lincoln, who cordially approved the proposed institution of learning. Bowker later wrote:

56. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 16, 17. McVicar was named president *pro tem*, Ira H. Smith, secretary; W. E. Bowker, treasurer, and H. D. Rice and H. W. Farnsworth, auditors. J. Ritchie, W. E. Bowker and Ira H. Smith were placed on the building committee.

57. *Ibid.*

58. He had offered to do this for a year if his expenses were paid, "and if I secure an endowment of \$20,000, then I shall be paid a salary of \$1,000 S. D. Bowker."

59. *Lincoln College, Incorporation and Name*, a broadside in the Washburn Municipal University library, written in 1866 to promote the endowment campaign. S. D. Bowker may have been the author. The content of this circular is further discussed in the section on college endowment.

On page 307 of Edward Stanwood's *A History of the Presidency* (Boston and New York, 1898), the table of returns for the election of 1864 lists Kansas as having cast 14,228 votes for Lincoln and only 3,871 for his opponent, George B. McClellan (the soldier vote was not counted). Kansas then cast over 78% of its total vote for Lincoln—a higher proportion than any other state, although Vermont with over 76% was a close competitor.

BOSTON, MASS.,
May, 1865.

Dear Sir:

The suggestion has been made to the American People, that it would be well to found and endow a College, to be dedicated to the memory of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. I wish, therefore to call public attention to "Lincoln College," incorporated Feb. 6, 1865, and state to you that the success of this Institution was a matter of deep concern to President Lincoln, and that, *during the week of his re-inauguration, he expressed to me his cordial approval of its design and gave assurance of his prospective aid in its behalf.*⁶⁰

The tragic death of Lincoln, which took place soon after the launching of the Kansas college, gave added point to the founding of an institution in his memory and promoted the campaign for its endowment. The following circular presented this theme in an effective manner:

LINCOLN MONUMENTAL COLLEGE

A MONUMENT OF THE TRIUMPH	Dedicated to the Memory of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, From March 4th, 1861, to April 15th, 1865	OF FREEDOM OVER SLAVERY
------------------------------------	--	----------------------------------

This Institution has been incorporated at Topeka, the Capitol of Kansas, where a site of 160 acres of land has been donated and the first college building erected.

DESIGN

The design of the Institution is both patriotic and benevolent. At that point, in the very centre of the continent, where Slavery was first turned back, it is proposed to erect a MONUMENT that shall commemorate to all coming time, the Triumph of Freedom and serve as a standing memorial of those whose efforts have contributed to so glorious a result.

In carrying out this design the Trustees secured an act of incorporation, Feb. 6, 1865, and were afforded the assurance that President Lincoln took a deep interest in the success of the enterprise. By the sudden death of the great and good man whom the Nation mourns as its second Father, it be-

60. Broadside in Washburn Municipal University library, entitled, *On Lincoln College*. This document continued:

"Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio, Hon. Charles Sumner, of Mass., Hon. Horace Greeley, of New York, Maj. Gen. Howard, of Maine, Prof. C. D. Cleveland, of Philadelphia, Rev. W. H. Channing, of Washington, D. C., E. S. Tobey, Esq., of Boston, the U. S. Senators and Representatives from Kansas, and many others, fully endorse and commend the enterprise. . . .

S. D. BOWKER,
Agent for the Trustees of Lincoln College."

A skeleton "Letter of Commendation" followed, which was used in other appeals for financial aid and will be referred to later.

came a monument to him whose name it had adopted. The object sought in the establishment of this College was the furtherance of those ideas of civil and religious liberty which actuated our Fathers in the Revolutionary conflict and which have now received a new baptism in the successful struggle for the maintenance of the government. . . .

What memorial more in accordance with the unostentatious character of him whom the Nation mourns than a MONUMENTAL COLLEGE, established to perpetuate the principles . . . in whose support he became a martyr? Situated near the heart of the continent it will stand sentinel evermore over the broad land whose union he consummated and whose future glory it will be that so unselfish a man twice received the highest gift at the hands of the American people.⁶¹

APPROVAL OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION

At the meeting of the "General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas," at Topeka, May 18-22, 1865, the committee on education presented an extended report which reviewed the early attempts to found a college, commented with favor upon the progress already made at Topeka, and gave detailed suggestions to promote the college in the future:

What is needed now is an endowment sufficient to support at least two efficient teachers to open a preparatory and scientific department. For such an endowment we must first look to our own State. . . . It will be useless to go abroad for funds, unless the churches and communities of Kansas shall have done their part.

Your committee, therefore, deem it very essential to the success of the enterprise, that the General Association at its present session, devise some measure or measures by which ten thousand dollars towards an endowment fund shall be secured at once in this State. . . .⁶² This ten thousand dollar fund, together with the \$10,000 secured in Topeka by way of building and permanent grounds, will furnish a Kansas basis of \$20,000, on which basis as a proof of our own interest in the College, \$30,000 more can be raised at the East. To this end the Trustees have secured the services of Rev. S. D. Bowker to act as agent in soliciting funds at the East. . . . He has already . . . secured nearly \$5,000 in cash, and over three hundred valuable volumes as a nucleus for a College library.

61. Broadside in Washburn Municipal University library, probably written in the spring of 1865. The entire document may have been penned by S. D. Bowker—at least his "Letter of Commendation" serves as the conclusion, which is signed by the two senators from Kansas, Lane and Pomeroy, and the member of congress, Sidney Clarke; the governor of Kansas, S. J. Crawford, and the chief state officials; and men of national prominence, including Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner and John Sherman.

This circular pointed out that steps were being taken to set up scholarships in honor of the military and naval heroes of the war, and thereby "to have the names of all the distinguished Champions of Freedom thus recorded upon the tablet of history. It is the aim of the Trustees to SECURE what has been done for the establishment of Liberty, by planting an institution whose influence, . . . shall aid in the diffusion of knowledge, and wield its power for the promotion of public virtue." May not its endowment by the American people well be a work of Christian patriotism?

62. The report pointed out that \$2,000 of this sum was already pledged. To raise the balance it suggested cash subscriptions, notes of individuals and the disposal of scholarships at \$100 each.

The indications of general approval . . . abundantly show that brethren at the East are ready to respond heartily to our efforts here. . . . What they want to have is an assurance that the ministers and churches of this Association are *earnest* and *united* in the establishment of this institution. . . . The "Society for Promoting Collegiate and Theological Education at the West," . . . encourages us . . . that it will aid a college in Kansas, under the care of our body, whenever it shall exist as a College.

. . . 63

We believe that a new epoch is dawning upon Kansas. . . . The great railroad lines now penetrating our State, will doubtless induce a heavy immigration; and now is the time to bring to bear on this formative period, the moulding power of Christian institutions.

In no other way can we so effectually supply the constant and increasing demand for laborers in Christ's vineyard. . . .

Whence, then, is to come an educated ministry to supply this increasing demand, unless . . . at the very center of this vast region, an institution . . . shall send forth . . . young men prepared . . . to break to others the bread of life . . . a savor of life unto life, to all who may come under its influence?⁶⁴

The general association adopted the report of its committee on education, approved the steps already taken for a college at Topeka, and took concrete steps to promote an endowment campaign for the college, both by Kansas churches and by those in other parts of the country. Its resolutions follow:

Resolved, That the interest of Christ's cause in the Trans-Missouri Valley, demands that we take efficient steps to establish one and but one College under our care, and that we cordially sympathize with the efforts now being made for the endowment of Lincoln College.

63. In the interest of an endowment the report urged that the association negotiate with this organization, which had recently been relieved of further assistance to Beloit, Wabash, and Marietta colleges.

The Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West was founded in 1843 in order to reduce the appeals from Western colleges to Eastern benefactors, and to systematize contributions. Theron Baldwin, member of the Yale band who had helped found Illinois College, was the first to conceive the idea, in which he was joined by President Edward Beecher of that institution. The society soon became very powerful among Western colleges of New York and New England background and was for some time supported by both New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Its endorsement became necessary for financial aid and was not given without careful examination, thereby discouraging speculative college projects. The list of Western colleges sponsored by the society became very impressive, including in the western Mississippi valley Grinnell (Iowa College), Washburn College in Kansas, Doane College in Nebraska, Carleton College in Minnesota, and Colorado College.—See James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz (eds.), *The Trans-Mississippi West* (Boulder, Colo., 1930), pp. 80-84, and Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York, 1923), pp. 60-65.

64. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, pp. 8-12, entitled, "Report No. 1." In his annual report for 1865 ("Bodwell papers"), Lewis Bodwell wrote in a like tone and described the founding of Lincoln College: "To the Ch'hs & schools & seminaries of the east we have thus far been indebted for our laborers. Never in the past has the supply equalled the want. From the regions beyond us already come calls as urgent as our own, while the supply is no greater. . . . Our present wants, our future ones, & those of fields still farther west, prompt us to try & prepare a school in which as God from time to time shall furnish them; we may prepare men & women for the missionary work. . . . With a home pledge of nearly \$10,000, we begin this great work. . . . I enclose the articles of incorporation & the Appeal with which we shall appear before our friends, asking for their sake as well as ours that they will aid us in establishing the first Puritan college for free Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, & the great states along the eastern ranges of the Rocky mountains."

Resolved, That we recommend to the Trustees of Lincoln College, to appoint a suitable person, who shall, as soon as practicable, visit our churches in the State, in order to secure by cash subscriptions, notes and scholarships, the *ten thousand dollar* Endowment Fund suggested by the Committee on Education, and that this Association earnestly recommend that the churches respond liberally to the appeal.

Resolved, That our Messengers to the National Council, which convenes at Boston, be requested to present the claims of a College in Kansas, established for Christ and the Churches, to Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., Chairman of the Committee, appointed by the National Council, "on Education for the Ministry," and also to Rev. Theron Baldwin, corresponding Secretary of the "Society for promoting collegiate and theological Education at the West," with a view to secure the approval and co-operation of these bodies in the efforts now being made in Kansas and at the East for the endowment of Lincoln College.⁶⁵

COLLEGE ENDOWMENT

With the official backing of the general association of the Congregational Church of Kansas, the future of Lincoln College appeared more hopeful. As the champion of Puritan ideals of freedom in a period when men had witnessed a fresh baptism of these principles, the infant college might aspire to a worthy role, but its hopes of future usefulness rested on the mundane base of adequate financial support. Dedicated to Christian ideals and bearing the name of the Great Emancipator, the college might hope for many friends of influence and substance, but whether they would be generous enough to make the venture a permanent success was an open question.

In order to properly launch the program for endowment a number of circulars were issued from time to time, narrating in some detail the history and future plans of Lincoln College and appealing for financial aid. One of the first of these, entitled, *An Appeal to Congregational Churches in Behalf of Lincoln College*, was a circular apparently inspired or written in part by Samuel D. Bowker and Lewis Bodwell.⁶⁶ It reviewed the work of incorporation, the great need for "the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom" and for such a college in the West, described the progress already achieved and then made this appeal:

65. "Minutes" of the general association, May 20, 1865, *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, p. 3. The report of the committee to nominate trustees for the college was also adopted, recommending the re-election of the existing board. On May 22, 1865, the first annual meeting of the trustees of Lincoln College was held at Topeka, and, in accord "with the nominations received from the general Association," the incumbent trustees were re-elected: McVicar, Storrs, Liggitt and Smith for three years; Cordley, Hannahs, Ritchie and Rice for two years, and W. E. Bowker, Fox, Farnsworth and Lawrence for one year.—"First Secretary's Book," p. 22. No other business of importance was transacted.

66. In his annual report of March 1, 1865, to the American Home Missionary Society, Bodwell mentioned the *Appeal*, indicating that this was one of the first circulars of this nature.

And now, dear brethren, having done what we could, we look to you for encouragement and material aid, to enable us to consummate an undertaking commenced, as we trust, mainly for the honor of Christ's name and the advancement of his blessed kingdom. Donations of money or books can be sent to the agent, Rev. S. D. Bowker, No. 56 Court Street, Boston, Mass., or forwarded to Rev. Peter McVicar, President of the Board of Trustees, Topeka, Kansas.⁶⁷

The circular was concluded with an "Extract From a Letter Written by Rev. Lewis Bodwell, Agent for the American Home Missionary Society, for Kansas," in which he again stressed his favorite theme of ministerial training.

A similar document of about the same date was entitled, *Lincoln College.—A Monument of the Triumph of Freedom in the United States*. It included a statement of the trustees (whose names appear at the end), a summary of the articles of incorporation, a more detailed explanation of the proposed plan for professorships and scholarships and an appeal for aid from the friends of freedom. Every gift of a thousand dollars "establishes a Scholarship that gives free tuition to some deserving person, as long as the College stands." The scholarships were to be named after heroes of the Civil War and the professorships after men like Chief Justice Chase and Charles Sumner who had been leaders in the struggle for emancipation.⁶⁸ The object was to render secure "the establishment of Liberty by planting an institution whose influence shall be untrammelled by any distinction of caste or party. Established on the corner stone of *Equal Rights to all men*, it will disseminate sound principles and thus help to build up, West of the Missouri, another New England." An appeal for financial aid followed, and the circular ended with the assertion that \$100,000 was needed toward a permanent endowment. Rev. S. D. Bowker had been named agent to solicit funds for both endowment and scholarships and was also authorized to accept donations of books, apparatus and other useful articles.⁶⁹

A third endowment circular of 1865 has already been described,

67. This is followed by the list of college trustees, a quotation from the resolutions of the general association of 1865 and the "Letter of Commendation" in praise of the effort toward endowment. A copy of this broadside is the property of the Kansas State Historical Society.

68. These plans for professorships and scholarships were very much a vision of the future, unsupported by the necessary cash. When the college opened in January, 1866, the only scholarships were those which remitted the fees of soldiers or their children, the children of home missionaries, students studying for the ministry and other worthy indigent persons—provided these were of limited numbers. Endowed professorships were still a dream of years to come.

69. Contributions of money would be invested in United States bonds. "What is done for the College will thus be a loan to the Government, as well as a gift to a Christian enterprise." This circular was also published in a slightly different form, with the following heading: *An Appeal to the Public, By the Trustees of Lincoln College*.

Lincoln Monumental College, a Monument of the Triumph of Freedom Over Slavery. It included a "Recommendation" by the Kansas delegation in congress and the chief state executive officers, reading as follows:

RECOMMENDATION.

We, the undersigned, do certify that we regard the establishment of a College in the city of Topeka, Kansas, as an object deserving the countenance and support of all who desire the advancement of intelligence and the progress of free institutions West of the Missouri river. That such an institution is greatly needed at the present time, to forward the work begun by the Free-State men of Kansas, of disseminating right ideas of civil and religious liberty. That the complete organization and endowment of "Lincoln College," an institution located in the city of Topeka, would, in our judgment, meet this want. And that the Trustees of said College are men of such character and standing, that the public may have entire confidence in their representations, and safely rely upon their using the funds subscribed for the purposes for which they are solicited.⁷⁰

In 1866 an additional endowment circular was issued, entitled, *Lincoln College—Incorporation and Name*, which gave the reasons for the adoption of the name of the war president and, under "Location," enumerated in detail the advantages claimed for Topeka, proof that a college situated there "can do more for the advancement of sound learning than any other college yet planted West of the Missouri river." The greatest need of the college was now "an *endowment* whose amplitude will warrant the employment of the *most able teachers* the country affords." Under "Design of the Founders" this circular pointed out that the rapid settlement of the states along the Missouri river had created a pronounced need for a "*Strong Protestant Centre of Education*" that would advance science and literature and "disseminate correct ideas of civil and religious liberty. Within the circle of 500 miles . . . no institution properly denominated a College can be found of the New England type. . . . They [the founders] would plant . . . 'A College which like Bowdoin, Harvard, Dartmouth and Yale promises to be a *new centre of vigor, manhood, intelligence and truth.*'" ⁷¹

As financial agent of the college trustees, and of whom it was later said "the college owes, well nigh, its existence," Samuel D.

70. A broadside at the Washburn Municipal University library which is concluded with the "Letter of Commendation" already quoted. At the top of the title page are pencilled words of endorsement, not entirely legible, by "S. D. B."—Samuel D. Bowker.

In content these circulars often repeat one another—thus the "Recommendation" quoted above also appeared in the preceding circular.

71. A document also found at Washburn Municipal University. It charged "that Romanism, on the one hand, and German infidelity on the other, early acquired a wide spread influence in this [Missouri] valley."

Bowker was probably the chief author of these appeals.⁷² At their first meeting the trustees had empowered him, as their agent, to obtain funds in the East toward an endowment. In May, 1865, he wrote from Boston that he had secured the "cordial approval" of President Lincoln, the Kansas delegation in congress and many others of national prominence, including John Sherman of Ohio, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Horace Greeley of New York.⁷³ When the general association met late in May, its special committee termed Bowker "peculiarly fitted in mind and heart for the work," and, although chiefly occupied with preparatory work, he had already "secured nearly \$5,000 in cash, and over three hundred valuable volumes as a nucleus for a college library."⁷⁴

Bowker established a Boston office and remained in the East through the summer and early fall of 1865, achieving some success although the existence of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West greatly reduced his field of operation. He apparently attended the national council of Congregational churches held at Boston in June, where the following resolutions were adopted in behalf of Lincoln College:

WHEREAS,—Our brethren in Kansas are laying the foundations of a Congregational College, which shall—on the field of its early victory—be a monument of the triumph of Freedom over Slavery: a memorial of that Christian Emancipator whose name it bears: a center of congregational and Christian

72. Rev. Samuel D. Bowker was born at Blanchard, Maine, April 2, 1835. "From his third to his sixteenth year a resident of Munson, in 1851 he removed to Biddsford, where two years later and at the age of eighteen he became the subject of converting grace, . . . during the next year, at Phillips Academy in Andover, [he] entered upon the work of preparation for the ministry. After pursuing his theological studies at Bangor [Theological Seminary], from 1857 to 1860, in the autumn of the year last named, he was settled as pastor of the Congregational Church in Winthrop. Two years of labor here resulted in a failure of health, and . . . his resignation. Being partially restored by a few months rest, he . . . accepted a call to the Congregational Church of New Market, N. H. where he began his labors in March, 1863. Here during a revival in the winter of 1863-4, over exertion induced a hemorrhage of the lungs, . . . and in November 1864 he sought our state [Kansas] to recruit his broken health. . . ."

"Appointed as State Agent of the American Bible Society, he on further consideration declined the call and took upon his hands the labor to which he gave the undivided powers of his last days of life. Our college, then . . . enlisted his sympathies, and . . . fired anew his zeal. . . . Appointed as Agent of the Institution, during the year 1865 and while friends here whom his zeal had encouraged were erecting the College building, he was laboring at the East from Maine to Maryland, arousing attention and collecting a library for its use and funds for its endowment. . . ."—"Obituary," by Lewis Bodwell, from a funeral sermon delivered at the Congregational church, Topeka, February 9, 1868, quoted in *Kansas State Record*, March 4, 1868. (See further biographical remarks in the concluding installment of this article.)

73. Letter of Bowker "On Lincoln College," dated Boston, May, 1865, and quoted above.

74. "Report of Committee on Education," in the "minutes" of the general association, *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, pp. 3, 10, 11. The association recommended that the college trustees name a "suitable person" to visit the Kansas churches "to secure by cash subscriptions, notes and scholarships, the ten thousand dollar Endowment Fund suggested by the "Committee on Education . . .," and that an application be made to Theron Baldwin, secretary of the College society, for aid from that organization. The report of the committee on education had in fact stressed the importance of first obtaining that amount from the home churches which, with the Topeka subscription of some \$10,000, would make a total of approximately \$20,000 from Kansas, on which basis they could then hope for \$30,000 additional from the East.

influence and a source of ministerial supply for the Missouri Valley and the regions beyond.

RESOLVED, That we commend the enterprise to the confidence, sympathy and liberal support of all friends of New England principles and polity, of civil and religious liberty and of Home Evangelization.⁷⁵

To these resolutions Bowker added an appeal for a Christian as against a secular education and termed "the financial and spiritual success" of the college a responsibility of "all our christian people."⁷⁶

Late in August, 1865, the college trustees met in the office of the governor, made S. D. Bowker principal of the preparatory and scientific department and requested him "to return as early as practicable and attend to the organization of the school & the securing of an endowment of \$10,000 in Kansas."⁷⁷ On the following September 15 Bowker wrote to Lewis Bodwell from Northampton, Mass.:

I just drop you a line to say that Deac J. P. Williston of Northampton offers to give \$300 a year to pay the tuition in L. College of *children of Home Missionaries* of any evangelical denomination— If enough of this class are not found he will include *pious deserving persons preparing for ministers or teachers*. This amount would probably afford free tuition to some 10 or 12 in the Preparatory Dept.

I shall return to Kansas (D V) in five or six weeks— Have secured over \$2,000 the past week Excuse haste

Most Truly

S. D. BOWKER.⁷⁸

After Bowker had returned from his Eastern campaign and was about to begin a similar effort in Kansas, it was announced that he had obtained a cash subscription in the East of \$11,000 and, in addition, a library and cabinet of minerals worth \$5,000.⁷⁹ However, a manuscript list of Eastern donations to Lincoln College for 1865 totaled only \$5,589.75 and named Williston as the largest con-

75. *Ibid.*, August, p. 39, being embodied in an article entitled, "A Christian College."

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40. Bowker's article, signed "S. D. B.," pointed out that "the local stream of benefactions will soon run dry unless sustained by contributions . . . from neighboring communities. Much . . . success . . . will depend upon this 'working together,' to establish it in public confidence. . . .

"The object sought will be still more fully realized if, at the very beginning, devoted young men can be found who will by their presence and influence, in the institution, aid in establishing its religious character.

"Should not such be sought out and encouraged to enter upon a course . . . for the gospel ministry, or . . . other useful pursuits?" The article closed with a "Letter of Commendation," signed by prominent churchmen and educators.

77. "First Secretary's Book," p. 23. On October 1, 1865, Peter McVicar, president of the board of trustees announced: "The first term of this institution will commence on Wednesday, November 15th, 1865."

78. Letter in Washburn Municipal University library. With it is filed a letter of Williston's, April 19, 1869, paying \$64 tuition. In 1868 he gave \$578 to the College. The *Cong. Record* of September, 1865, p. 59, stated:

"Rev. S. D. Bowker, the agent of Lincoln College, is still laboring in Maine. His object is to raise in that state enough to endow a Payson professorship."

79. *Ibid.*, December, 1865, p. 97.

tributor, he having given \$419.⁸⁰ Apparently not all of this materialized, since in July, 1867, the accounts of the college treasurer, William E. Bowker, revealed the amount of cash received from the East toward the "1st Endowment fund" as \$5,079.63, against which must be charged the expense of raising of \$2,762.77, leaving a balance of only \$2,316.86 actually realized by Lincoln College.⁸¹ In entire truth it could be concluded that the question of adequate finance was the *Number One* problem facing the infant college.

Although clearly intended by the general association to have come first, the endowment campaign in Kansas did not really get under way until late in 1865, after S. D. Bowker had completed his work in the East. It was announced in the December issue of *The Congregational Record*, "with a view of securing at once the amount recommended by the general association [\$10,000]."

His success at the East has been such as to impress the trustees with the belief that *now* is eminently a favorable time for prosecuting the effort. Mr. Bowker's report is as follows: Cash subscription \$11,000,⁸² Library and Cabinet, \$5,000. Total, \$16,000. There are also pledges made sufficient to warrant the expectation that the amount will be raised to over \$20,000; and all this in less than one year . . . , the agent has confined himself to personal and private efforts. . . . Most of the churches there contribute only to colleges endorsed by the society for the purpose of promoting collegiate and theological education at the West.

The article pointed out the necessity of raising the ten thousand dollar endowment in Kansas if they were to convince Easterners of their serious intent and obtain aid from the College society. "This would open the way to the wealthy churches of New England; and the agent, Rev. Mr. Bowker, is sanguine that in two years ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS can be secured."

Bro. Bowker purposes to be at Atchison, December 3d; at Leavenworth [*sic*], December 10; at Wyandotte, December 17th; at Lawrence, December 24th. . . . Brethren, do not wait . . . make special efforts, and send

80. Manuscript at Washburn Municipal University. There were several contributions of \$250 each, several of \$200 each, 17 of \$100 each, and some 40 of smaller amounts.

The unreliability of the published financial statements is repeatedly illustrated by a simple comparison of one with another, or by referring them to documents such as the above. This is probably explained by the propaganda value of previous contributions in the obtaining of added donations, or the fact that some "hoped for" contributions did not actually materialize.

81. Manuscript at Washburn Municipal University, entitled, "A Report of the Committee on Finances" (of the college trustees), signed by S. D. Storrs, Topeka, July 4, 1867. They had examined the books of W. E. Bowker, and found no error, they giving "a correct understanding of the financial condition of Lincoln Coll. . . ." (However, the report to the general association, May, 1866, made the amount of Eastern gifts and pledges, obtained chiefly through Bowker's efforts, as \$7,880.—*Cong. Record*, v. 8 [1866], August, p. 39.)

William E. Bowker, an incorporator and trustee of Lincoln College, and its first treasurer, came to Kansas in 1855. He was a member of the territorial legislature, of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and served as treasurer of Shawnee county. He died at Los Angeles, Cal., March 5, 1874.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, p. 636.

82. In view of the records quoted above, this sum is obviously exaggerated.

on your contributions, so that we may be able to report the amount complete by the first of January.⁸³

The next issue of the *Record* reported progress in the endowment campaign, with Grasshopper Falls pledging \$500, Atchison \$1,000 (excluding a like amount by Senator Pomeroy), and sizeable contributions at Leavenworth.⁸⁴ The work continued during the winter and spring months and when the general association met in May, 1866, a detailed report was rendered on Lincoln College. The Kansas contributions then amounted to \$8,160, with recent additions making a grand total of \$9,360—only \$640 short of the ten thousand dollar goal.⁸⁵ The report pointed out the importance of obtaining this amount as speedily as possible in order to promote the Eastern campaign, in particular the securing of aid from the College society.

An analysis of the "Kansas Endowment Fund," as it appeared in the records of the college treasurer, July 4, 1867, no doubt with added contributions made in the calendar year 1866-1867, revealed that of the total of \$9,382.97 then on the books, \$4,414.22 consisted of "Notes of Churches & individuals, all payable within nine years," and \$2,600 was listed as an "Unsecured pledge." However, cash in the amount of \$1,600 "from the Endowment fund" had been put into the college building.⁸⁶

Immediately upon the opening of the college in January, 1866, the problem of paying the teachers became so urgent that the trustees soon thereafter authorized the college treasurer to sell the land and town lots belonging to the college, "except the permanent site of the College," and also to make application for \$2,000 from the College society to pay the teachers for the coming year.⁸⁷ The

83. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), December, pp. 97, 98.

84. *Ibid.*, v. 7 (1866), January, p. 124. The circular *Lincoln College—Incorporation and Name* claimed that by February, 1866, a total of \$35,000 had been collected, in all forms, of which about \$20,000 came from Kansas.

85. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, pp. 37-41, appearing as "Report No. 4," entitled "Lincoln College." The subscriptions to the "Kansas Endowment Fund" included \$2,500 from the Leavenworth Congregational Church and Society, \$2,000 from the Atchison Congregational Church and Society (including \$1,000 from Senator Pomeroy), \$1,500 from the Lawrence Congregational Church and Society (including \$1,000 from Simpson Bros.), and \$275 from the Wyandotte Congregational Church and Society. Among the individual donations were \$1,000 from Senator Lane, a like amount from Judge Cooper of Wyandotte, and smaller sums from Hon. S. Clarke, Judge T. Ewing, M. P. Hillyer of Grasshopper Falls, Deacon Wm. Crosby and others. With the Eastern contributions the grand total of all donations to the college, including building, permanent site and a library of about 2,000 volumes, was placed at nearly \$30,000 in value.

86. "Report of the Committee on Finances," cited above.

87. "Minutes" of the meeting of the trustees, February 13, 1866, "First Secretary's Book," pp. 24, 25. McVicar, Cordley, Ritchie, W. E. Bowker, Rice and Smith were present. The College society was asked to endorse the plan to raise a \$50,000 endowment during the year. Favorable action by that organization was taken some months thereafter, but it was considerably later before any cash actually arrived in Kansas. This and other financial matters will be treated in the concluding installment of this article.

The tendency of the Kansas Congregationalists to go ahead in the face of urgent financial problems reveals a typically frontier state of mind. On more than one occasion it was remarked that when a worthy goal was determined as a matter of "divine plan," no obstacle of a "temporal" nature should be permitted to stand in the way.



ABOVE, THE BUILDING ERECTED IN 1865 FOR LINCOLN COLLEGE (NOW WASHBURN MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY), WHICH WAS LOCATED AT THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF TENTH AND JACKSON STREETS IN TOPEKA.

BELOW, THE SAME VIEW TODAY, SHOWING THE MEMORIAL BUILDING, WHICH HOUSES THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. THE GENERAL OFFICE BUILDING OF THE SANTA FE RAILROAD IS IN THE BACKGROUND.





A 1948 AIR VIEW OF WASHBURN UNIVERSITY, SINCE 1874 LOCATED ON ITS PRESENT CAMPUS IN SOUTHWEST TOPEKA

\$100,000 endowment envisioned by the incorporators and held up as a goal in the articles of association was still a hope of the future. Despite notable success in the two endowment campaigns, many of the contributions had not been in the form of ready cash, the obtaining of which remained the most pressing problem facing Lincoln College.

CONSTRUCTION

Early in February, 1865, at the first meeting of the college trustees, a building committee had been chosen, composed of John Ritchie, W. E. Bowker and Ira H. Smith, and instructed "to select a site for a preparatory school and contract for the building of a two-story house the cost of which shall not exceed seven thousand dollars. . . ." ⁸⁸ This was quite in accord with the sage advice of Amos A. Lawrence, a decade previous, that a preparatory school must precede a college, in order to obtain students properly qualified for higher instruction. ⁸⁹

The "Davis claim" had been ceded by John Ritchie to the college immediately after its incorporation as the most appropriate place for the "permanent site," but it was rather remote from the existing settlement of Topeka. The trustees now purchased lots on the northeast corner of Tenth and Jackson streets for \$400, where, on an eminence affording a fine view of the state house grounds and Topeka, they planned a temporary site for the academy and college-to-be. They intended to sell the building and grounds to the city as a school when college structures were erected on the permanent site. ⁹⁰ The following narrative of May, 1865, is one of the best:

A preparatory building, fifty-four by thirty-two feet, two stories high, at a cost of \$3,000, including site and seats, is now being erected, and according to the stipulations of the contract, to be finished by the first of October next.

It is located on a beautiful spot facing the Capitol grounds, with a view of selling it to the city for a public school edifice, whenever the time shall come to erect the regular college building on the permanent site. Including the preparatory building and the permanent site, the citizens of Topeka will have given the sum of \$10,000, double the amount contemplated by the original condition of location. ⁹¹

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

89. Lawrence to Dr. Charles Robinson, dated Boston, November 21, 1854, in "Copies of Letters of Amos A. Lawrence," p. 42.

90. Due to the unfortunate lack of Topeka newspapers for this time and the absence of any mention in the trustees' records, contemporary accounts are virtually impossible to find, compelling the present writer to piece together stray bits of information.

91. Report of the committee on education to the general association, cited above, in *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, p. 9. In July, 1865, *The Home Missionary*, New York (v. 38, p. 81), published an account of Lincoln College which mentioned the "substantial and elegant building for Preparatory and Scientific Departments, which is under contract now, to be completed by the first of next October."

By late summer of 1865 the work of construction was well advanced, as is apparent in the following accounts:

The preparatory building of this institution is progressing rapidly. It is now ready for the roof. It is to be completed by October. The design of the Trustees is to open the preparatory and scientific departments next fall. Steps are being taken to secure an experienced Academical teacher to act as Principal of these departments. Arrangements will also be made to furnish facilities to students from abroad to form boarding clubs with a view to reduce expenses. Circulars will be issued in due time.

COMMERCIAL COLLEGE—Messrs. Mills & Fowler . . . have made their Commercial College at Topeka one of the finest institutions of Kansas. . . . They are about to rent rooms in the Lincoln College Building; thus combining the benefits of both institutions to all the students in attendance.⁹²

According to the *Reminiscences* of Harvey D. Rice, he was the contractor responsible for erection of the building. The narrative of this college trustee gives a vivid picture of the trials and tribulations which confronted the builders:

The trustees secured plans and specifications for a building fifty-four by thirty-two feet, two stories high, and advertised for sealed proposals to build the same, naming a day to meet and to open bids, and award contracts. The day named we met, but to our surprise there had not been a bid presented. Upon inquiry among the builders we were informed that we did not have money to pay for the building, and one builder informed me that we had nothing but a subscription book and it took money to put up buildings. Thus the contractors stopped us. I did not much like to be stopped in that way, and after carefully examining the plans and specifications I submitted a proposition to the trustees to put up the building for the estimated cost, which was \$7,000. My proposition was accepted. I went to work early in the spring of 1865 while United States soldiers were stationed at Topeka, some of whom, from the State of Maine and Massachusetts, I employed to dig trenches for a foundation of the building. The building was to be of stone, with inside work and roof of shingles to be of pine. I hauled with my own team the pine lumber from Atchinson [*sic*] and Leavenworth. In the fall the Kansas Pacific railroad was completed to Lawrence and I got the finishing lumber there. I did my hauling with one three yoke ox team and two two-horse teams. . . . The stone for the building were all drawn by my ox team. Native lumber was sawed on the Wakarusa, twelve miles south. With the aid of my two oldest boys and one man in addition to the hauling of material, I raised that year, four thousand bushels of corn. The building was completed on time to the satisfaction of the trustees, to whom it was delivered by me with all bills paid and receipted for.⁹³

92. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), August, p. 45. The *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College—1865*, issued later that year, made a similar announcement as to the commercial college. Because of the absence of later references to it, however, the writer does not believe it located in the college building.

93. *Reminiscences*, quoted above, pp. 12, 13. "The school continued in the Academy building corner of Tenth and Jackson until 1872, when it was sold to the city of Topeka for \$15,000 in city bonds. . . . This together with other donations from the citizens of Topeka and elsewhere paid for the first building erected on the college site purchased in

The college building was completed late in 1865, but the opening of the new institution was delayed until the following January. A circular of 1866 described the structure as very beautiful:

An elegant stone edifice for the Preparatory Department was completed in the Autumn of 1865, at an expense, including furniture, of \$10,000. The building is located at the South East corner of Capitol Square, one of the most slightly positions in the city. Its rooms for recitation and general exercises will accommodate some 150 students; besides these it has rooms for Library and Cabinet. . . .⁹⁴

A minister at Rochester (about four miles north of Topeka), who enjoyed a fine view of Topeka and Lincoln College, later wrote:

Looking from my window, I single out a neat and beautiful stone structure, the nucleus of what shall constitute the Lincoln College buildings. A glance at that may well call out thanksgiving to God; for there, we trust, numerous youths will fit themselves for important posts of usefulness.⁹⁵

LINCOLN COLLEGE OPENS

With the construction of the college building proceeding so well, by late summer of 1865 the trustees made plans to open the preparatory and scientific departments in the fall of the year. At a meeting on August 29 they set the third Wednesday of November as the opening day. In the October *Congregational Record* Peter McVicar, as president of the board of trustees, formally announced the opening date as November 15, and sketched the plans for the college, many of which were still incomplete. His announcement follows:

LINCOLN COLLEGE

The first term of this institution will commence on Wednesday, November 15th, 1865.

Beside the College course proper there will be Preparatory, Scientific and Industrial Departments.

1859. The first sod on that land was turned in June, 1872. I spent that summer superintending the erection of that college building, which cost \$65,000 [Rice Hall]. . . ."

After the academy building became the property of the city of Topeka, it was first known as the Washburn school and later the Jackson school. A photograph of this structure is shown facing p. 48. The site is now occupied by the Memorial building, which houses the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.

94. *Lincoln College, Incorporation and Name.* In his *Historical Sketch* (op. cit., p. 6), Peter McVicar said the building was regarded as "one of the finest edifices in the city."

The following from the accounts of the college treasurer throws light on the cost of construction. It is copied from the "Report of the Committee on Finances," July 4, 1867, previously quoted:

Coll. Building

Amount put into the building by the people of Topeka in cash, labor, &	
proceeds from sale of real estate.....	\$4,109.24
Lots on which the building stands.....	400.00
Cash from the Endowment fund put into the building.....	1,600.00
Cash advanced by the Treas. W. E. Bowker Esq.....	1,355.77
Total cost of building and land.....	\$7,465.01
(\$2,955.77 was then due on the building to the endowment fund and to W. E. Bowker, toward which notes of Topekaans were on hand to the amount of only \$1,000.)	

95. The Rev. R. Paine in *The Home Missionary*, v. 39 (1866), November, pp. 161, 162. A description of the interior of the building will appear in the concluding installment of his article.

The design of the Preparatory Department is to fit the students for college.

It will be the object of the Scientific and Industrial Departments to prepare young men and women, as effectually as possible in a three year's course, for the earnest duties and practical relations of life.

These Departments, for the present, will be under the charge of Rev. S. D. Bowker, as Principal.

It is intended to form a Freshman class in the full collegiate course at once, and all who wish to pursue a course of study similar to that adopted in the best Eastern colleges, will be greatly benefitted by entering Lincoln College at the commencement of the first term.

Competent and able Professors will be secured as soon as their services are needed.

A cabinet of minerals has been obtained at the East for the college. A choice lot of philosophical instruments has been promised. A library of about two thousand volumes, one of the best collections in the State, will be accessible to all the students of the institution.

Several scholarships are endowed to educate, free of tuition, *soldiers* or the *children* of soldiers who have suffered or died in the war.

A sufficient sum has also been placed, by a benevolent individual at the East, at the disposal of the Trustees, to pay for three years the tuition of twelve or fifteen students, taking precedence in the following order: 1st, children of Home Missionaries of all evangelical denominations; 2d, students having the ministry in view; 3d, pious scholars studying to become teachers.

Persons desiring to be admitted to the collegiate or other departments, should present themselves for examination at the College building, Topeka, on Tuesday, the 14th of November, between the hours of 10 o'clock A. M. and 4 o'clock P. M.

By order of the Trustees.

P. McVICAR, President of the Board.

TOPEKA, October 1st, 1865.⁹⁶

At a meeting of the college trustees, probably held late in October, 1865, the Rev. Horatio Q. Butterfield of Rockville, Conn., was appointed to the chair of professor of Greek and Latin languages and the Rev. George H. Collier of Wheaton, Ill., to that of professor of mathematics. The names of both men came before the trustees with very high recommendations as to character and competence in their several departments.⁹⁷ Samuel D. Bowker was already titular professor of English literature and history, as well as principal of the

96. This appeared as a full-page announcement on the back cover of the *Cong. Record* of October, 1865 (v. 7, No. 5); also on the back side of the front cover of the November issue (v. 7, No. 6).

97. *Ibid.*, v. 7 (1865), December, p. 109; "Report No. 4" on "Lincoln College," presented to the general association in May, 1866, and cited above. Since it is omitted from the "First Secretary's Book," the exact date of this meeting of the trustees is in doubt. The December, 1865, issue of the *Record* remarked: "THE COLLEGE BUILDING is now complete. The condition on which the institution was located at Topeka, is fulfilled. The edifice, including site and furniture, costs over \$8,000. The permanent site is appraised at \$2,400."

Horatio Q. Butterfield did not formally accept the offer of the trustees until May 30, 1866, and was not in residence during the first two terms of this college year. His important role will be discussed in the concluding installment of this article.

preparatory department, but due to his activities as financial agent he was relieved of work as a teacher and, during the spring term of 1866, E. H. Hobart, formerly of the Baraboo Institute of Wisconsin, was made acting professor of natural science and principal of the preparatory and scientific departments.⁹⁸

When the appointment of faculty members had been completed and other preparatory matters arranged, a *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College, 1865*, was issued which presented the entire list of college trustees and members of the faculty. The latter follow:

COLLEGE FACULTY

S. D. BOWKER—Professor of English Literature and History.

REV. H. Q. BUTTERFIELD—Professor of Greek and Latin Languages [arrived later].

G. H. COLLIER—Professor of Mathematics.

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT

S. D. BOWKER—Principal of Preparatory Course.

G. H. COLLIER—Principal of Scientific Course.

MISS MINNIE V. OTIS—Teacher of French, Instrumental Music, Drawing and Painting.

L. H. PLATT—Teacher of Vocal Music.

N. T. TOWNSEND—Teacher of Penmanship.⁹⁹

The *Circular and Prospectus* stated that the studies to be taught in the collegiate course would be identical with those "taught in the first Colleges of the East, such as Harvard and Yale," and listed those for the preparatory course.¹⁰⁰ Those to be admitted to the "Preparatory and Scientific Course should be familiar with Geography and the first principles of English Grammar and Arithmetic"; those planning to enter the four-year "Collegiate Course, will be examined in the studies taught in the Preparatory Department of this Institution." The trustees aimed to make the work of all depart-

98. "Report No. 4," entitled, "Lincoln College," cited above.

99. *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College, 1865*, hereafter cited as *Circular and Prospectus, 1865*. The college catalogue for 1865-1866, issued later, leaves blank the position of president, who was also to be "Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy."

"Prof. Collier has for nine years been a successful and leading instructor in Wheaton College, Illinois. Rev. Mr. Butterfield, but a few years since received the commendation from Edward Everett, of being a *finished classical scholar*, and Mr. Bowker has had several years experience as a successful teacher in the New England Institutions of Learning. . . . In addition . . . the trustees have secured . . . several competent instructors to assist in the Preparatory Course. Among these is Miss Minnie V. Otis, who has just completed a course of study at the celebrated Seminary for young ladies at Troy, N. Y., and who will give lessons in French, Music and Drawing."—*Circular and Prospectus, 1865*.

100. Other matters discussed by the *Circular and Prospectus* included the library, cabinet of minerals, calendar for the year, tuition fees and worship—subjects that will be treated in more detail in the concluding installment of this article. Tuition for the collegiate course was set at \$12 per term, the year 1866 being divided into three terms of approximately three months each, with the college closed during July and August. The fee for the preparatory and scientific course was fixed at \$6 per term. Special fees were charged for the study of French (\$6), instrumental music (\$15), use of piano (\$6), drawing (\$6), oil painting (\$13), and penmanship (\$3), to contribute to the support of the two instructors—Miss Otis and Mr. Townsend.

ments "thorough and effective." Consequently the "standard is far in advance of any other College this side of the Missouri river, and equal to that of any in the land. The Preparatory Course affords a thorough preparation to enter any college in the country."¹⁰¹ After the college opened the topics discussed in the *Circular and Prospectus* were further amplified in the first college catalogue.¹⁰²

In the *Circular and Prospectus* the date of opening of Lincoln College was postponed to January 3, 1866, a change probably necessitated by the many problems incident to the launching of such an institution on the border. Conditions not yet being ripe for the college proper, only the preparatory department began work at this time. Although mentioned in later accounts,¹⁰³ no adequate description has come down to us of this eventful day. Would the glowing promises made in founding the college be fulfilled in the days ahead? Dedicated to freedom and the principles of the Pilgrim forefathers, Lincoln College had been established primarily to serve the cause of religion by raising up a trained ministry in its behalf. In the words of the committee on education of the general association:

It is this *religious* feature which commends Lincoln College to the confidence, the prayers and the liberal support of all christian people. . . . The NAME of the Institution is peculiarly appropriate. . . . No less appropriate is the *location* of Lincoln College. . . . How fitting, then, that an institution, designed partly as a MEMORIAL to Abraham Lincoln and the triumph of freedom over slavery, should be located in the State of Kansas, midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, at the very heart of the nation, now evermore consecrated to civil and religious liberty. . . . May it be "like a tree planted by the rivers of water," whose leaves even shall be "for the healing of the nations."¹⁰⁴

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of LINCOLN COLLEGE, for the Winter and Spring Term of 1865-1866* (Topeka, 1866).

103. In his *Historical Sketch* (*op. cit.*, p. 6), Peter McVicar wrote: "The school, as an academic department, was opened in the new building January 3, 1866, under the charge of the late Rev. Samuel D. Bowker as principal, and Prof. Geo. H. Collier, now of Oregon State University, and Edward F. Hobart, Esq., of Las Vegas, New Mexico, as assistants."

104. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, pp. 37-41.

[Part Two, the Concluding Installment, Entitled "Later History and Change of Name," Will Appear in the May, 1950, Issue]

A Glimpse of Kansas 90 Years Ago

I. INTRODUCTION

THE hazards of traveling in Kansas, in February, 1860, were graphically recorded in the following letter from William Addison Phillips to his wife (Margaret Carraway Spilman) under date of February 17, 1860. The letter was among other papers recently received by the Kansas State Historical Society from Mrs. H. M. Korns of Salina, a granddaughter.

W. A. Phillips (1824-1893) was born in Scotland, and came to Kansas in 1855, via southern Illinois where he had lived since the late 1830's. He arrived as a special correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, with a background of journalistic and legal training, and stayed to be one of the most outspoken of Free-State writers and politicians. His *The Conquest of Kansas* . . ., published in 1856, was one of the important books of the period.

In 1858 he headed a party which founded Salina. In 1859 he was married. During the Civil War he served with distinction, becoming colonel of the Third Indian (Cherokee) regiment. He was a congressman from Kansas during the years 1873 to 1879. A legal practice, and writing filled most of the other years. Phillips wrote voluminously on many subjects, but taxation was his particular interest. He died at Fort Gibson, I. T., but is buried at Salina.

II. THE LETTER

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, Sunday, Feb. 17 /60

MY OWN SWEET WIFE,

I would have written to you yesterday, but was very busy, but knew that a letter to-day, or perhaps even to-morrow or next day would reach you just as soon.

I did *not* get in on Monday night, as I wrote from Junction City, but late, late on Thursday night, or Friday morning. I was very much fatigued and rather weather beaten, but am getting better—but let me relate my trip to you in detail.

I left Salina on Tuesday morning— stuck at the Saline, and toiled in the snow two hours. Then struggled on to Solomon that night my horses weak and lame. Next day stalled in snow drifts, as I had done the day before, at least a dozen times, had to tie a rope round the hind axle, and pull out back, and then try a new place. I got into Junction after ma[n]y adventures on Friday

morning shod my horses, and tried to get to Manhattan, but failed. Night came on me, and in the dark, and a storm of wind and rain I stopped at a Creek 2 miles from Manhattan. It rained all night and in the morning Manhattan was a sea—the houses Islands. The river had not yet broken up, and fearing that it would and keep me on the north side of it for a week I crossed the ferry at Manhattan. The twelve miles to Waubonsa I had to travel through snow sludge and water lakes, the water knee deep for a mile or two at a place. At Wabonsa I found the Creeks, and even small runs getting up to swimming depth and my horses had sore shoulders bloody feet, and were completely exhausted I drove a mile and a half out of town to Enoch Plattes.

Mr. Platte was away but his wife told me I was as welcome as if he had been there. I got my horses put out of the cold rain in a good barn and plenty of Hungarian Grass. Next morning I went to church alone, (it was bad weather) I went home with the preacher, Mr. (I forget his name, a Congregational preacher) to tea. After tea Lines made me go to his house next morning when I got ready to start I found Jim had got the colic with eating too much of the Hungarian Grass. Plattes people kindly urged me to stay. Crossed two creeks that day, and at night (four oclock afternoon) got down in the Pottawattomie reserve to Mill Creek, there a broad river running very high. I had to wait until next day at two o'clock for the river to fall enough to cross, and after riding over once or twice on Jim, feeling the bottom with a pole I cross[ed]; having propped up the wagon bed to keep it above the water, and got through safely.

I reached Mission Creek (12 miles) that night, having left the Topeka road, and striking over for Auburn, on the Salina road, so as to head the creeks, and see Mr. Fox about buying the robes. Passed a dreary rainy sleety night. Next day it snowed, drove as rapidly as I could, got to Auburn at noon, the stone bridge was washed away on the Salina road, and in a heavy shower, about one o'clock had to cut out a road through the thicket and cross at an old ford above. Got completely wet. Wind turned to the north then it snowed and froze. When I got to Fox's they looked alarmed as if they were afraid I had come to visit them. His second wife, a neat precise looking wom—(no, lady) looked as if she feared I would dirty her house with my dripping clothes. I learned that he had not now the money that he expected to pay me for the robes, and so I was disappointed in selling them. I drove off and put my

horses in an empty house, curried them dry and fed them, and then went up to the printing office to get my papers and dry myself.

It got colder, and was snowing hard, but knowing I could not reach Lawrence in one day more, the way the roads were, unless I hurried, I hitched up again and drove three miles through the storm that even. Stopped at a deserted house (there are many deserted houses here), got a fire in an old stove, and my horses in a shed, and tried to get dry, and cook a little coffee, and toast some of the bread. The provisions you gave me lasted me all the way, as I bought nothing. On Thursday morning I started, and drove all day, stopping twice to feed. At dark I was still ten miles from Lawrence, and the roads very bad but I pushed on, and reached our old Walnut house about one o'clock of a dark, cold night, or morning. How cheerfully would I have driven that night's drive had you been there, but Lawrence did not look like home—the house did not look like home. I[t] was empty dirty, and desolate.

In the morning, I am sorry to have to relate to you that I found the house had been robbed. Alexis must have left the kitchen door badly fastened. At all events the book box, the barrel, trunks, &c &c and the box of hardware in the kitchen had been thoroughly ransacked and everything of value taken. I learned that some mischievous people or their children had been there, and I made two visits. I recovered only one smoothing Iron, and a few books, but very little of what had been taken. The flax carpet, wall paper and a number of magazines, and the rest of your smoothing irons gone.

On Friday I ate the last of my provisions, as did my horses the last of the hay and corn I had brought with me. For the last four days I had coffee (not good) and toast with a little mollasses. Still I kept very well and vigorous.

Finding provisions high. It was very cold. No fire in the house. My boots were froze and I could not get them on— so I accepted an invitation of Mr. Bacon to use his cellar office to sit read and write in and board with him at \$3 per week. So here I am quite comfortable, *only away from home*.

I have been very busy since noon Friday,—which time it was before I got everything fixed right about the house— and put the robes in it. Since then I have settled a few accounts due here, and *tried* to collect, but have not got a cent. I have hunted up most of my old buyers of furs, but none of them have any money, and I have no wish to sell on credit. On Monday morning a Mr. Hill — my old customer will be here, and I shall try and sell them

to him— There is no money here. Furs are low, and times more wretchedly hard than ever. I shall do the best I can, but it is dreadful up hill work just now. After I see Mr. Hill I have to ride to Tecumseh tomorrow to see a saw mill. It is 21 miles, 42 going and coming. If I get back tomorrow at all it will be very late. I shall probably have to be here all this next week at least. The horses are sore and the roads are impassible for a load. The river here is high and full of ice. A hundred wagons of relief goods wait at the other side unable to cross. I have no time for politics in this, but they are all engrossing. I shall write you when I come back from Tecumseh. Tell Alex Campbell not to give more than 50c for large and 25c for small wolfskins in trade as I fear that is all it will be possible to get for them in St. Louis or anywhere. I fear the country is on the verge of civil war. Adieu my love. Kiss John and "doodl-oodle" for papa.

Your Affectionate Husband

WM. A. PHILLIPS.

The Annual Meeting

THE seventy-fourth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 18, 1949.

The meeting of the directors was called to order by President R. F. Brock at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 18, 1949

At the conclusion of last year's meeting, the newly elected president, R. F. Brock, reappointed John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. The members holding over were Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and Milton R. McLean.

APPROPRIATIONS

The 1949 legislature granted a number of increases for the biennium which began July 1. The principal item was \$92,000 for new steel shelving, which included a reappropriation of \$38,000. Of this sum, \$60,000 will be spent for two floors of shelving above the present library and for a book elevator which will service eight floors of newspaper and library stacks. The \$32,000 balance will provide two floors of shelving in the basement for the archives division. Another important item was an increase of \$10,000 a year in the microfilm fund, making a total of \$20,000 a year for that division. A large part of this increase will be used for microfilming archives records.

A bill for increased salaries for members of the staff was introduced by Senators Beck and Porter at the beginning of the session. Later it was suggested by the senate fees and salaries committee that the Society's salaries be placed under the merit system. It will be remembered that when the system was established the Society, at our request, was not included. This year, however, it was felt best to accept the recommendation. For the most part, the increased salaries which became effective July 1 are satisfactory—or will be satisfactory when the maximum amounts within the ranges are reached. Two exceptions are the increases for the librarian and the state archivist, and it is hoped that an adjustment of their salaries can be made.

There has been some criticism of the merit system and there will always be attacks by some politicians, but on the whole it is operating effectively. It is my belief that few department heads, either elective or appointive, would choose to return to the spoils system, though they might not say so at party meetings. Experience so far does not appear to bear out the claim that inefficient people are frozen on the job, for they can always be reduced in grade or discharged for cause. The Historical Society, fortunately, has never been subject to political influence. There was a time, however, when our janitors were political appointees—when they could and did tell us how much and how little they would work. Until they were transferred to the Society it was

impossible to keep the Memorial building presentable. In my opinion, so long as there is no deliberate attack on the merit system by the party in office, as has been the case lately in Missouri, it will work to the advantage of both employees and the state.

LIBRARY

During the year 2,927 persons did research in the library. Of these, 1,215 worked on Kansas subjects, 995 on genealogy and 717 on general subjects. Numerous inquiries were answered by letter and 125 packages on Kansas subjects were sent out from the loan file. A total of 3,150 newspaper clippings were mounted from papers covering January 1, 1948, through March, 1949.

The library has become a repository for the Music Library Association, whose object is to preserve musical materials of local and regional interest. Help from individuals and institutions in collecting material will be appreciated.

Many gifts of Kansas books and genealogies were received from individuals. Typed and printed genealogical records were presented by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Colonial Dames presented a microfilm copy of the federal census of 1850 for Indiana. The 1850 census was the first in which the names of all members of families were included. Gifts from the Woman's Kansas Day Club included music, books, pamphlets and clippings. A microfilm copy of a thesis by Joseph Wade, "A History of Kansas Trails and Roads," has been added to the library.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year, 219 pictures were classified and catalogued and added to the picture collection. Among them was an oil portrait of Sen. Arthur Capper, painted by A. L. Tice, and presented by the Capper employees.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

The 1949 legislature authorized an assistant archivist, who began work on July 1. Plans and specifications for the new steel shelving are now being drawn up by the state architect. It is hoped that this work, which will be included in the same contract with the new library stacks, will be completed by early spring. When this is done it will be possible to go ahead with plans to film a substantial portion of the most bulky archival material. Pending installation of the stacks, no effort has been made to secure new archives accessions during the year. For this reason, too, the transfer of several groups of materials from the state house has been postponed. As a result, the division reports only the accessioning of the statistical rolls of Kansas counties for 1942, statistical rolls of Kansas cities for 1948 and 1949, and abstracts of statistical rolls for Kansas counties, 1940-1942. These total 4,599 volumes.

The State Board of Engineering Examiners recently filmed its "Engineering Applicants' Folders," 1931-1948, and its annual reports and rosters, 1932-1948, in order to eliminate unnecessary handling of the original records. Positive film copies were retained for current office use, while the negatives in 21 reels were deposited with the Historical Society as a protective measure.

MANUSCRIPTS DIVISION

Acquisitions of this division for the year were 78 manuscript volumes, four microfilm reels of manuscript material, and approximately 8,250 individual manuscripts.

The two largest collections received were the papers of George A. Root and Oscar K. Swayze. Both men spent most of their lives in Topeka, were long-time friends, and both died in 1949. George A. Root, who had worked for the Historical Society for more than 50 years, kept personal diaries covering the years 1885 to 1949. These, and a vast amount of data on Topeka and Shawnee county history, are of particular value. Also of interest are the papers of his father, Frank A. Root, an early-day Overland stage messenger and agent, and newspaper publisher of Kansas. The Swayze papers cover the years 1856-1949. Of special note are records of the Topeka Republican Flambeau Club, a colorful political organization of the 1880's and 1890's.

From Will T. Beck came 33 letters written between 1887 and 1898 by and to his father, M. M. Beck, Holtón newspaperman. They deal largely with state and local political matters. Among the writers were John J. Ingalls, Preston B. Plumb, E. N. Morrill and D. R. Anthony.

A group of Ottawa Chautauqua Assembly papers (1882-1901) given by Ben F. Bowers, of Ottawa, contains letters with autographs of William Jennings Bryan, Admiral George Dewey, Booker T. Washington, Frances E. Willard, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, and other famous Americans.

Interesting details of pioneer life in territorial Kansas are contained in a diary for six months of 1858, kept by John H. Deering who settled in Palmyra, Douglas county, in that year. This volume was lent to the Society for copying by Dr. Homer K. Ebright of Baker University, Baldwin.

Through J. R. Hubbard of the Santa Fe railroad, the Society received photostats of 40 letters which the railroad's founder, Cyrus K. Holliday, wrote to his family between 1864 and 1883.

A "Special Order Book," of the former army post, Fort Hays, has been microfilmed through the courtesy of Dr. Raymond L. Welty of Fort Hays Kansas State College. The volume includes orders dated between October 15, 1866, and May 26, 1868, some of them detailing troops to protect the mail and the stations on the Smoky Hill route from Indian depredations. United States troops stationed at this post, which was first called Fort Fletcher, included companies of the Third, Nineteenth, Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth infantry regiments.

From Frank Hodges, Olathe, the Society received 11 ledgers and day books of the Hodges Brothers, lumber dealers in Olathe. These volumes cover the years from 1888 to 1900, and are valuable for their detailed records of prices and business methods.

An account of life in Topeka is contained in the diaries of Mrs. Martha V. Farnsworth. These records for the years 1882-1897, 1899, 1902-1922, were given by Mrs. Lucille V. Farnsworth of Topeka. Other papers received in this collection include 34 letters (1870-1898) by William Blackford to H. W. Farnsworth, relating to settlement of Indian depredations claims.

Fifty-two Civil War letters (1862-1864) by Cyrus Leland, Jr., a lieutenant in the Tenth Kansas infantry, written from various points in Kansas and

Missouri, to his mother and brother, were given the Society by Charles Hayden, of Topeka.

Mrs. Sara Morse of Mound City gave 89 letters mostly written by her father, Dr. Joseph H. Trego. The letters of the 1857-1858 period concern his coming to Kansas and his life in Mound City; those of the 1861-1864 period tell of his Civil War experiences as a lieutenant in the Fifth Kansas cavalry.

Four diaries of L. H. Riddle, of Marion county, covering the years 1887-1891, were lent the Society for copying by his son Kenyon Riddle, of Raton, N. M. These volumes contain family notes, items about local events, and political comment from the Democratic viewpoint.

The autobiography of Elbert Olin Raymond, a Methodist minister in Kansas from 1888 to 1921, was received from his grandson, Robert S. Raymond of Las Cruces, N. M. Pastorates held by the Rev. E. O. Raymond included Herington, Topeka, Overbrook, Scranton, Havensville, Centralia, Olivet, Dunlap and Mount Ida.

Early records (1865-1889) of Lincoln College, later Washburn, including articles of incorporation, by-laws, faculty constitution and minutes of trustees' meetings, from a volume belonging to Washburn Municipal University, were microfilmed through the courtesy of Richard Vogel, treasurer.

Also microfilmed were two record books (1859-1861) of Edward E. Oakley, who lived in Lecompton, and later in Bourbon county. These were lent by Mrs. Sidney Milbauer of West Hollywood, Cal. The first book includes a diary of Oakley's overland journey from Lecompton to the gold mines of Colorado in 1859 which is of particular interest.

Other donors were: Dr. George Anderson, Lawrence; F. C. Bartlett, Topeka; Cecil Baxter, Jr., Salina; George H. Browne, Kansas City, Mo.; Arthur Capper, Topeka; Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa, Okla.; Crawford County Historical Society; Mrs. O. P. Dellinger, Pittsburg; Lillian Forrest, Jewell; Grant W. Harrington, Kansas City, Kan.; Dr. Nate Harwood, Manhattan; Irving Hill, Lawrence; Mrs. Lalla B. Jacobs, Washington, D. C.; U. M. Grant Jeffreys, Monmouth, Ill.; Legislative Wives; Louise McLellan, Topeka; Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Topeka; May E. Murphy, Meade; Mrs. Fred R. Niehaus, Boulder, Colo.; Rev. J. J. Runyon, Duluth, Minn.; Judge J. C. Rupenthal, Russell; Shawnee County Historical Society; W. C. Simons, Lawrence; Lena Martin Smith, Pittsburg; Marjorie Stauffer, Pasadena, Cal.; R. C. Wagner, Kansas City; William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indianapolis, Ind.; James M. Williams, Jr., Trinidad, Colo.; Robert L. Williams, St. Petersburg, Fla., and the Woman's Kansas Day Club.

MICROFILM DIVISION

Nearly 1,500,000 pages of Kansas newspapers have now been photographed. Major projects for the year were the filming of the *Iola Register*, the Lawrence *Daily World*, *Weekly World*, and the *Daily Journal-World*.

The *Iola Register* film, which ran to 174 reels, covered issues from 1869 through 1947, a total of 79 years. Angelo Scott, publisher of the *Register*, is now having current issues of the paper filmed by a commercial concern. A copy of this film is being donated by Mr. Scott to the Society.

The Leavenworth *Times* film made 286 reels and covered the period from September 17, 1868, through 1944, a total of nearly 77 years. The publisher, Dan Anthony, III, has also planned to microfilm current issues.

Photographing is completed on the Lawrence *Daily World* from March 3, 1892, through February 18, 1911, the *Weekly World* from March 11, 1892, through March 25, 1909, and the *Daily Journal-World* from February 20, 1911, through December 31, 1945. At present, the Lawrence *Daily Gazette*, beginning October 1, 1884, one of the predecessors of the *Journal-World*, is being photographed.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

Four hundred and sixteen certified copies of census records were issued last month, a record that has not been equalled since early in the war. It is interesting to note that most of the requests now come by mail. Letters are being received from all parts of the United States and especially from California. A number of the applicants are old enough to be eligible for pensions of various kinds, and it is from this age class that many of the requests are coming. Copies of the census records, which the Society has been issuing for years without charge, can be used in many ways, including the filing of claims for old-age assistance, social security, railroad retirement, pensions and insurance endowments; for delayed birth certificates and passports, and to prove citizenship. Even after death, relatives in many instances have been asked to secure a certified record showing the age of the deceased.

How long this increased demand will keep up, no one knows. Perhaps it is becoming necessary for everyone, living or dead, to have documents on file proving his age and date of birth.

During the year, 3,186 patrons called in person at the newspaper and census divisions. Seventeen thousand three hundred single issues of newspapers, 5,878 bound volumes of newspapers and 879 microfilm reels were consulted; 5,699 census volumes were searched and from them 3,430 certified copies of family age records were issued.

The 1949 annual *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was distributed in September. This is the 54th issue since the Society's organization. The 1949 *List* shows 686 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. These include 57 dailies, one triweekly, 15 semiweeklies, 385 weeklies, 16 fortnightlies, 25 semimonthlies, three once every three weeks, 118 monthlies, 17 bimonthlies, 27 quarterlies, 19 occasionals, one semiannual, and two annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 686 publications, 253 are listed as independent, 120 Republican and 19 as Democratic in politics; 90 are school or college, 39 religious, 22 fraternal, seven labor, seven industrial, 18 trade and 111 miscellaneous.

The Society's collection of Kansas newspapers, as of January 1, 1949, totaled 52,836 bound volumes, in addition to more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1949.

This Society has subscribed for microfilm copies of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* and *Star*. The service started with the issues of June 1, 1949. The film runs about one 100-ft. reel for every ten days of papers, or three rolls per month.

Among the donors of newspapers during the year, exclusive of the editors of Kansas, were: *Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, January 15 and 22, 1846, from Genevieve Scheer, Chapel Hill, N. C.; *Topeka Daily Blade*, February 21, 1876-February 28, 1878, from Oscar Swayze, Topeka; and a miscellaneous collection of World War I papers, including *Camp Dodger*,

St. Nazaire, France, May 17, 1919, from M. W. Tuttle of Topeka; *Coming Back*, New York, March 21, 1919, *Plane News*, France, January 5, 1918-March 22, 1919, *The Gangplank News*, St. Nazaire, France, May 8 and 13, 1919, from L. C. Rusmisl of Topeka, and *The Stars and Stripes*, France, March, 1918-May 9, 1919, from L. C. Rusmisl and Polly Nowers of Topeka.

ANNALS OF KANSAS

Compilation of the "Annals" has been completed to 1913. The work began four years ago with the year 1886. In the past year six "Annals" years were compiled. In addition, proceedings of 65 organizations were recorded.

It may be of interest to note some of the events which took place in Kansas during the period just completed—1906 to 1912, inclusive. The University of Kansas, for example, developed the process of separating helium from gas. Kansas State College extended its teachings through farmers' institutes, dairy trains, county agents and boys and girls clubs. Dr. S. J. Crumline waged a swat-the-fly campaign and lowered infant mortality. Labor and industry reported fewer violations of the Eight-hour and Child Labor laws, together with improved working conditions, more arbitration and fewer strikes. Charles Curtis became senator in spite of White, Allen, Stubbs and Bristow, who said he was "nominated by men on passes." Capper lost the governorship to George Hodges because of the Progressive uprising and "misapprehension of the ballot." The Memorial building was under construction. George Root found the original draft of the Wyandotte constitution while searching for historic documents in the secretary of state's office. The Equal Suffrage law, the Blue Sky law and the Bank Guaranty law were passed. Wireless stations were installed at Fort Riley and Fort Leavenworth. Ed Howe divided his estate and retired to Potato Hill to edit his magazine. Deaths included those of Governors Morrill, Stanley and Glick, and Daniel Webster Wilder, Eugene Ware and Carry Nation.

Reading and checking "Annals" for the period entailed the handling of 1,700 bound newspaper volumes. The Topeka *Daily Capital* was read carefully for the gist of "Annals." Kansas City and Wichita dailies were read and checked with the *Capital* items. The Topeka *State Journal*, official state paper for the period, was also scanned closely. Over-the-state items were checked in local newspapers, which averaged 100 weeklies and 42 dailies for each "Annals" year. The microfilm was used for checking Iola and Leavenworth items.

Approximately 500 library volumes were handled in recording organization proceedings. They included bound volumes of transactions, pamphlets, programs, clippings and journals. Date, place of meeting and officers elected were recorded. Incomplete records were supplemented from newspapers wherever possible; for example, the Christian church, the YMCA and the State Dental Association's records. Other organizations which have not kept records, or at least have not filed them with the State Historical library, are being compiled. There are at least 25 of these "forgotten" groups, which include agriculture, professional, religious, educational, fraternal and sports organizations.

Summaries of the annual reports on population, finance, banks, insurance, labor and industry, agriculture, education, charitable institutions and public utilities conclude each "Annals" year. This entails the use of about 75 library

volumes. The library is also used for checking laws, legislators' records, biographies, book and magazine publications of Kansas writers, names, dates and initials. Charter books provide information for tables which show various developments in the state. Good roads movements were shown for the first time, and organized sports increased rapidly in the picture the charters present.

It takes two annalists an average of seven and a half weeks to read, check and write an "Annals" year. About half of that time is spent in reading. Checking has become easier, probably because of better news coverage and more daily papers. Manuscripts averaged 85 pages, making a total of 510 pages of typing, or about 150,000 words.

MUSEUM

The attendance for the year in the museum was 43,426. The largest number on any one day was 1,074, when the Santa Fe railroad sponsored a special educational tour.

There were 70 accessions. One of the most interesting was a Spanish sword given by Ray R. Kepley of Ulysses. It was found by Mr. Kepley in southwest Grant county in 1935, about 200 yards from the North fork of the Cimarron. The hilt bears the mark of Juan Morena, a principal swordsmith of Toledo before 1700. A Latin phrase on one side means "Everything From God." On the other side are Spanish words meaning "In Toledo."

An unusual cradle used from the early 1880's in the family of Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Gardner, Scranton, was given by their children.

A horse block from the home of Gov. John W. Leedy, Le Roy, was given by Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Colton of that city. The gift was made through Glick Fockele of Le Roy.

Civil War relics of Col. James M. Williams, 1st regiment Kansas Colored volunteers, were presented by his sons, James M. Williams, Jr., and Robert L. Williams.

A mounted steer head and an unusual pair of steer horns were given by Will J. Miller.

Three relics of horse and buggy days were a fellow trough, used for soaking wheel rims, gift of L. L. Culp, Burden; a corkscrew stake for tying horses and cattle, gift of Lydia Anna Eddleman, Hollenberg; and a hitching weight, gift of George Geisen, Topeka.

Gov. Frank Carlson sent to the Society a Sevres vase, a gift from Pres. Vincent Auriol of France. It was brought to Kansas on the "Merci Train."

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Extended research on the following subjects was done during the year: *Biography*: J. K. Coddling; Dr. John R. Brinkley. *General*: Geographic factors in railroad promotion of settlement in the central Great Plains; sugar beet industry; Santa Fe trail; railroad building in Kansas; building of the Union Pacific railroad; evolution of schools in Phillips county; Pottawatomie Indian agency, Horton, function, services, process of rehabilitation; pioneer credit in the Plains states; negro exodus to Kansas with special reference to Benjamin Singleton; Winter Veterans Hospital; legislative and congressional apportionment; history of the layout tools used in the wood-working shop; veterans problems in Kansas after the Civil War; people of Czech (Bo-

hemian) descent in Republic county, Kansas; pro-slavery activities as given in the Webb scrapbooks; bibliography of American autobiographies; social aspects of the distribution of the United States lands; Populism; Populist newspapers; Oklahoma territorial newspapers; negro troops in the Union army 1861-1865; state fair in Kansas; Miami Indians.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1948, to September 30, 1949

Library:

Books	874
Pamphlets	1,810
Magazines (bound volumes)	148

Archives:

Separate manuscripts	None
Manuscripts volumes	4,599
Manuscript maps	None
21 reels of microfilm.	

Private manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts	8,250
Volumes	78
4 reels of microfilm.	

Printed maps, atlases and charts	301
Newspapers (bound volumes)	662
Pictures	219
Museum objects	70

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1949

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	437,737
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,632,610
Manuscript volumes (archives)	52,973
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts	11,098
Pictures	23,937
Museum objects	33,421

THE QUARTERLY

The 17th bound volume of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, which is now in its 18th year, will soon be ready for distribution. A feature of this volume is the diary of James R. Stewart, who started as a farmer, studied and peddled medicine, studied and practiced law, and became a justice of the peace, post-master and school teacher all within five years.

Dr. Robert Taft's articles on the artists of the West continue to attract comment. Scribner's has arranged to reissue the articles in book form.

The *Quarterly* is widely quoted by Kansas newspapers, and apparently has even been heard of in Hollywood. Not long ago a man who lives in Spokane, Wash., wrote: "Gentlemen: Having just been able to debunk this new movie epic, 'Red River,' that showed Hereford cattle being driven into Abilene in 1867, with an article out of your August issue, I should like to get back on your subscription list. . . ."

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

During the past year sight-seers from 20 states and a number of foreign countries visited the Mission. Many groups came from over the state, and particularly from the two Kansas Citys. Regular visits are made by groups of boy scouts, girl scouts, Sunday schools, community centers and school grades. On one day 700 pupils from the Paseo high school at Kansas City were shown through the buildings. In this connection, the following letter from the Country Club Community Center of Kansas City, Mo., addressed to Harry Hardy, the custodian, will be of interest:

"On behalf of the staff of the Country Club Community Center, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for the fine spirit of coöperation which has been shown to us and our groups of boys and girls who have been visitors in your Mission.

"We know the results have been very satisfactory as the youngsters are more than enthusiastic. In fact, this phase of our summer program is one of the most popular and has the largest enrollment of all others.

"We realize that some groups have been quite large, but with the ingenuity of your guides, they have been handled very well. We want you to know that all of our groups were very well received by you and your staff, and we certainly appreciate this."

Minor repairs and improvements continue to be made on the buildings and grounds. A contract is being let for a new roof on the East building and the exterior woodwork on the three buildings will be painted early in the spring. The electric wiring in the East building has been largely replaced, to eliminate a fire hazard, and additional hose connections on the water system have been installed for the same purpose.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of 1812, and to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued coöperation at the Mission.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

Several years ago, when the cottage was erected for the caretaker at the First Capitol building, there was not enough money for installing electricity. Last winter the legislature appropriated money for this purpose, as well as for painting the cottage and outbuildings, and for repairing sidewalks and replacing trees and shrubs.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The various accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them. Special mention, perhaps, should be made of the heads of departments: Nyle H. Miller, assistant secretary and managing editor of the *Quarterly*; Helen M. McFarland, librarian; Edith Smelser, custodian of the museum; Mrs. Lela Barnes, treasurer; Edgar Langsdorf, archivist and manager of the building; and Jennie S. Owen, annalist. Attention should also be called to the work of Harry A. Hardy and his wife Kate, custodians of the Old Shawnee Mission, and to that of John Scott, custodian of the First Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,
KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Robert Taft moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by John S. Dawson and the report was accepted.

President Brock then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the audit of the state accountant for the period
August 17, 1948, to August 24, 1949.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 17, 1948:

Cash	\$4,055.56	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	8,700.00	
		<u>\$12,755.56</u>

Receipts:

Memberships	\$608.00	
Bond interest	242.50	
Reimbursement for postage	785.50	
Miscellaneous	3.35	
		<u>1,639.35</u>

\$14,394.91

Disbursements \$1,657.21

Balance, August 24, 1949:

Cash	\$4,037.70	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	8,700.00	
		<u>12,737.70</u>
		<u>\$14,394.91</u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 17, 1948:

Cash	\$164.08	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>\$1,114.08</u>

Receipts:

Bond interest	\$27.31	
Savings account interest	1.42	
		<u>28.73</u>

\$1,142.81

Disbursements:

Books	\$29.25	
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Balance, August 24, 1949:

Cash	\$163.56	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>1,113.56</u>

\$1,142.81

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 17, 1948:		
Cash	\$58.48	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		<u>\$558.48</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest	\$14.40	
Savings account interest70	
		<u>15.10</u>
		<u>\$573.58</u>
Disbursements:		
Book		\$22.66
Balance, August 24, 1949:		
Cash	\$50.92	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		<u>550.92</u>
		<u>\$573.58</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. savings bond, Series G, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, August 17, 1948:		
Cash in membership fee fund.....	\$441.19	
U. S. savings bonds (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund)	5,200.00	
		<u>\$5,641.19</u>
Receipts:		
Interest		130.00
		<u>\$5,771.19</u>
Disbursements		
Balance, August 24, 1949:		
Cash	\$571.19	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	5,200.00	
		<u>\$5,771.19</u>

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. It is not a statement of the appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society. These disbursements are not made by the treasurer of the Society, but by the state auditor. For the year ending June 30, 1949, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$59,611.00; Memorial building, \$12,157.60; Old Shawnee Mission, \$3,681.20; First Capitol of Kansas, \$1,150.00.

On motion by Mrs. W. D. Philip, seconded by Frank A. Hobbie, the report was accepted.

The report of the executive committee on the audit by the state accountant of the funds of the Society was called for and read by John S. Dawson:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 14, 1949.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Old Shawnee Mission from August 17, 1948, to August 24, 1949, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Joseph C. Shaw, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by John S. Dawson:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 14, 1949.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: Charles M. Correll, Manhattan, president; Frank Haucke, Council Grove, first vice-president; Will T. Beck, Holton, second vice-president.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2:00 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, R. F. Brock.

The address by Mr. Brock follows:

Address of the President

R. F. BROCK

MEMBERS of the Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We welcome you today. Your interest and attendance are what keep us going and make this Historical Society one of the best in the United States. We appreciate your help. I want to

thank you and those who made it possible for me to serve as your president the past year. It's an honor that I am very proud of. I realize it's a bigger job than I deserved and I have done in my small way the best I could.

Mr. Mechem, I want to thank you and your staff personally for the many kindnesses you have shown me at all times. It has been a rare privilege to be associated with people like you folks. Let's give a hand to Mr. Mechem, his staff and the executive committee for the grand job they are doing.

I am not a public speaker. I feel humble trying to do a job like this and I'll have to tell you what my stenographer said when I dictated this paper. After I had finished, I asked her to dress it up and remove any ungrammatical terms. She replied that after I had finished reading it to you I would have them all back in there, anyway.

I was born in Kentucky and I tell the story that when I was 19 years of age they caught me and put shoes on me. I recall meeting a man at Hutchinson soon after I landed there, 39 years ago: he asked me what my name was in Kentucky and why did I have to leave.

I came through Topeka on July 27, 1910, on one of the hottest days I thought I had seen. Corn was burned up, no air conditioning in the car. But I stuck it out, arriving at Hutchinson with a \$4.00 trunk, a cheap suit of clothes and a one-way ticket. I still have the \$4.00 trunk and the old suit of clothes.

What little success I have had, I owe to Kansas. It has been good to me. My people, too, were pioneers. My ancestors came from Virginia to Kentucky before 1800, when it was a wilderness. Many of you had folks who were pioneers to Kansas during its troublesome times.

If you will pardon me, I would like for you to meet a Kansas girl who is boss in my family. Ladies and gentlemen, Mrs. Brock.

STORMS IN KANSAS

In November, 1867, a very bad snowstorm hit Hays, Kansas, the end of the railroad at that time. Hays being new, and the houses not anything more than boarded up, the snow went into them through the cracks. Passengers put up at the Perry House, then the main hotel, just built. It was not much better than a barn, so far as the snow was concerned. I do not have much more on this storm.

In April, 1873, quite a storm hit eastern Kansas, particularly at Belleville. A hurricane blew. Two families near Belleville were frozen to death, the house of one of the families being blown away. One woman was found with her baby in her arms, sitting on the ground leaning against a wagon wheel with her hair frozen by the sleet to the spokes of the wheel. The other bodies were lying on the ground encased in sleet.

In the early winter, 1885, and into 1886, came what is known as the blizzard of 1886, a real storm over a large area. It hit Kansas hard and the loss of life and stock was terrible. B. T. Cutler, formerly of McCracken, lived in Lane county at that time. He told me that his father sent him to the barn to feed the mules after the storm abated and he found the mules surrounded by snow in the stables, still on their feet, frozen stiff. Their cattle were also frozen; none of the stock escaped. Thousands of head of livestock froze in western Kansas, and many in central Kansas, and it was just as bad or worse in Colorado. Many people froze, some in their beds. At Dodge City it was 25 below in some houses. Dugouts were the safest shelters, if properly built.

A man by name of Arning, who lived about 25 miles south of Garden City, got lost in this storm and spent all night wandering around. The next day he found a sod shanty where he stopped a few hours, but as its roof was mostly gone, he soon moved on. He walked three days and two nights in all and finally found himself 50 miles southwest of Garden City, or 25 miles southwest of his home. He had walked around in circles and cross circles, with nothing to eat. He says he had to keep moving, to keep from freezing, for about 90 hours. His feet were frozen; otherwise he was in fairly good health. Not many men would have lived to tell the story. With his courage, he kept going. Most of us would have got excited and given up the struggle. The *Ivanhoe Times* of January 16, 1886, tells the story. *Ivanhoe* is one of the "lost towns" south of Garden City.

A Mr. Carter, formerly Union Pacific land agent at Sharon Springs, told me that 300 cattle died in the creek where Sharon Springs got its water, from the spring, before they had a water works. He says when the thaw came they had beef tea for a while, but had to remove the cattle, since it was their only watering place near the town. Others told me the same story.

John Conrad, a friend, told me he homesteaded northwest of Fowler, on Crooked creek, in 1879. The 1886 storm hit him and

his neighbors. He and his hired man took their throw ropes and made a line from the house to the corral. Then they took turns going out and rubbing the snow and ice from the noses of the cattle so that they would not smother. Most of storm losses are from smothering, as you know, rather than freezing. Stock well fed can stand a lot of cold but none can take the smothering. Full grown cattle smothered and froze in snow banks along the railroad. Many cattle drifted south as far as Oklahoma, from northern Kansas.

Several cattlemen lost from two thousand to five thousand head in western Kansas and eastern Colorado. Large cattle companies lost as much as from one hundred thousand to one million dollars. It broke many cattlemen, as well as cattle loan companies. I read of one man who lost 200 thousand head in Colorado, east of the divide. He owed a St. Louis cattle company for them. The company would not stake him again, but in later years he made it back and paid them, then bought the company and was head of it for several years.

A family froze to death in a wagon on their way to their homestead near Oberlin. A man who froze in Wallace was found by making a circle with a rope tied to a building. Total deaths in Kansas from freezing during the storm of 1886 has been variously estimated from 30 to 100 persons. Cattle by the tens of thousands were killed in the two weeks of zero weather.

The 1911-1912 storm. I remember this storm myself. Pete Robidoux lost about 1,000 cattle in this storm, as well as Tom Madigan, who lost about the same number. Both have sons and daughters still living in that country. Frank Madigan, a son, married a daughter of Robidoux, the pioneer merchant and cattleman.

Your speaker stood near the Missouri Pacific railroad tracks in Reno county in 1912 watching a snow plow hit a cut filled with snow. When I saw the snow fly I started to run and almost got covered up, about 100 feet from the track, or far enough away.

The Bowman and Hopper ranch, Ness county, hauled feed from Ness City, three miles, with four horses on a sled, to keep the cattle from starving. It took four horses to pull what one horse ordinarily would. They had 1,500 cattle and kept hauling all day and part of the night for several days. The livestock ate up the feed faster than it could be hauled. Mail was delayed from 10 to 23 days in several places. I had no mail for 14 days and you can guess that a bank had something to do when it all came in at once. This

1911-1912 storm covered most of Kansas. Many farmers and ranchers bought and baled straw to ship to western Kansas from Reno county. I helped them locate it.

I heard that several Kansas people lost their lives in this storm. Several thousand cattle drifted from Wallace county to the Arkansas river, as well as from other northwest counties, so my cattle partner tells me. He lost some and had to round them up on the river.

The 1918 storm was bad in western Kansas, the extreme western counties losing many cattle. Madigan and Robidoux of Wallace county again lost the most, about 800 each. A joke out there is that when anyone asked Pete Robidoux how many cattle he lost, he would say, "Not as bad as Tom Madigan." These two old timers could write a book of their experiences and were grand old characters.

The 1931 storm hit northwest Kansas mighty hard, particularly in east Wallace county. About 40 cattle died in the city of Wallace, after drifting there, and were buried in the old railroad turntable hole and covered up. Several Wallace county ranchers lost a few head in this storm, as did ranchers in other counties of the west.

The storm of 1948-1949 hit most of the country west of the Mississippi, particularly Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, the Dakotas, and western Kansas. The total reported loss was 33 million dollars in the United States. Kansas had some loss—in parts, small; in others, large. This storm hit November 18. My county, Sherman, had a sheep loss of about 2,000 head, with a cattle loss of less than 50 head. Wallace county, where I ranch, had a cattle loss of over 700 head. These were mostly calves, just weaned, or shipped in with some shipping fever among them.

Thomas county's loss was great both in sheep and cattle. Wichita county, and in fact most western counties, had from a small loss to a great one. Harrison Brothers of Wallace county lost 80 head out of 250 cattle. Their father, with about the same number, lost only three head under about the same conditions. Harrison Brothers started home from Sharon Springs after the storm started and got tied up in a snowbank within one mile of home. They stayed in their car 36 hours, with no heat after the gas ran out. They walked the mile in a north wind and were almost exhausted after making it. You know, people mostly get excited, and that is bad in a storm. Included in their loss were 12 big steers, averaging

1,200 lbs., which smothered. They were among 37 trapped in an old shed, with the snow drifted all around them.

Sheep milled around and piled up as high as four layers deep and smothered. We saw them plowed out with a road grader several days after the storm. A few were still alive, but most of them died later. Trains on the Rock Island were tied up for two days in my area at Edson, Brewster and Ruleton. On the Union Pacific, trains were tied up at Weskan and Sharon Springs for two days or more. It's a funny feeling to be tied up in a snowbank, even on a train. I was in a snowbank on a Ft. Worth and Denver train, south of Texline, Tex., from 10 p. m. to 7 a. m., one day in the early 1920's. I loaned my overcoat to a small child and nearly froze myself. I also got lost in a large pasture once during dust storm days and had to follow the fence to find my way out. These storms are no snap, I assure you.

Dust Storms, 1935 to 1937. Unless you have lived in western Kansas, you do not know too much about dust storms. They were caused by continued dry weather. Since we had little or no rain, the old mother earth got so dry that the grass died. With nothing left but a bare earth, and the wind constantly whipping it up, the sky at times got so thick with dust that it was impossible to see anything. At such times you had to sleep with a wet towel over your face.

In less time than you would think, it would blacken out the street lights so that you could not see across the street. One afternoon my wife and I were leaving Syracuse when we saw a black cloud of dirt rolling up south of town. Before we could get two miles, it blacked out, and no night was ever darker. Even the car lights could not be seen, nor the cap on the car radiator. Mrs. Brock said we had better not stop in the road, as some one would run into us. I replied, "No use to move and be in a ditch; no one could find their way to run into us anyway."

At last Mother Nature gave us a new grass, called pepper weed, and the stock thrived on it. I dug down and it looked to me like the buffalo grass roots were dead. I did not dig deep enough. They grow down as much as five to seven feet. When plentiful rains came later, to our surprise, the dead grass all came back.

There have been terrible times in storms, dust storms and blizzards, with their losses in human lives and livestock, yet I have never heard a man say he was quitting business on account of them. Kansas people do not give up easily, and are to my way of thinking the finest people in the world.

Following the address of the president, Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Society, read a paper on "Home on the Range," the state song. This paper was published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for November, 1949.

The report of the committee on nominations was called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 14, 1949.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1952:

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
 Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,
 Council Grove.
 Brock, R. F., Goodland.
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
 Frizell, E. E., Larned.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
 Hall, Standish, Wichita.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.

Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
 Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
 Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
 Riegler, Wilford, Emporia.
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
 Scott, Angelo, Iola.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.
 Respectfully submitted.
 JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman*.

Upon motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by James C. Malin, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending in October, 1952.

Reports of county and local societies were called for and were given as follows: the Rev. Angelus Lingensfelder and the Rev. Peter Beckman for the Kansas Catholic Historical Society; Mrs. Frank D. Belinder for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society; and Robert Stone for the Shawnee County Historical Society. Albert T. Reid of New York, artist and famous cartoonist, recalled briefly his residence in Kansas, and Col. Eugene P. H. Gempel spoke on the marking of old trails in the state. S. D. Flora, former head of the U. S. Weather Bureau at Topeka, commented briefly on President Brock's paper on storms in Kansas.

There being no further business, the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by President Brock. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The report was read by John S. Dawson, chairman, who moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Robert Stone and the following were unanimously elected.

For a one-year term: Charles M. Correll, Manhattan, president; Frank Haucke, Council Grove, first vice-president; Will T. Beck, Holton, second vice-president.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AS OF OCTOBER, 1949

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1950

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Anderson, George L., Lawrence.	Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander, Topeka.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.	Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Beck, Will T., Holton.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Redmond, John, Burlington.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Howes, Cecil C., Topeka.	Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.	

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1951

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.	Long, Richard M., Wichita.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	Malone, James, Topeka.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B., Kansas City.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Hodges, Frank, Olathe.	Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
	Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1952

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,
 Council Grove.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.

Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1948, to September 30, 1949. Federal and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

KANSAS

- ALBUS, HARRY JAMES, *The Peanut Man; the Life of George Washington Carver in Story Form*. Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1948. 89p.
- BECKER, EDNA M., and REBECCA WELTY DUNN, *Once Upon a Christmas Eve, an Operetta for Primary and Middle Grades*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Company [c1948]. 32p.
- BLACK, WILLIAM ALBERT, *The Public Schools of Columbus, Kansas*. Topeka, State Printer, 1949. 28p.
- BRADEN, CHARLES SAMUEL, *These Also Believe; a Study of Modern American Cults and Minority Religious Movements*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949. 491p.
- BURGESS, ORVILLE RAY, *By Still Waters*. Nashville, Tenn., Parthenon Press [c1949]. 126p.
- Burrton's 75th Anniversary, 1873-1948*. Burrton, Burrton Graphic, 1948. [55]p.
- BYERS, WILLIAM N., and JOHN H. KELLOM, *Hand Book to the Gold Fields of Nebraska and Kansas* . . . Chicago, D. B. Cooke and Company, 1859. 113p. (Mumey Reprint, 1949.)

- CHASE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Chase County Historical Sketches*, Vol. 2. The Chase County Historical Society, 1948. 454p.
- CHRISTENSEN, JOHN CORNELIUS, *Mariadahl Kansas Lutheran Church*. (Reprinted from the *Lutheran Companion*, November 17, 1948.) [3]p.
- CLAIR, JOSEPH R., *Preliminary Notes on Lithologic Criteria for Identification and Subdivision of the Mississippian Rocks in Western Kansas*. N. p., c1948. Mimeographed. 14p.
- COLE, IRA A., *The Golden Antelope*. Boulder, Colo., Johnson Publishing Company [c1949]. 72p.
- CORNELL, LEE H., *The Tale of the Kicking Mule; a Handbook Dealing With the Famous Kicking Mule Cancellation Used in Several Western Towns in the "Eighties."* Wichita, The Printercraft Shop, 1949. 63p.
- COWGILL, DONALD OLEN, *The Methodology of Planning Census Tracts for Wichita, Kansas*. Wichita, Municipal University of Wichita, 1949. 18p. (*University Studies Bulletin*, No. 19.)
- DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, NEWTON CHAPTER, *Record of Wills, "A," Harvey County, Kansas, 1872*. Typed. 20p.
- DITZEN, PAUL H., *If Santa Claus Should Get the Flu and Other Poems*. No impr. [10]p.
- DONAHUE, RALPH JAMES, *Ready on the Right; a True Story of a Naturalist-Seabee on the Islands of Kodiak, Unalaska, Adak, Tanaga, Oahu, Eniwetok, Guam, Mog Mog (Ulithi) and Okinawa*. Kansas City, Smith Printing Company [c1946]. 194p.
- EBRIGHT, HOMER KINGSLEY, *Fourscore and Seven Years Ago: Founders Day Address, Baker University Feb. 12, 1945, Commemorating Forty Years Service to Baker*. No impr. 16p.
- EDSON, CHARLES LEROY, *The Gentle Art of Columning; a Treatise on Comic Journalism*. New York, Brentano's, 1920. 177p.
- EIKLEBERRY, ROBERT WOODROW, *Farming That Fits the Land in the Loess Drift Hills of Northeastern Kansas*. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, 1947. 15p.
- EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID, *Crusade in Europe*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948. 559p.
- EISENHOWER, MILTON, *The Strength of Kansas, an Address to the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas, Topeka, January 28, 1949*. No impr. 16p.
- EMERSON, F. V., *Some Geographic Responses in South Central Kansas*. (Reprinted from *The Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. 11, No. 2, April, 1913.) [10]p.
- FISKE, MRS. ELIZABETH FRENCH, *I Lived Among the Apaches; an Appreciation of the Virtues and Emotions of the Indian American*. [Pasadena, Cal., Trail's End Publishing Company, Inc., 1947.] 163p.
- FRYE, JOHN C., and V. C. FISHEL, *Ground Water in Southwestern Kansas*. Lawrence, State Geological Survey of Kansas, University of Kansas [1949]. 24p.
- FULLING, KAY (PAINTER), *The Cradle of American Art: Ecuador, Its Contemporary Artists*. New York, The North River Press, 1948. 77p.
- GARST, DORIS SHANNON, *Buffalo Bill*. New York, Julian Messner, Inc. [c1948]. 214p.

- GRAVES, WILLIAM WHITES, *The First Protestant Osage Missions, 1820-1837*. Oswego, The Carpenter Press, c1949. 272p.
- , *History of Neosho County*. St. Paul, Journal Press, 1949. 544p.
- HALDEMAN-JULIUS, EMANUEL, *My First 25 Years; Instead of a Footnote an Autobiography*. [Girard, Haldeman-Julius Publications] n. d. 47p.
- [HENDERSON], LE GRAND, *Cats for Kansas*. New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press [c1948]. [40]p.
- HENRICHs, HENRY FREDERICK, ed. and comp., *In His Steps Today*, by Charles M. Sheldon; *St. Charles of Topeka*, by Charles W. Helsley; *Obsequies*. Memorial Edition. Litchfield, Ill., The Sunshine Press [c1948]. 96p.
- HIBBARD, CLAUDE W., *Pleistocene Stratigraphy and Paleontology of Meade County, Kansas*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. [27]p. (*Contributions From the Museum of Paleontology*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 63-90.)
- , *Pliocene Saw Rock Canyon Found in Kansas*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. [14]p. (*Contributions From the Museum of Paleontology*, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 91-105.)
- , and ELMER S. RIGGS, *Upper Pliocene Vertebrates From Keefe Canyon, Meade County, Kansas*. N. p., The Geological Society of America, 1949. [31]p. (*Bulletin*, Vol. 60, pp. 829-860.)
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Bypaths of Kansas History

CARRYING THE MAIL TO SANTA FE 100 YEARS AGO

From *The Western Journal*, St. Louis, September, 1850, pp. 414, 415.

LINE OF MAIL STAGES TO SANTA FE.

We are gratified that the Post Office Department has at length established this line upon a footing that promises to be successful in the end; though we have heard that the stages on the first trip encountered a good deal of difficulty on account of the failure of their teams.

The *Missouri Commonwealth*, published at Independence, gives the following account of the departure and equipment of the first mail stage from that place westward. The first train left, we believe, on the 1st day of July last.

SANTA FE LINE OF MAIL STAGES.

We briefly alluded, some days since, to the Santa Fe line of mail stages, which left this city on its first monthly trip on the first instant. It was our intention at that time to have noticed this matter as its novelty and importance demanded, but want of leisure prevented. This is an important extension of mail service, and will be of untold utility, both to New Mexico and the States. But we simply took up our pen to give our friends in other parts of the country, some idea of the *preparations* which have been made by the contractors, Messrs. Waldo, Hall & Co., to convey the mail safely through the Indian country—an undertaking which must seem hazardous, after the many murders that have been perpetrated recently by hostile tribes. The stages are got up in splendid style, and are each capable of conveying eight passengers. The bodies are beautifully painted, and made water-tight, with a view of using them as boats in ferrying streams. The team consists of six mules to each coach. The mail is guarded by eight men, armed as follows: Each man has at his side, strapped up in the stage, one of Colt's revolving rifles; in a holster, below, one of Colt's long revolving pistols, and in his belt a small Colt revolver, besides a hunting knife; so that these eight men are prepared, in case of attack, to discharge *one hundred and thirty-six* shots without stopping to load! This is equal to a small army, armed as in olden times, and from the courageous appearance of this escort, prepared as they are, either for offensive or defensive warfare with the savages, we have no apprehensions for the safety of the mails. The whole of the equipment for this expedition is of our own city manufacture, except the revolvers.

The enterprising contractors have established a sort of depot at Council Grove, a distance of 150 miles from this city [Independence], and have sent out a blacksmith, a number of men to cut and cure hay, with a quantity of animals, grain and provisions; and we understand they intend to make a sort of traveling post there, and to open a farm. They contemplate, we believe, to make a similar settlement at Walnut Creek next season.

Two of their stages will start from here the first of every month. The contractors are amongst our most responsible and wealthy citizens, and the firm is composed, as we understand, of Dr. David Waldo, Jacob Hall, Esq., and William McCoy, late Mayor of our city.—*Missouri Commonwealth*.

KANSAS LONGSHOREMEN

From *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, June 2, 1855.

We heard some of the officers of the *Emma Harmon* [river steamer] complaining bitterly, and not without cause, about some of our citizens who aided for a short time in unloading the boat, and proposed to charge fifty cents an hour for their services.—Persons must have supposed they were in California, and that labor was so scarce it would command any price. Let men have moderate desires if they wish to succeed in business.

HOUSES FOR \$500!

From the *Lawrence Republican*, November 8, 1860.

A FAT CONTRACT.—R. S. Stevens, of Lecompton, is a lucky man. We understand he has secured a contract of the Agent of the Sac & Fox Indians to build for the tribe two hundred houses, at the rate of five hundred dollars for each house. He sub-lets the contract, so that he gets the houses built for two hundred and eighty-seven dollars each—clearing on the job the snug sum of forty-two thousand six hundred dollars, which, for these hard times, is not a bad thing. He also builds a saw-mill for the tribe, on which, we are told, he clears the little matter of thirty-five hundred dollars.

Mr. Stevens is an enterprising, go-ahead man, and these results of his financiering cannot but be grateful to his feelings.

A SALINA JUSTICE WITH HIS BOOTS OFF!

From the *Junction City Weekly Union*, July 13, 1867.

A writer in the *Pittsburg [Pa.] Chronicle* says: "The excursionists on the recent trip over the Pacific railroad met with some interesting experiences, one of which is thus described: Some of the Pacific railroad excursionists stopped at Salina, a town on the Plains, and found the court house located in the second story of the printing office. The court room was fixed regardless of comfort, and was a good specimen of a frontier Temple of Justice. The trials were amusing. The counsel acted most unbecomingly to each other, calling one another hard names, and referring to them as Bill, Tom and Jack, while the Judge sat behind his desk enjoying his *otium cum dignitate*, with his boots off and his feet on the desk. The town was filled with all kinds of hard characters, and the excursionists kept their hands on their pocket-books. Mule drivers, bull whackers, Mexican greasers and gamblers, all waiting to get off."

MOVE OVER

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, September 2, 1876.

The *Belleville Telescope* contains this "want:" "Wanted, at this office, a don't care a d—n editor. We have tried to please everybody, and, having failed, we don't care a d—n, but would like some person else to take the position for awhile."

PRESUMABLY HE GOT THE JOB

When the government of Kansas returned to Republican control in 1895, after two years of Populist domination, the clamor of office-seekers was more than usually deafening. Not only had the Republicans been deprived of patronage by the Lewelling administration, but the depression of 1893-1894 still lay heavy upon the land and many a party wheel-horse needed new shoes. Gov. Edmund N. Morrill was besieged by hundreds of applicants for places on the state payroll and necessarily had to slight most of them. He probably was glad, however, to receive the following request, written by the editor of the *Marion Record* and now in the correspondence files of the executive department, in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society:

MARION, KANSAS, FEB. 13, 1895.

Hon. E. N. Morrill

Topeka, Kan.

My Dear Governor.

As you are aware, I have had, or have been supposed to have, a particular aversion to office seeking. I have believed in the old fashioned idea that the office should seek the man, and have honestly tried to practice what I have preached in this matter. Indeed, I have even gone so far, figuratively speaking, as to hang this ideal on the stars where it has been hanging all this long, cold winter. I do not now wish to renounce the theory, because I still think it is right, but stern necessity wrings from me the cold, clammy confession that I want an office, and want it bad, as I would say if I were one of "the boys." My friends, whom I have consulted about the matter, insist that the only way for me to get it is to go for it. I hate to bother you, Governor, and add to your burdens from this class of self-seekers, but can't help it. I have given the best years of my life to the grand old Republican party, and feel, without egotism, that my claims to the position I seek are at least as good as any of the distinguished gentlemen who aspire to this office. If necessary, I think I can furnish you credentials from those who have known me longest and best, abundantly testifying to my qualifications for this important place. If appointed, I shall endeavor to perform the duties of the position so as to justify your favor and shed as much effulgence as possible upon your administration so auspiciously begun. I have held this position before, but my term has expired, and I ask to be re-appointed a Notary Public.

With best wishes,

Yours, cordially,

E. W. HOCH.

The author of this request was himself well launched on an impressive political career. He had served two terms in the legislature and in 1894 had received strong support in the Republican state convention for nomination as governor. He was elected to that office in 1904 and was reelected for a second term in 1906.

NOT A "PIE-FACED HYPOCRITE!"

An enterprising young newspaperman, William Allen White, a graduate of the University of Kansas, served as a member of the board of regents of his alma mater from 1905 to 1912. In 1907 he found himself in an embarrassing financial position, in which he feared that his integrity might be compromised for a smaller sum than he considered it worth. Consequently he wrote the following letter to the auditor of state, James M. Nation. It is now on file, with other correspondence received by the auditor, in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE EMPORIA GAZETTE

DAILY AND WEEKLY

W. A. WHITE, Editor

EMPORIA, KANSAS, FEB. 13

My Dear Sir:

I am checking a matter enclosed up to you for advice. While I rode on editorial mileage as regent of the state University, I did not charge the state any mileage at all— only charging my three dollars per day per diem. I did this because it was obvious that to sell my editorial mileage to the state would be just like selling advertising to the state, and I have been told that the state law prohibits a regent from selling anything to the state.

When the Inter-State Commerce commission ruled that it was illegal for railroads and newspapers to swap under the Hepburn bill,— that was sometime in last October as I recollect, when I heard of this ruling definitely— I turned in my editorial transportation and began paying fare, and hence began charging the state mileage. I told Mr. Brown, clerk of the University to make out my voucher from that time. He made it out, but I did not swear to it as I remember it, but when the check came back from the state I looked up for the first time and found that he had one trip charged up upon which— to the best of my recollection, I rode on editorial transportation. This was his mistake.

Now I can't accept that check. I don't know how to fix it up. But I want you to fix it up somehow for me. Of course this is not a matter that I care to have any one know of outside of those whose official business it is to straighten the matter up. It puts me in the light of a pie-faced hypocrite, who is what we used to call nasty nice, when we were kids. But on the other hand I don't want any \$16.40 cents of stolen goods on my old clothes. I may sell out sometime, for I know I am as weak as the average man going, but that isn't my price.

I shall be personally and officially obliged to you if you can find so[me] way to get that \$16.40— the mileage for the October trip— out of this check. I did not swear it into the check, and it is not up to me to turn it back into the state.

Truly—

(signed) W. A. WHITE

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Brown county history is the feature of a new magazine-type publication edited and published by Col. Henry J. Weltmer of Hiawatha under the title *Hi-Wa Extracts*. The first number, of 20 pages, was dated August, 1949.

A "History of Neosho County" by W. W. Graves has continued to appear regularly in the *St. Paul Journal*. Chapters in recent issues have been devoted to the towns of Kimball and Stark; Grant, Ladore, Lincoln, South Mound and Mission townships, and the Passionist Missionary Institute.

The second installment of "The Geography of Kansas," by Walter H. Schoewe, appeared in the September, 1949, issue of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence. Included among other articles were: "Botanical Notes: 1948," by Frank U. G. Agrelius; "Cover Restoration in Kansas," by Harold C. King; "Kansas Phytopathological Notes: 1948," by E. D. Hansing, C. O. Johnston, L. E. Melchers and H. Fellows; "Notes on the Ground-Water Resources of Chase County, Kansas," by Howard G. O'Connor, and "The Whitetailed Jackrabbit," by R. E. Mohler and Richard H. Schmidt.

A story of the Lone Tree massacre was published in the *Meade Globe-News*, September 4, 8, 11, 1949, and the *Plains Journal*, September 8, 15. A six-man survey party, headed by Capt. O. F. Short, was attacked and massacred by Indians in present Meade county on August 24, 1874. The story was written years ago by Mrs. Mary Short Browne, a sister of Captain Short, and first appeared in the *Plains Journal*, August 31, 1907. A note on the first newspaper published in Meade county, the *Pearlette Call*, and a brief biographical sketch of the editor, Addison Bennett, were printed in the *Globe-News* and the *Journal*, September 15. The first issue of the *Call* appeared on April 15, 1879.

A special "Pioneer Days" edition was published by the *Hill City Times*, September 8, 1949. Among the articles were: a historical sketch of Bogue by Mrs. Belle Kenyon, the story of Nicodemus by Mrs. Ola Wilson, a medical history of Graham county, historical sketches of various Hill City churches, a list of present-day Graham county businesses, reminiscences of Judge E. L. McClure, several

historical items about Morland, pictures and names of some of the Graham county men and women who served in the World Wars, historical sketches of Graham county newspapers and schools, and several articles of historical nature reprinted from issues of the Hill City *Reveille* of the late 1880's.

"Salina's Founder Took Boss Advice," is the title of an article by Jeanne Kaufman in the *Salina Journal*, September 15, 1949. In 1857 William A. Phillips, who had been employed in Lawrence as a journalist by Horace Greeley, made a journey on foot to present Saline county and decided to settle in the area. The next year he returned with a party, located the townsite and began the erection of buildings. Later Phillips served in the Civil War, reaching the rank of colonel.

Early Kingman county history was reviewed by Mrs. Laura Kinsey in *The Leader-Courier*, Kingman, beginning September 15, 1949. Mrs. Kinsey came to Kansas with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Frazier, in 1878 when she was 12 years old.

Among historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing recently in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "Kansas to Honor Its Flying General [Lt. Gen. Ennis C. Whitehead] With a Homecoming This Week," by Saul Pett, September 18, 1949; "Ninety Years Ago Today Kansas Adopted Constitution Drawn Under Amnesty Law," by Cecil Howes, October 4; "Castle in Scotland Awaits Eisenhower Whenever He Wishes to Return to It," the third floor of historic Culzean castle presented to the supreme commander by the Scottish people and kept ready for his use, by Ned M. Trimble, October 19; "Home Built by an Indian Chief [Charles Bluejacket] Provides Link to Historic Past in Shawnee Area," by Cecil Howes, October 27, and "Dr. Franklin Murphy . . . His Kansas Plan Is Providing Doctors for Small Towns," by Richard B. Fowler, "A Kansan [Maj. Gen. Glen E. Edgerton] Is the Boss for White House Rebuilding," by Jack Williams, and "Ghost of General Custer Seems to Live at Ft. Riley," by Nan Carroll, November 20. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Wells Fargo Fought Bandits to Provide Safe Transport for Treasure of West," a review of Edward Hungerford's *Wells Fargo: Advancing the American Frontier*, by John Edward Hicks, September 17; "America's Best Known Painter of Indians [J. H. Sharp] Is Still at Work as He Reaches Age of 90," by W. Thetford LeViness, September 27; "Hemp Neck-

tie' Justice of Old West Often Was Motivated by Vengeance," a review of Wayne Gard's *Frontier Justice*, by John Edward Hicks, October 1; "Tragic Story of Reed-Donner Party Is Recalled by Memorial Stone in Kansas," by Col. E. P. H. Gempel, November 10; "History of Communistic Groups in U. S. Bears Out Reassuring Words of Goethe," one of the communistic groups settled in Franklin county shortly after the Civil War, by Charles Arthur Hawley, November 12; "John Charles Fremont Blazed the Way for Spreading Nation a Century Ago," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, November 21; "Wild Turkeys Provided Feasts for Hungry Travelers in the Early West," by Geraldine Wyatt, November 23, and "For 57 Years, J. C. Mohler Has been Part of Official Kansas Farm Scene," by Roderick Turnbull, December 1.

A historical sketch of the 101 Ranch, Chase county, by Mildred Mosier Burch, was printed in the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, September 20, 1949. The land was purchased by H. R. Hilton for a syndicate, known as the Western Land and Cattle Company, from the Santa Fe and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroads in the 1880's. In 1893 the ranch was bought by another company, and in 1900 it was split up and sold.

The story of the Coleman Company, Inc., of Wichita, and its founder and president, W. C. Coleman, was told in "The Company That Should Have Gone Broke," by Rufus Jarman, published in *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, September 24, 1949. Starting in 1900 with a small factory to repair lamps, Coleman now has three factories and about 2,500 employees engaged in manufacturing lamps, lanterns, several types of cooking stoves and home-heating equipment. Mr. Coleman was born in New York and came to Kansas with his parents about 1871 when he was a year old.

The *Wichita Eagle*, September 25, 1949, published a 164-page "Kansas Industrial Progress" edition, the largest issue of the paper ever published. Besides numerous articles on Kansas industries, several historical pages from past numbers of the *Eagle* were reproduced, including the front page of April 12, 1872, the first issue of the *Eagle*. Another feature of the special edition was a full-page history of the *Eagle* by Dick Long. The paper was founded as a weekly in 1872 by Col. Marsh M. Murdock.

An editorial in the Garden City *Daily Telegram*, September 27, 1949, recited the early history of Pierceville. The town was founded in 1872 when the Barton brothers selected the site for ranch headquarters and it was chosen by the Santa Fe railroad surveyors as a townsite. The post office was established in 1873 with George B. Clossen as postmaster. In July, 1874, a band of Indians from Texas burned Pierceville to the ground. It was not rebuilt until 1878 when a store and a post office were constructed. On November 21-23 the *Telegram* printed a brief, three-installment biographical sketch of C. J. "Buffalo" Jones.

A two-column story of Poheta, Saline county, covering its school, post office, cemetery, Sunday school and church histories, was published in the *Gypsum Advocate*, September 29, 1949.

Biographical notes on Maj. Gen. Clarence L. Tinker, who lost his life in the Battle of Midway, by John Woolery, appeared in the autumn, 1949, issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City. One-eighth Osage Indian, General Tinker was born at Elgin, Kan., November 21, 1887. The large Tinker Air Force Base at Oklahoma City was named for him.

A booklet by Roy Farrell Greene on the early days of Arkansas City was briefly reviewed by Walter Hutchison in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, October 6, 1949. The first settlement at Arkansas City was made in April, 1870. The town was called Creswell and Walnut City before it was named Arkansas City. It was incorporated in 1872.

Some of the pioneer experiences of Dr. A. Moore and his family, related by Mrs. Frances Moore Felton, a daughter, were printed in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, October 9, 1949. Dr. Moore brought his family to Kansas prior to the Civil War, settling on a claim near present Huron. A brief history of the Atchison county courthouse by T. E. Garvey appeared in the *Globe*, November 6. The courthouse was constructed in 1896.

The 75th anniversary of the migration of the Mennonites to the prairie states of America was observed in an all-day program at Bethel College, North Newton, October 12, 1949. Representatives from Mennonite communities in the Middle West and Canada attended. Among the speakers were: Rev. A. J. Dyck, Inman; C. C. Regier, formerly of State College, West Virginia; I. J. Dick, Moun-

tain Lake, Minn.; R. C. Bosworth, of the Canadian Pacific Railway; Leo G. Yokum, Burlington railroad; R. G. Dobson, Rock Island railroad; M. M. Killen, Santa Fe railroad; Dr. Erland Walter, Bethel College; David C. Wedel, Bethel College; Walter H. Dyck, Elbing, and Dr. Ed. G. Kaufman, president of Bethel College. The history of the Mennonite migration is reviewed in the October, 1949, issue of *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, by the editor, Cornelius Krahn. Among the historical articles on the Mennonites in Kansas were: "John H. Harms—Pioneer Mennonite Doctor," by E. M. Harms; "Hoffnungssau in Kansas," by A. J. Dyck; "Among the Mennonites of Kansas in 1878," by C. L. Bernays, and "Transplanting Alexanderwohl, 1874," accompanied by maps, pictures and a list of names. A commemorative, 115-page booklet, *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, edited by Cornelius Krahn, was recently published by the Mennonite Publication office in North Newton. Among the featured articles were: "From the Steppes to the Prairies," by Cornelius Krahn; "The Mennonites in Kansas," "The Mennonites at Home," and "A Day With the Mennonites," by Noble L. Prentis; "Christian Krehbiel and the Coming of the Mennonites to Kansas," an autobiography translated and edited by Edward Krehbiel; "The Life of Christian Krehbiel (1832-1909)," by H. P. Krehbiel; "The Founding of Gnadenau," by J. A. Wiebe, and "The Mennonite Pioneer," by Elmer F. Suderman.

"Oil Progress Week" was observed in Great Bend with an "Oil Appreciation Festival," October 19-21, 1949, and a 48-page special edition of the *Great Bend Tribune*, October 18, featuring articles on the history of the oil industry in Barton county. The first well was drilled in 1886 but no oil was found until about 1922 and none in paying quantities until 1930. Also on October 18, 1949, the *Russell Daily News* featured the oil history of Russell county. Oil was first discovered in that county near Fairport in 1923. Barton is the largest oil producing county in Kansas and Russell is second.

Early recollections of Kalida and vicinity, Woodson county, by R. W. Rhea were printed in the *Yates Center News*, October 27, 1949. Mr. Rhea came to Kalida, then Chellis, with his family 80 years ago. The townsite was purchased by H. T. Chellis in 1868 from a man by the name of Concannon who had homesteaded it. The property passed to T. H. Davidson in 1870, and he renamed it Kalida.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Ellen Burton, a member of Emporia's first colored family, were published in the *Emporia Gazette*, November 3, 1949. Mrs. Burton, born in slavery, was a small girl when her father, Henry O'Dair, aided by a Colonel Proctor, brought the family to Emporia in 1863.

Several brief historical notes on the settlement of Harper and Harper county and some historical information from the *Harper Sentinel* for March 8, 1901, were printed in the *Harper News*, November 3, 1949. Settlers first arrived at the Harper townsite in the spring of 1877.

A history of the Israel Lupfer family as told by Arthur H. Lupfer, a son, to Lois Victor, was published in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, November 3, 1949, and *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, November 4. The Lupfers arrived in Larned from their home in Pennsylvania early in 1878 and purchased a quarter section of railroad land where they built their home.

The story of the founding of old Fort Hays—and Fort Fletcher, its predecessor—was reviewed by Dr. Raymond L. Welty, professor of history at Fort Hays State College, in the *Hays Daily News*, November 6, 20 and December 11, 1949.

Osborne's *Farmer-Journal* on November 10, 1949, noted that it was starting its 76th year of publication. Late in 1874 Frank H. Barnhart bought the printing equipment of the Osborne *Times*, which had ceased publication, and founded the *Osborne County Farmer*. B. L. George is the present owner and publisher.

The *Anthony Republican*, November 10, 1949, printed a brief history of the First Baptist Church of Anthony by Gertrude Tuttle Wright. The church was organized June 27, 1880, and services were held in Bulger mill, in Union hall and in homes until the church building was dedicated on June 20, 1886.

Articles from the 25th anniversary edition of the *Topeka Mail and Kansas Breeze*, May 22, 1896, were featured in the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, December, 1949. Among the *Mail and Breeze* articles were: "‘Plant Trees’ Said Greeley," "Why Topeka Streets Are Wide," "How He [W. L. Gordon] Got Logs" and "The ‘Smokers’ Club.'" Other articles in the *Bulletin* were: "North Topeka Started as Eugene"; the eighth installment of W. W. Cone's "Shawnee County Townships"; Part II of "The

First Congregational Church of Topeka, 1854-1869," by Russell K. Hickman; "Which Are the Oldest Families?"; "Indianola," by C. V. Cochran; "Reminiscences by the Son of a French Pioneer," by Louis Charles Laurent, and a continuation of George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County."

The history of a group of vegetarians and their attempt to plant a colony in present southeast Kansas, is told by Stewart H. Holbrook in "The Vegetarians of Octagon City," published in the *Woman's Day*, New York, December, 1949. In 1856 a party under the leadership of Henry S. Clubb set out from the East for Kansas. Clubb's plan was to build an eight-sided settlement in Kansas from which vegetarianism would spread throughout the United States. However, when the prospective settlers reached the site of the settlement most of them became discouraged at finding only a log cabin and the wide, open prairie and returned to the East.

Among historical articles in the 1950 issue of *The Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, were: "The Strength of Kansas," by Milton S. Eisenhower; "The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company," by Russell K. Hickman; "The Bender Legend," by William Conrad and Robert Greenwood; sketches of Carry A. Nation, "Violent Is the Word for Carry," by Margaret E. Reed, "Faith Is Like the Wind," by Maxine Maree, and "Cyclone in Petticoats," a note by Zula Bennington Greene on Barbara Corey's dance of that name.

Kansas Historical Notes

A limestone marker has been placed on the grave of Sarah Handley Keyes who died and was buried at Alcove Spring while the famous Donner party was camped there in May, 1846. It was erected by the Arthur Barrett chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

The annual meeting of the Chase County Historical Society was held at the courthouse in Cottonwood Falls, September 3, 1949. New officers elected were: G. M. Miller, president; Henry Rogler, vice-president; Mrs. Helen Austin, secretary; Geo. T. Dawson, treasurer, and Mrs. S. B. Replogle, chief historian. Mrs. Clara Hildebrand was made chief historian emeritus. Mr. Dawson was the retiring president.

The annual Meade county Old Settlers' picnic was held at Meade, September 25, 1949. Judge Karl Miller of Dodge City was the principal speaker. Others were: Mrs. Essie May Novinger, Lura Smith, Mrs. Sarah Waters, Frank Johnson, W. H. Sourbier, R. A. Brannan, W. V. Brown, Riley Hanson, Art Bowen and the Rev. L. C. Campbell. At the business meeting E. E. Innis was elected president; H. L. Easterday, vice-president, and W. H. Painter, secretary-treasurer. J. R. Painter was the retiring president.

Mrs. John Barkley was elected president of the Shawnee-Mission Indian Historical Society in Johnson county at a meeting September 26, 1949. Others elected were: Mrs. C. D. Cheatum, first vice-president; Mrs. James Glenn Bell, second vice-president; Mrs. Homer Bair, recording secretary; Mrs. R. D. Grayson, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Arthur Wolf, treasurer; Mrs. Harry Meyer, curator, and Mrs. George Cox, historian. Mrs. Frank D. Belinder was the retiring president.

"Museum week," sponsored by the Fort Scott and Bourbon County Historical Society to obtain funds to aid in the preservation and advertising of the county's fine historical assets, began September 26, 1949, and resulted in contributions of several hundred dollars. October 1 was designated as a county-wide "tag day." The tags, presented to everyone making contributions, were membership cards in the society. G. W. Marble is the society's president.

Prof. John Cortelyou of the University of Nebraska, who spoke on Indian relics in the Manhattan area, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Riley County Historical Association at Manhattan, October 7, 1949. Prof. George A. Filinger was elected president of the association. Others elected were: Walter E. McKeen, vice-president; Mrs. Eva Knox, secretary; Joe D. Haines, treasurer, and F. I. Burt, historian and curator. Sam Charlson, Clyde Rodkey and Dr. N. D. Harwood were elected to the board of directors for three-year terms. Charlson was the retiring president.

The annual Gold Ribbon party and Pioneer Day gathering, sponsored by the Kiowa County Historical Society, drew a record crowd of 288 at Greensburg, October-13, 1949. Fifteen couples wore yellow flowers, signifying that they had been married 50 years or more. Henry Schwarm of Greensburg was elected president at the business session. Other officers elected were: Will Sluder, Mullinville, first vice-president; E. W. Freeman, Wellsford, second vice-president; Mrs. L. V. Keller, Greensburg, treasurer, and Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary. Mrs. Emma Meyer of Haviland was the retiring president.

Mrs. F. E. Munsell, Herington, was elected president of the Dickinson County Historical Society at the annual meeting October 26, 1949, in Abilene. Other officers chosen at the meeting were: Mrs. Elsie Rohrer, Elmo, second vice-president, and Mrs. Lawrence Kehler, Solomon, secretary. Fred Ramsey is first vice-president, and Mrs. Adele Wilkins, Chapman, is treasurer. Mrs. Carl Peterson, Enterprise, was the retiring president.

A record crowd attended the annual meeting of the Clark county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society at Ashland on October 29, 1949. The society's officers for the coming year are: Frank Dakin Arnold, president; Mrs. Charles McCasland, vice-president; Jerome C. Berryman, first honorary vice-president; John E. Stephens, second honorary vice-president; Mrs. Sidney Dorsey, recording secretary; Mrs. W. B. Nunemacher, assistant recording secretary; Rhea Gross, corresponding secretary; William T. Moore, treasurer; Mrs. Roy V. Shrewder, historian; Mrs. H. Barth Gabbert, curator, and M. G. Stevenson, auditor. Township directors include: Clayton Hall, Appleton; Mrs. Charley Pike, Ashland (city); Lena Smith,

Brown; Roy Shupe, Cimarron; Mrs. Robert Lee, Englewood; Willis H. Shattuck, Lexington; Mrs. Vernon McMinimy, Sitka, and Mrs. George McCarty, Vesta. The society was recently incorporated and now owns and exhibits the Lon Ford gun and relic collection. Four volumes of *Notes on Early Clark County* have been published by the society to date.

Mrs. W. G. Anderson was elected president of the Cowley County Historical Society at the annual meeting November 17, 1949, at Winfield. Other officers elected were: Bert Moore, vice-president; G. A. Kuhlmann, secretary-curator, and Lena Williams, treasurer. Directors elected in addition to the officers were: Martin W. Baden, Lloyd S. Roberts, Ira A. Wilson, Mrs. J. P. Stuber and Mary Jane Brock.

A regional conference of Phi Alpha Theta, national honorary history fraternity, was held at the Kansas State Teachers College in Pittsburg, November 19, 1949. Fred W. Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg, former president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the featured speaker at the luncheon meeting.

Prof. John Ise, of the University of Kansas, was the speaker at the annual meeting of the Lawrence Historical Society, December 2, 1949. Dolph Simons was elected president of the society for the coming year. Other officers chosen were: M. N. Penny, vice-president; Mrs. L. H. Menger, secretary, and T. J. Sweeney, treasurer. Elected to the board of directors were: Mrs. T. D. Prentice, Walter H. Varnum, Mrs. Ida Lyons, Mary M. Smelser and Prof. Frank E. Melvin. Varnum was the retiring president.

Historical projects of the Lyon County Historical Society have continued during the past year. Volume 8 of the "Lyon County Cemetery Records" has been completed, most of the work being done by Lucina Jones. Clippings and typed data have been added to the family records collection. The bell from the frigate *Emporia*, active in World War II, has been received by the museum. A flag, which had been carried in parades by Lyon county veterans of the Union army and owned by the Preston B. Plumb post of the Woman's Relief Corps, was presented to the society on September 17, 1949.

A Bloomer Girl on Pike's Peak—1858, edited by Agnes Wright Spring, and published by the Western History Department, Denver Public Library, c1949, is a 66-page story of Julia Archibald Holmes, first white woman to climb Pike's Peak. Julia Archibald's father was a town founder of Lawrence in 1854. James H. Holmes, whom she married in 1857, arrived in Kansas in 1856 and became one of John Brown's men. The Holmeses after their marriage spent part of 1857-1858 on a farm near Emporia, but joined the Lawrence party of gold-seekers bound for present Colorado in June, 1858. Mrs. Holmes climbed Pike's Peak between August 1 and 5, 1858, accompanied by her husband and two other men. She was 20 years old at the time. Two photographs of Julia Archibald Holmes are reproduced in the book, and there is also one of her brother Albert, who was a member of the Lawrence party. Another illustration shows the "Bloomer" costume advocated by Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, a woman's rights champion. Mrs. Holmes wore a bloomer dress while crossing the Kansas plains and in climbing Pike's Peak.

A journey to Oregon by wagon train in the middle 1840's was the background of a recent historical novel by A. B. Guthrie, Jr., of Lexington, Ky., published under the title *The Way West* (William Sloane Associates, New York). The work was a Book-of-the-Month selection and quickly made the best-seller lists. Mr. Guthrie, a life member of the Kansas State Historical Society, visited the Historical Society in the summer of 1948 preliminary to writing the book. He was following the old trail to Oregon as closely as possible by way of modern highways.

Publication of an excellent five-volume pictorial history, *Album of American History* (New York, 1944-1949), edited by James Truslow Adams and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, has recently been completed. Mr. Adams explained in the foreword of Vol. 1 that the "intent of the present work is to tell the history of America through pictures made at the time the history was being made."

A Union Forever (Glendale, Cal., 1949), a 470-page book by Muriel Culp Barbe, is a historical story based on the records, documents and letters of Lewis Hanback. The story takes place in Illinois and along the Kansas-Missouri border in 1854-1865. In

Kansas Hanback came in contact with John Brown; later he served with the Union forces in the Civil War.

Frontier Justice, by Wayne Gard, is the title of a 324-page book published recently by the University of Oklahoma press. The author described the book in his foreword as "an informal study of the rise of order and law west of the Mississippi."

A fictionized biography of the Kansas painter, John Noble, entitled, *The Passionate Journey*, by Irving Stone, was recently published by Doubleday & Company, Garden City, N. Y.

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THE COVER

"The Western Drama—A Variety Show Entertainment in Cheyenne [Wyo.]," sketched by Harry Ogden and Walter Yeager in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York, October 13, 1877. (For description *see* pp. 131, 132.)

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Number 2

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

XI. THE LESLIE EXCURSIONS OF 1869 AND 1877: JOSEPH BECKER,
HARRY OGDEN AND WALTER YEAGER

ROBERT TAFT

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ONE of the most important of all events in the history of the Trans-Mississippi West was the completion of the first coast-to-coast railroad and the attendant ceremony and celebration at Promontory Point, Utah, on Monday, May 10, 1869. Not only was there celebration as the ceremony of driving the golden spike was completed, but the nation breathlessly followed the event as each stroke of the silver mallet was flashed by wire to all the cities of the country.

The final "Done!" was received in the East at 2:47 P. M. and Mayor A. Oakey Hall of New York City shortly thereafter ordered a hundred-gun salute fired in Central Park. A thanksgiving service at Trinity church attended by huge crowds was a feature of the New York festivities. In Philadelphia a battery of "steam" fire engines was assembled in front of Independence Hall and as the final word was received a bedlam of steam whistles, ringing bells and wild cheers spread over the city. In Buffalo, crowds sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." In Chicago an impromptu parade seven miles in length, which the Chicago *Tribune* estimated contained "1626 horses and 3252 human beings," soon got under way on that happy day. At night the "new" *Tribune* building was ablaze with lights to cap the city's jubilation.

Omaha staged a day-long celebration. An elaborate and carefully planned parade was held in which nearby towns participated by sending members of gayly attired fraternal orders and fire com-

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, May and August, 1948, and in each issue since May, 1949. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

panies. Probably the fire company—beg pardon, H. & L. Co. No. 1—of Fremont would have been awarded the prize, if a prize had been given for the most colorful group, for their uniforms consisted “of black broadcloth pants—blue opera flannel shirts, with black velvet collars and facings—the whole trimmed with gold lace with, also, a gold star on either side of the collar, a handsome red and white morocco belt and fatigue cap.” In the evening an elaborate display of fireworks was capped by a grand ball in the capitol building. Visitors came from miles around, the city streets were overflowing to celebrate the great event, but the *Omaha Republican* in reporting the happenings of the day thankfully remarked that there was no rowdiness and drunkenness, usual to American celebrations, “and we have to chronicle no accident with its harrowing details, no melee with its sickening consequences, no lists of crime; and we may well be proud of so commendable a fact.”

If the occasion was one for rejoicing in the East and the Middle West, the citizens of California could scarcely contain their joy. In fact, so eager was the desire to celebrate that San Francisco and Sacramento held their jubilation two days before the rest of the country, and on Saturday, May 8, the day was ushered in for San Franciscans by salvos of artillery, booming of cannon and the terrific screeching of whistles. The same day, Sacramento celebrated so thoroughly that the *Daily Union* could do little but report “the affair was very Magnificent.”¹

Not since Lee's surrender, four years earlier, had the nation been so profoundly moved. “At noon today,” stated the *New York Tribune* in its editorial columns, “the last rail is to be laid on the great National railway that unites the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and marks the crowning triumph over the Continent that the Puritan and the Cavalier entered three centuries ago.”²

1. The nation-wide interest in the event is recorded in the extended and frequent accounts in the newspapers of the day. The *New York Tribune*, for example, devoted to the event over three columns on page one in the issue of May 8, 1869; four columns on page one in the issue of May 10, including a poem for the occasion by George W. Bungay, “Rivet the Last Pacific Rail”; two columns on page one of the issue of May 11, which described the telegraphic report of events at Promontory Point and gave news of the celebration in other cities. In Omaha, practically the entire first page of the *Omaha Weekly Republican*, May 19, 1869, was devoted to accounts of the local celebration and those occurring elsewhere. The quotations in the text (concerning Omaha) are from this source. The plans and celebration in San Francisco are reported in the *Daily Alta California*, San Francisco, May 6, p. 1, May 8, p. 1, May 9, p. 1, May 12, p. 1, 1869. The *Alta* in the issue of May 9 published a poem by W. H. Rhodes, written for the occasion. The *Alta* in the issue of May 20, 1869, p. 1, reprinted an account from the *Chicago Tribune* of May 11, describing the celebration in Chicago. The accounts in the Sacramento *Daily Union* also published a poem for the occasion by L. E. Crane (May 10, 1869, p. 8). Since we have taken the trouble to mention poems resulting from this historic occasion we should not, of course, leave out the best known of all, “What the Engines Said,” by Bret Harte. This poem appeared originally in *The Overland Monthly*, San Francisco, v. 2 (1869), June, p. 577.

2. *New York Tribune*, May 10, 1869, p. 4.

“The crowning triumph” was viewed by many representatives of the press, but curiously enough, the two leading pictorial papers of the day, *Harper's Weekly* and *Leslie's*, had no

With the eyes of the nation thus so acutely focused on the great national railway, it is not surprising that newspaper and magazine editors hurriedly sent out reporters and writers to describe for their

"artists on the spot," so that the pictorial records of the event upon which we are dependent today are the well-known photographs of C. R. Savage and the lesser-known ones of A. J. Russell.

Not until the issue of May 29, 1869, did *Harper's Weekly* take recognition of the completion of the railroad. A double-page spread of wholly imaginative and decorative pictures (pp. 344, 345) pay their respects to the event (with description note on p. 341).

Lestie's was still later in recording the event. In the issue of June 5, 1869, there are reproduced several of the A. J. Russell photographs of the event. For information on the Savage and Russell photographs, see Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), pp. 272, 280, 293. The *California Alta*, May 12, 1869, p. 1, stated that A. A. Hart of Sacramento, also photographed the ceremony of May 10, 1869.

Doubtless the best-known picture of the ceremony of the joining of the rails is Thomas Hill's "The Last Spike" (currently called "The Driving of the Last Spike"). This huge oil painting (eight feet, two inches by eleven feet, six inches) was begun by Hill about 1877 and is based on photographs of the event and of the celebrities who participated. One account has it that the painting was commissioned by Leland Stanford who never paid for or acquired it. It was finally bought in the late 1890's by Paul Tietzen, who presented it to the state of California in 1937. It now hangs at the end of the north corridor of the first floor in the California state capitol, Sacramento. Hill first exhibited the painting in San Francisco on January 28, 1881, according to an account in the *San Francisco Alta California*, January 29, 1881, p. 1. This account states that the painting was "the consummation of nearly four years of arduous labor" and continued:

"In painting his picture, Mr. Hill selected the moment of the most serious feeling, when the officiating clergyman, Rev. Dr. Todd, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, has just concluded his invocation to the Almighty and the electricians were about connecting the golden spike, presented by Mr. David Hewes, with the Transcontinental telegraph line, that was to ring out the glad tidings of 'the last spike driven' on the bell of the Capitol at Washington, and the cannon that woke the echoes of the Golden Gate. The view is eastward, along the track of the Union Pacific Railroad, toward the horizon, bounded by the snowy summit of the Wahsatch Mountains. The commanding figure of Governor Stanford, leaning on the silver hammer, arrests the eye, which, after a moment's pause, glances beyond to the locomotive, half hidden by figures, and then on to the plains dotted with sagebrush and suffused with the genial rays of the sun, upon an almost cloudless afternoon. There are some four hundred figures on the canvas, seventy of which are portraits in rich diversified and harmonious colors, with flowing grace of outline and freedom of individual treatment. The characteristics of the men, many of whose names are familiar on both hemispheres, are as well shown in pose and outline as in feature, presenting a rare combination of strong faces and manly forms. There are also introduced some well-known characters of the plains, and several incidents contrasting the old life and the incoming civilization. To the left is presented an old-fashioned stagecoach, while beyond is a wagon train that had left the Missouri months before; and a race is in progress between mustangs, to whose drivers gambling was paramount to matters of national concern.

"Other features are a strap-game, poker-playing on a barrel-head, a couple of saloons improvised for the occasion, a few Indians in their native attire, a few itinerant vendors, and a company of soldiers that chanced to be present, all of which give variety of detail and relieve the more formal groupings. At the feet of Governor Stanford, adjusting the wire leading off through the crowd to the telegraph pole on the right, is F. L. Vandenberg, the chief electrician of the occasion. To the left is J. H. Strowbridge, General Superintendent of the work of construction. The leading lights of the Central Pacific Railroad—C. P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, E. B. Crocker, Charles Crocker, and T. D. Judah—are represented in characteristic attitudes, with features accurately portrayed. Near Governor Stanford are the President and Directors of the Union Pacific—Oakes Ames, Sidney Dillon, Dr. Durant and John Duff. The wives of the officers commanding the troops in the vicinity, who were present, add to the canvas a picturesque quality. The Wahsatch Mountains, five or six miles distant, trend away to the north, diminishing in height until they become a low range of blue hills bounding the grayish-green expanse of plains, while the foreground is bathed with warm light, lending to the pile of ties, the kegs of spikes, the grading implements, and even the fresh earth, a mellow radiance that invests them with a portion of the interest attached to the scene. Although Mr. Hill dealt with four hundred figures in almost perfect rest, and the landscape in which they stand, except for a lovely quality in the atmosphere and a certain enhancement of distance, is without extraordinary features, the thankless material yielded to the skillful hand of the artist, and the picture is complete."

I am indebted to Miss Beora Snow, information clerk at the California state capitol and to Miss Caroline Wenzel of the California State Library, Sacramento, for the above information. Hill's famous painting was reproduced in color in *Fortune*, February, 1940, and in *Life*, July 4, 1949.

Thomas Hill (1829-1908) is one of the best-known of California painters of mountain scenery. For a biographical sketch see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 9, pp. 46, 47. Eugen Neuhaus, *History and Ideals of American Art* (Stanford Univ., 1931), pp. 86, 87, has an undocumented account of his work. Thad Welch, another California painter, characterized Hill as "an amiable Englishman, who said he painted the Yosemite, not as it is, but as it ought to be."—*Overland*, v. 82 (1924), April, p. 181.

readers the wonder of travel from coast to coast on iron rails. One of the best-known of the writing fraternity to draw this assignment was A. D. Richardson of the *New York Tribune*, and in less than ten days after the rails were joined, he left New York City for San Francisco. In a lengthy series of articles to the *Tribune* he described in considerable detail his experiences as he traveled from coast to coast.³ According to Richardson, the distance he covered was 3,313 miles (from New York to San Francisco) and the fare on this early transcontinental tour was \$193.82.

Less than 50 California-bound passengers were on the train as they left Omaha. Emigrants, Richardson pointed out, were waiting for lower fares. The trip from coast to coast could be made in six days but nine days was the more usual time when the through road was first opened.⁴ Moreover the rails really weren't continuous, for at Council Bluffs, because of the lack of a bridge across the Missouri river, the passengers disembarked on the eastern shore of the river and were loaded into

twelve mammoth omnibuses, and express and baggage wagons. The two mail wagons are so piled with sacks of letters and papers that they look like loads of hay. All these huge vehicles are crowded upon one ferry boat; we drop down half a mile, rounding the great, flat, naked sand-bank; then land, a drive along a plank road, with water on each side, into the just-now muddy streets of Omaha. The through passengers are transferred to the Union Pacific train, and in half an hour are again whirling Westward. . . .⁵

Although the rails were continuous through Promontory Point, the "town" was the end of the Union Pacific and the beginning of the Central Pacific and passengers were forced to change cars in Richardson's day. Travelers were advised to be wary of Promontory. It was, as Richardson described it, "30 tents upon the Great Sahara, sans trees, sans water, sans comfort, sans everything."⁶

3. The articles (eight in number) appeared under the general heading "Through to the Pacific" and will be found in the *New York Tribune* of 1869 as follows: May 29, pp. 1, 2 (this first one is dated "Chicago, May 21"); June 5, p. 1; June 22, p. 2; June 25, pp. 1, 2; June 26, p. 14; July 12, pp. 1, 2; July 19, p. 1; July 28, pp. 1, 2. The series was concluded by a column headed "Back From the Pacific" (describing Richardson's experiences as far east as Omaha and Atchison) in the issue of August 2, 1869, pp. 1, 2. All nine articles are signed with Richardson's initials "A. D. R." This series was reprinted in a greatly condensed version in a compilation of Richardson's writings prepared by his wife, Mrs. A. D. Richardson, *Garnered Sheaves* . . . (Hartford, 1871), pp. 258-322. Other contemporary accounts of travel over the transcontinental railroad in the first few months of use will be found in W. L. Humason's *From the Atlantic Surf to the Golden Gate* (Hartford, 1869), a very poor and inadequate description as far as actual travel experiences go; a more satisfactory account will be found in W. F. Rae's *Westward By Rail* (New York, 1871), 2nd ed. Rae made the trip across the continent in September, 1869.

4. Richardson gives a nine-day time table from New York to San Francisco in the *New York Tribune*, June 26, 1869, p. 14. There is an item in the *Tribune*, July 26, 1869, p. 3, reporting that the first through car from Sacramento arrived in New York City on July 24. It had left Sacramento on July 17 and made the trip in "a trifle over six days."

5. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1869, p. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1869, p. 14.

Other contemporaries condemned it in still harsher terms:

Sodom [wrote the editor from a neighboring town] had its few, peculiar besetting sins; Promontory presents a full catalogue, with all the modern improvements, dips, spurs, angles, and variations. The low, desperate, hungry, brazen-faced thieves there congregated would contaminate the convicts of any penitentiary [*sic*] in the land. —It would be a mercy to the traveling public, especially that portion coming west, and a relief to the honest mechanics of Promontory, and the moral sentiments of the age, if the cleansing element of fire would sweep the God-forsaken town from the face of the earth.⁷

If the traveling public read at all, they would have reason to make their stay in Promontory as short as possible. The final discomfort in traveling from coast to coast in 1869 was encountered at the western end of the line, for rail reached only to Sacramento. The remainder of the trip could be made to San Francisco by steamer down the Sacramento river or by rail to Vallejo and then by ferry across the bay. The Vallejo railroad, however, was a private affair not connected with the Central Pacific and although it was the shortest and quickest way to San Francisco, its existence was not disclosed to transcontinental passengers.⁸

Despite these difficulties of travel, Richardson was quick to assure his readers that the combined roads were as safe to travel as any in the United States and that passengers taking sleeping cars would have a comfortable trip.⁹ In fact, as another traveler pointed out, "the Pullman saloon, sleeping and restaurant cars of the West,—as yet unknown in the Atlantic States . . . introduce a comfort, even a luxury, into life on the rail, that European travel has not yet attained to. . . ." ¹⁰

Richardson was no new observer of the West, for he had a first-hand acquaintance with it, not only from previous travel but from actual frontier life and one of the most moving passages of his overland account was written when he recalled his earlier travels:

Memories of seven journeys in bye gone years, and from the Missouri to three mountains—on horseback and in vehicles—usually occupying a week, and always full of adventure. The wagon-train, the coach, the pony-expresses, the buffalo-hunt, the Indian panic, the camp-fire, the reading aloud in the tent by flaming candle of a chilly evening, the sleeping upon the ground under the blue sky through many a pleasant night—all these belong to a faded past. Instead, we hear [have?] the palace car in its purple and fine linen; the conductor with his pouch demanding our tickets; the black porter with his clothes-brush,

7. *Omaha Weekly Republican*, October 27, 1869, p. 3, reprinted from the *Elko (Nev.) Independent* of October 18.

8. Richardson, *New York Tribune*, July 12, 1869, pp. 1, 2.

9. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1869, pp. 1, 2.

10. Samuel Bowles, *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, v. 23 (1869), April, p. 496.

waiting for our "quarter," the railway eating-house with its clattering dishes, and the smooth running train for one night and one day [Richardson was referring to the trip from Omaha to Cheyenne]. The gain is wonderful in time and comfort; the loss irreparable in romance and picturesqueness.¹¹

JOSEPH BECKER

All of which sets the stage for Joseph Becker. Although writers in considerable number made the Western journey shortly after the joining of rails, pictorial reporters were few and far between, or at least the record of their work is extremely meager.¹²

Probably there was no publisher who was as sensitive to public demand and tastes as Frank Leslie; his policy was based on the maxim: "Never shoot over the heads of the people." If such a policy led to no improvement in public taste, its record, at least, reflected the common level of achievement and culture during the years that Leslie published his numerous periodicals. The great public interest aroused by the completion of the transcontinental railroad was Leslie's signal to send a staff artist to *picture* events along the line of travel, and in the fall of 1869 Joseph Becker started west on an assignment from Leslie.

Becker, born in 1841, joined Leslie's staff as an errand boy in 1859, at the age of 17. In constant contact with the pictorial reporters on the staff, he became interested in sketching and was taught the rudiments of the art by staff members. Leslie himself, a skilled engraver, took an active interest in the youngster and encouraged him to practice long and hard. By 1863, he was an artist on Leslie's staff and as the demand for field artists was insatiable, he was sent with the Army of the Potomac and followed the campaigns from Gettysburg to Appomattox. Many of his war drawings were, of course, reproduced in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, but in 1905 Becker stated that he had many original Civil War sketches and studies that had never been published.¹³ Becker continued for many years after the close of the war on the Leslie staff, and from 1875 until 1900 he was head of the Leslie art department.

Becker left New York City on his Western trip about the middle of October, 1869, some five months after the joining of rails, so that

11. *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1869, p. 2.

12. Richardson reported (*ibid.*) that "within thirty days" many artists and writers were going west. Already he had met Ed. F. Waters of the *Boston Advertiser*, Gov. Bross of the *Chicago Tribune*, J. W. Simonton of the Associated Press, and Wm. Swinton of the *New York Times*, but he did not mention by name any of the artists. I have found no other illustrator until Becker's work is reported, although the photographers mentioned in Footnote 2 should not be overlooked.

13. The biographical data on Becker given above comes from reminiscences of Becker published in *Leslie's Weekly*, v. 101 (1905), December 14, p. 570, and from an obituary published after his death on January 27, 1910, in the *New York Tribune*, January 29, 1910, p. 7. For a biographical sketch of Frank Leslie see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 11, pp. 186, 187.

some of the early difficulties of transcontinental travel had disappeared, but the journey was unique in its kind. The enterprising George Pullman had prevailed upon the managements of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific to permit a through Pullman train to run from Omaha to San Francisco without the necessity of changing trains at the junction point of Promontory. The Central Pacific had completed their line from Sacramento to San Francisco so that with the innovation of the Pullman car, rail service had been considerably improved in five months. The *Alta California* of San Francisco described the new service as follows:

After Tuesday next a Pullman special train, with drawing-room and sleeping cars, will leave San Francisco at 7:30 a. m. every Monday, and Omaha every Tuesday, at 9:15 a. m., stopping only . . . [for necessary] fuel and water. The fare, including double berth in sleeping car, will be \$168 in currency between San Francisco and Omaha. Meals will be served on the train as follows: Breakfast, from 7 to 9, \$1; lunch, from 11 to 2, at card prices; dinner, from 4 to 6, \$1.50. Passage tickets, drawing-rooms, sections and berths can be secured at the Pacific Railroad offices at either end, by telegraph, letter, or personal application.

One of these special trains, which left Omaha on the 18th [actually October 19], will reach this city to-day, and will leave on the return trip for Omaha on Monday next, arriving there on Thursday, and connecting with Eastern trains due in New York on Sunday. The trip across the Continent will, according to this schedule, be made in six days.¹⁴

Becker was on the first of these special trains, the one which left Omaha on October 19th. The train arrived in San Francisco on the evening of October 22, making the run in 81 hours.¹⁵

The pictorial records of Becker's trip began their appearance in *Leslie's* with the issue of November 13, 1869.¹⁶ It is a sentimental drawing with the legend "Good-Bye" and shows a mother holding her baby up to be kissed by a be-whiskered engineer in the locomotive cab. The illustration bears the sub-title, "An Incident on the Union Pacific Railroad at Omaha."

Very few of these Western illustrations were credited directly to Becker. In a few, to be cited later, Becker is specifically men-

14. *Alta California*, October 22, 1869, p. 1.

15. The arrival of the first Pullman special from the East is reported in *ibid.*, October 23, 1869, p. 1, in an article which included a resolution signed by a number of the passengers. Included in the list of names is that of "Joseph Becker, New York City." The article stated that the train left Omaha "at a quarter past nine o'clock in the morning on Tuesday last." Tuesday of that week was October 19. A group of travelers on a special train from New York City which left New York October 16 was supposed to have made the trip west from Omaha on the same special train; owing to storms they failed to make connections (the above citation and the *Omaha Weekly Republican*, October 20, 1869, p. 3). This fact would establish that Becker left New York City prior to October 16.

In the Becker reminiscences of 1905 (*loc. cit.*), he stated that the Western trip was made in 1872; an obvious slip of memory for not only did the name of Becker appear in the *Alta California* of 1869 (cited above) but there are no Western illustrations of Becker in *Leslie's* for 1872 or 1873 whereas there are such illustrations for 1869 and 1870.

16. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 29 (1869), November 13, p. 145 (full page).

tioned in the legend. In two, his initials appeared. After the series was under way, individual illustrations appeared under the general title, "Across the Continent," followed by the specific title of the illustration and the credit line "From a sketch by our special artist." Occasionally in the series, an illustration will be found which bears the signature of some other artist. Thus the signature "Bghs" (Albert Berghaus) appeared on several, however such signatures but indicate the fact that the original sketch was redrawn, probably on the wood block itself, by the second artist. A few of the illustrations belonging to the general series, "Across the Continent," were credited to photographs by A. J. Russell but the others to "our special artist." I have assumed that all, with the exception of the photographs, are to be credited to Becker.¹⁷

Becker spent some time in California working on still another aspect of life in 1869. Leslie was greatly interested in the Chinese question as were many other Americans of that day. The importation of Chinese laborers into California beginning in the middle 1860's was producing a social and economic problem as the wave of Chinese immigration advanced eastward. Leslie's feeling about the Chinese is doubtlessly reflected in the general title of a series of illustrations appearing in his *Newspaper*, "The Coming Man." Here again the illustrator was Becker, for Leslie had instructed him to make the Chinese a matter of special study when he reached California.¹⁸

After spending six weeks in California, Becker returned east over the transcontinental route but took time out to leave the main line

17. The record of Becker's Western trip as given in the *Alta California* reference (see Footnotes 14 and 15) and the subject matter of the Western illustrations as listed in the text which follows, is good evidence for crediting Becker with the series of illustrations. But there is more positive evidence. In the issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for February 5, 1870, p. 346 (v. 29), there is editorial comment on a two-page illustration (one of the series "Across the Continent") issued as supplement, "The Snow Sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains." The editorial goes on to state: "The numbers of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* since the commencement of the publication in its pages of scenes and incidents met with by our artist [italics are by the writer] in his journey to San Francisco, are especially valuable, and should be purchased and carefully filed for future reference by all who have an intelligent idea of the future of this continent." The illustration referred to in this issue bears the legend, "From a Sketch by Joseph Becker." The identification of our artist with Joseph Becker and with the series "Across the Continent" completes the proof.

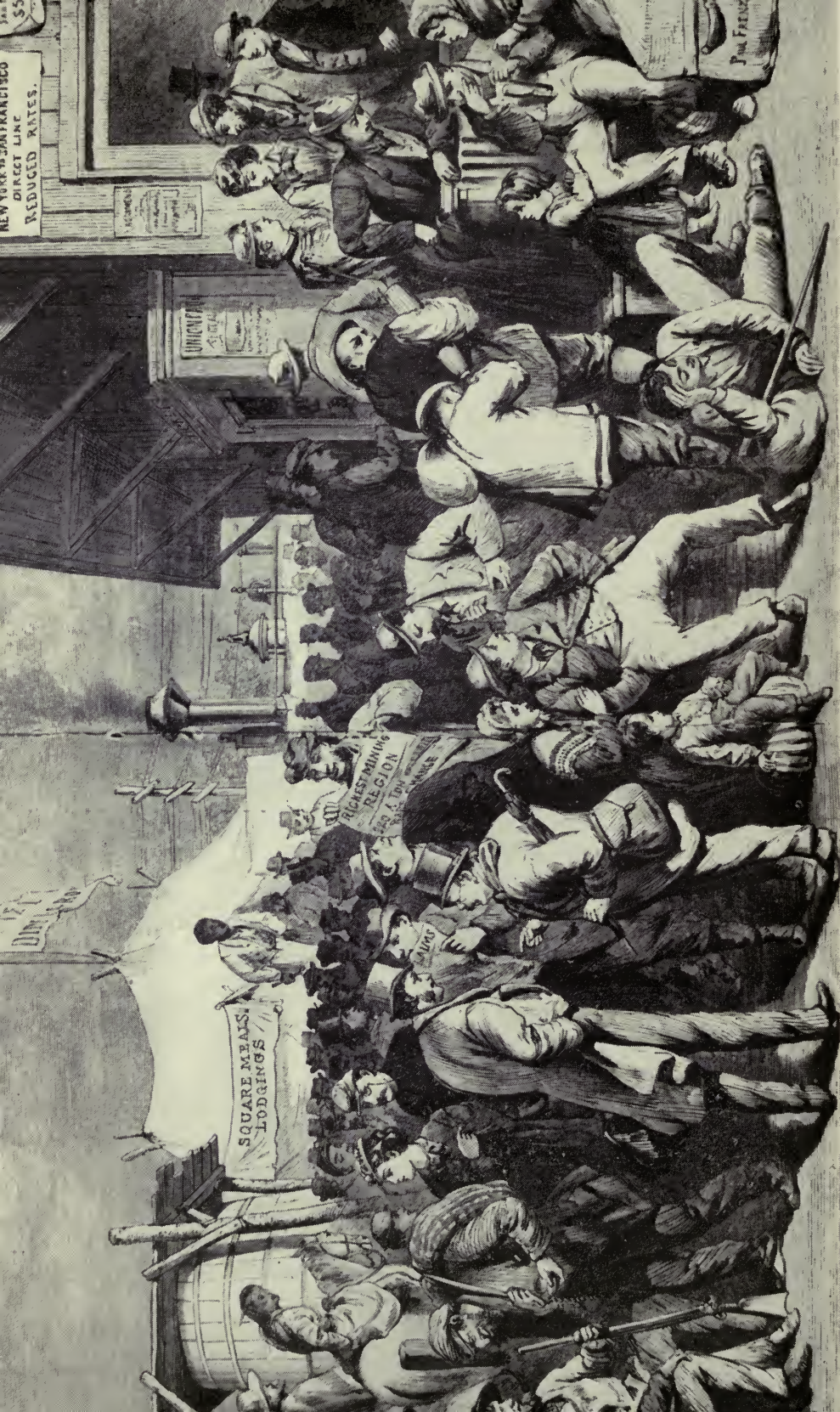
18. Becker's illustrations of Chinese life in California appeared in *ibid.*, beginning with the issue of May 7, 1870, where (p. 114) editorial comment is made on them and there is included as a supplement to the issue a large two-page illustration, "Scene in the Principal Chinese Theatre, San Francisco, California, During the Performance of a Great Historical Play" with the legend "From a Sketch by Joseph Becker." Other Chinese illustrations appeared in the issues of May 14, 21, 28, June 4, 11, 18, 25, July 2, 16, 23, 30, 1870. In the issue of July 30 (p. 316) is the statement that "with this number we close the interesting series of engravings illustrating the Chinese as they are seen today in our chief maritime city on the Pacific coast." Curiously enough, Becker in his reminiscences (see Footnote 13) stated that the chief object of his Western trip was to depict the Chinese and that he "spent six weeks among the Celestials."

Other contemporary comment on the Chinese question will be found in the report on a national discussion of the Chinese labor question held at Memphis, Tenn., in 1869 (*New York Tribune*, July 15, 1869, p. 5) and in A. D. Richardson's lengthy discussion of the Chinese problem in "John," *The Atlantic Monthly*, v. 24 (1869), December, pp. 740-761.

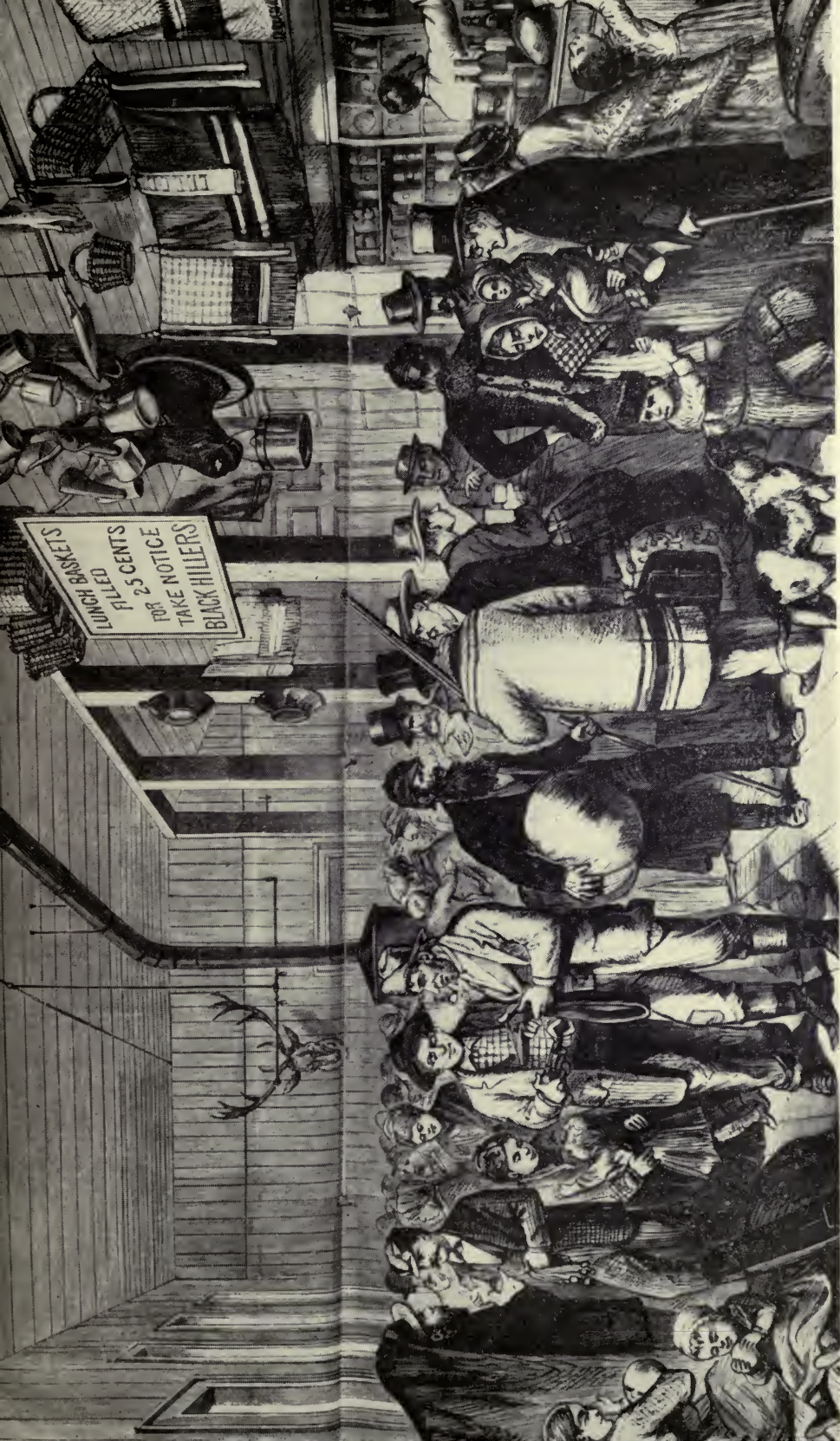


OGDEN AND YEAGER'S "A PARTY OF GOLD MINERS STARTING FOR THE BLACK HILLS" FROM CHEYENNE (1877)

(Note: The illustrations accompanying this article are reproduced from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.)



BECKER'S "A STATION SCENE ON THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY" (1869)



OGDEN AND YEAGER'S "A CHARACTER SCENE IN THE EMIGRANT WAITING-ROOM OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD DEPOT AT OMAHA" (1877)



BECKER'S "DRAWING-ROOM OF THE HOTEL EXPRESS TRAIN" (1870)

at Ogden for a side trip to Salt Lake City, for the Mormons were also a subject of general and extreme American interest. As a result, many Utah sketches appeared among the Becker illustrations. It is possible, too, that Becker made a hasty side trip from the main line of the Union Pacific at Cheyenne to Denver.¹⁹

Altogether, if we exclude the Chinese illustrations (cited in Footnote 18), there resulted from Becker's trip some 40 Western illustrations with the following titles (starred items have the series title, "Across the Continent"):

1. "Sunday in the Rocky Mountains" (full page).
2. "On the Plains—A Station Scene on the Union Pacific Railway" (full page). [Reproduced *between* pp. 120, 121.]
- *3. "Dining Saloon of the Hotel Express Train" (about full page).
- *4. "Drawing-Room of the Hotel Express Train" (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 on two pages). [No. 4, reproduced *facing* p. 121.]
- *5. "Kitchen of the Express Train."
- *6. "Gamblers and Gambling-Table in the Street at Promontory Point."
- *7. "Gambling-Houses at Promontory Point."
- *8. "Passing Through the Great Salt Lake Valley" (double page).
- *9. "Salt Lake Branch Railroad in Course of Construction" (full page).
- *10. "Scene in Salt Lake Valley—Fortified House on the Plains" (Nos. 10, 11, 12 on one page).
- *11. "Utah—Transporting Railway Ties Across Salt Lake."
- *12. "Utah—Mormons Hauling Wood From the Mountains."
- *13. "Hotel Life on the Plains" (six illustrations on one page). [Reproduced *facing* p. 128.]
- *14. "A Prairie Dog City Near the Pacific Railroad" (Nos. 14 and 15 on one page).
- *15. "Brigham City, and Old Water-Marks, as Seen from Corinne, on the Line of the Pacific Railroad."
- *16. "Mormon Converts on Their Way to Salt Lake City—The Halt on the Road at a Watering Place" (full page).
- *17. "A Mormon Farmer and His Family in the Streets of Salt Lake City" (Nos. 17, 18, 19 on one page).
- *18. "Street Scene in Salt Lake City."
- *19. "The Fish Market, Salt Lake City—Members of Brigham Young's Family Buying Fish."
- *20. "View of Echo City, and Entrance to Echo Canon, Looking East" (full page and contains the signature, lower left, "J. B.).
- *21. "A View in Echo Canon" (Nos. 21 and 22 on one page).
- *22. "A Mormon Farmer and Family Returning From Salt Lake City."
- *23. "Snow Sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains" (double page).

19. That the trip to Salt Lake City was made on the return from California is so stated by Becker in his reminiscences (*see* Footnote 13); in fact, even without his comment it would appear obvious that Salt Lake City would have to be visited on the return trip as the out-bound trip from Omaha to San Francisco in 81 hours would preclude any side trips.

The possibility of a Becker visit to Denver is suggested by an illustration in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 30 (1870), April 2, p. 44, "Monuments on Monument Creek, Colorado, Near the Line of the Pacific Railroad," credited to the general series of illustrations and to "our artist"; the text (p. 29) identified the locality as "south of Denver."

- *24. "Salt Lake City—The Reserved Circle in the Mormon Theatre for the children of Brigham Young" (Nos. 24 and 25 on one page).
- *25. "Salt Lake City—The Interior of the Great Mormon Temple."
- *26. "Salt Lake City—The Reserved Circle for the Wives of Brigham Young in the Mormon Theatre" (Nos. 26 and 27 on one page).
- *27. "Salt Lake City—Mormon Leader with His Last 'Seal' in the Mormon Theatre."
- *28. "Entrance to the Great American Desert" (Nos. 28 and 29 on one page).
- *29. "The Weber Canon."
- *30. "Wood Shoots in the Sierra Nevada—Pacific Railroad" (about ½ page).
- *31. "Hauling Lumber in the Sierra Nevada" (Nos. 31 and 32 on one page).
- *32. "Humboldt River and Canon."
- *33. "The Post-Office at Promontory Point" (small).
- *34. "In the Sierra Nevada, on the Line of the Pacific Railroad" (about ½ page).
- *35. "Scene on the Road to Salt Lake City—A Mormon Adobe Dwelling" (about ½ page).
- 36. "View on Truckee River in Sierra Nevada" (about ½ page).
- *37. "Laborers on a Hand-Car of the Pacific Rail road, Attacked by Indians—Running Fight, and Repulse of the Assailants" (full page).
- 38. "Monuments on Monument Creek, Colorado, Near the Line of the Pacific Railroad" (about ½ page).
- 39. "On the Plains—Early Morning at Fort Laramie" (about ½ page).
- 40. "An Exciting Race Between a Locomotive and a Herd of Deer on the Line of the Pacific Rail road, West of Omaha" (about ½ page).²⁰

Of all the illustrations listed above, the most interesting and most revealing of the times is No. 2, "A Station Scene on the Union Pacific Railway" (reproduced *between* pp. 120, 121). The station may be Omaha or—more probably—it is a composite view of several scenes witnessed by Becker, for here are portrayed the bustle, confusion and interests of many and varied individuals. Emigrants, pleasure-seeking travelers, soldiers, plainsmen and prospectors, Indians, card sharps, mining speculators, Chinese coolies, a Jewish peddler (When will the fascinating story of the Jew on the frontier be told?), a Negro caller and many others not so easily identified carry on their roles against the background of the station, a hastily constructed water tower and a billowing canvas "Hotel and Dining Room." The opening of the railroad made easier access to the

20. These illustrations appeared in *ibid.*, as follows: In v. 29 (1869), No. 1, December 4, p. 193; No. 2, December 11, pp. 208, 209. In v. 29 (1870), No. 3, January 15, p. 297; Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, January 15, pp. 304, 305; No. 8, January 15, supplement; No. 9, January 22, p. 321; Nos. 10, 11, 12, January 22, p. 324; No. 13, January 22, p. 325; Nos. 14, 15, January 29, p. 336; No. 16, January 29, p. 337; Nos. 17, 18, 19, February 5, p. 349; No. 20, February 5, p. 352; Nos. 21, 22, February 5, p. 353; No. 23, February 5, supplement; Nos. 24, 25, February 12, p. 372; Nos. 26, 27, February 12, p. 373; Nos. 28, 29, February 19, p. 389; No. 30, February 26, p. 401; Nos. 31, 32, February 26, p. 404; No. 33, March 5, p. 409; No. 34, March 5, p. 417; No. 35, March 12, p. 436. In v. 30 (1870), No. 36, March 19, p. 12; No. 37, March 26, p. 25; No. 38, April 2, p. 44; No. 39, April 30, p. 108; No. 40, May 28, p. 173.

mining regions of the West and every new discovery brought a rush of passengers intent on making sudden fortunes.²¹

Others of particular interest in the series include those showing the equipment of the first Pullman special, "the Hotel Express Train" (Nos. 3, 4 and 5), those of Promontory Point (Nos. 6, 7, 33 and probably No. 13) which do nothing to relieve its reputation as "a God-forsaken town" and the two large illustrations, "Snow Sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains" (No. 23) and "Passing Through the Great Salt Lake Valley" (No. 8) which bears as an addition to the legend, "The Country as Seen From the Observation Car of the Pacific Railroad Hotel Express Train." The "Observation Car" was simply the rear platform of the last coach but Becker later claimed that the desire of travelers to observe scenery on this trip suggested the idea of an observation car. "I furnished designs," wrote Becker in 1905, "for this to Mr. Pullman, which afterwards were utilized. I may therefore fairly claim to have been the inventor of what is now a feature on all great railways."²²

The illustration showing snowsheds in the Sierra Nevadas is of additional interest as Becker later made a painting based on the illustration. In 1939, the painting was on exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art under the inconceivably stupid title of "The First Transcontinental Train Leaving Sacramento, in May, 1869." An examination of the two pictures shows that they are but little different.²³

The last two in the list above (Nos. 39 and 40) do not have the series title, "Across the Continent," but from the subject matter and the accompanying text clearly belong with the group. The title of No. 39 is in error, however, for it should read "Early Morning at Laramie [not Fort Laramie]." The failure to distinguish between Laramie, Wyo., and Fort Laramie is an error that has been made innumerable times since 1870.

21. The White Pine silver mines of Nevada were probably attracting the most interest at the time of Becker's trip. The New York *Tribune* in August and September of 1869 ran a series of five long articles on these mines (No. 1 in the series appeared on August 16, 1869, pp. 1, 2, and No. 3, August 24, 1869, pp. 1, 2) the railroad station for which was Elko, Nev. I have examined the Omaha papers of the period (in the Byron Reed collection of the Omaha Public Library) i. e., the summer and fall of 1869, and both the *Omaha Weekly Republican* and the *Omaha Weekly Herald* devoted many columns to mining news, not only of the White Pine region but to regions in Montana (the freight station for the Montana mines on the line of the railroad was Corinne, Utah—*Omaha Weekly Herald*, November 24, 1869, p. 4), Wyoming and Colorado.

It will be noted that this illustration bears, lower left, a signature which appears to be a composite of several, but the initials "J" "B" and "D" are discernible. "D" probably is the signature of J. P. Davis, the wood-engraver as his signature appeared on at least one other of Becker's illustrations, *Leslie's*, v. 30 (1870), May 7, supplement.

22. In Becker reminiscences (see Footnote 13).

23. For the exhibition of the Becker painting in 1939, see *Life in America* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y., 1939), pp. 157, 158.

After Becker became head of Leslie's art department in 1875, his opportunities for travel were greatly reduced and, as far as I have been able to determine, his Western illustrations were confined solely to his experiences of 1869.²⁴

HARRY OGDEN AND WALTER YEAGER

The practice of newspapers and magazines in sending artists and illustrators on long excursions to the West has resulted in some of our most important pictorial records of this region. In addition to those of Joseph Becker, the travels of A. R. Waud and T. R. Davis in 1866 and 1867, and the extremely valuable series of illustrations secured by Frenzeny and Tavernier, have already been described in this series.

Doubtless there were many others in the decades of the 1860's and 1870's. For example, the Southwestern illustrations of T. Willis Champney made for *Scribner's Magazine* in 1873 at least deserve mention in our review. But illustrators sent by newspapers and the lesser-known magazines must have made the transcontinental tour in considerable number, though their work today is not readily accessible. Much of it, I hope, will through the continued work of myself and others, eventually come to light.²⁵



The most elaborate, the plushiest, the *ne plus ultra* in the way of pictorial excursions to the West, however, was that of no less a person than Frank Leslie himself in the spring and summer of 1877. By 1877 Leslie was a person of real consequence in these United States.

24. The only other Western illustrations that I have found credited to Becker are two appearing in *Leslie's* many years after his trip of 1869. In the issue of August 17, 1889, p. 21, is the Becker illustration "Forest Fires in Montana" and in the issue of March 21, 1891, p. 121, is the Becker illustration "The Invasion of the Cherokee Strip." As no information in the text appears concerning these illustrations, I presume that Becker redrew them from photographs or from the sketches of other artists.

Reproduced with Becker's reminiscences (Footnote 13) was a photograph of a group of Leslie artists of the early 1870's. Included in the group, in addition to Becker, are a number of individuals whose names have appeared in this series, including Albert Berghaus, James E. Taylor, T. de Thulstrup and Walter Yeager.

25. Local and state historical societies should find a particularly fertile and interesting field in stimulating the study of types and sources of pictorial materials that record the history of their individual regions along the lines suggested by this present series of articles.

For the illustrations of T. Willis Champney (1843-1903), see the series of articles by Edward King, "The Great South," in *Scribner's Monthly* for 1873-1875. Those in the series that belong to the Trans-Mississippi West include *Scribner's Monthly*, v. 6 (1873), July, pp. 257-288 (Missouri, Kansas, Indian Territory, Texas); v. 7 (1874), January, pp. 302-330; February, pp. 401-431 (Texas); v. 8 (1874), July, pp. 257-284 (Missouri); October, pp. 641-669 (Arkansas). A few of the illustrations are signed by Champney but a number bear the initials of Thomas Moran and W. L. Snyder. However, in v. 6, pp. 279, 280, 286, are illustrations bearing the signature "W. L. S. after Champney" and in the table of contents of v. 7 (p. iv) there is the credit line for six of the King articles appearing in that volume, "Illustrated from sketches by Champney." Occasionally, too, one will encounter in the series an illustration "C-WLS," so that it is apparent that Moran and Snyder (and others) redrew many of the Champney sketches. That Champney was the artist sent by Scribner's is verified by the fact that he was in the Southwest in 1873; see *Topeka Commonwealth*, January 28, 1873, p. 2. For a short biographical sketch of Champney, see *American Art Annual*, New York, v. 4 (1903), p. 138.

He was publishing well over a dozen periodicals, including the best-known of the group, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* which on occasion sold as many as 400,000 copies an issue—a remarkable figure for its day. His *Frank Leslie's Historical Register of the United States Centennial Exposition* of 1876 was one of the most sumptuously illustrated volumes ever published and of which he was justly proud. He owned an elaborate country estate, Interlaken, on Saratoga lake, complete with formal gardens, terraces and steam yacht, where he and his wife entertained on a prodigal and lavish scale, and where, the year before he made his Western trip, he had been host to the Emperor and Empress of Brazil. And lastly, his wife, Miriam Florence Leslie, formerly Mrs. Squier, formerly Mrs. Peacock, nee Miriam Florence Follin, was a charming, vivacious and very articulate young woman—articulate in five languages.²⁶

On April 10, 1877, Leslie, with a party of 11 friends and employees, left New York City for the West over the New York Central and Michigan Southern railways in an elaborate, highly-decorated and magnificent Wagner sleeping car. To do full credit to the occasion, however, one must read the contemporary report of the departure:

On Tuesday evening, April 10th, a large party of gentlemen and ladies, prominent in literary, artistic and social circles, assembled at the Grand Central Depot in Forty-second Street, to bid farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Leslie, who were about starting on a trip to California and the Pacific Coast. Mr. Leslie was accompanied by several artists, photographers and literary ladies and gentlemen connected with his publishing house, and it is his intention to visit every locality of special note on the route, with a view to illustrating the grand highway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans on a scale never heretofore attempted. The public may congratulate itself that it is about to acquire a new and more extended familiarity with the magnificent scenery of the Great West. Mr. Leslie's party numbers twelve in all. They started in a special Wagner Palace Car, which Mr. Wagner, out of compliment to its enterprising occupant, named the "Frank Leslie." At Chicago, which was reached on Thursday, April 12th, the party were transferred to a Pullman Hotel Car,

26. For the Leslies, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 11, pp. 186-188; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, v. 3, p. 370; v. 25, pp. 237, 238; the most satisfactory account of Mrs. Leslie as yet available is Madeleine B. Stern's "Mrs. Frank Leslie: New York's Last Bohemian" in *New York History*, Cooperstown, January, 1948. Miss Stern is now at work on a full-length biography of Mrs. Leslie.

The circulation of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* estimated from data supplied by the *American Newspaper Directory* for the period 1870-1900 is considerable less than the figures given in the text above and in general less than its chief competitor, *Harper's Weekly*, whose maximum circulation was 100,000 in the period stated. Nevertheless, on special occasions the circulation of *Leslie's* jumped to astonishingly large figures. After the Chicago fire, the two succeeding issues of *Leslie's* were reported as having a circulation of 327,000 and of 470,000 (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 33 [1871], November 4, p. 114; November 11, p. 130). Incidentally, many of the Chicago fire illustrations in *Leslie's* were sketched by Joseph Becker.

and arrangements have been perfected permitting this vehicle to lie over at any point Mr. Leslie may indicate for as long a time as suits his convenience. In this manner the artists and writers, as well as those who accompany the expedition in the character of pleasure-seekers only, will have ample opportunity afforded them of making a deliberate survey of all points of interest, and of acquiring intelligent and lasting impressions of what they observe, very different from the fleeting ideas which tourists are usually obliged to catch at in the hurried transit of ordinary travel. Everything deserving of reproduction will be carefully and accurately noted, and will in due time be brought into the intimate acquaintance of the readers of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, accompanied by competent descriptive text. On reaching San Francisco, the party will make their headquarters at Warren Leland's magnificent Palace Hotel, while they prosecute their search for the picturesque in the glorious Yosemite region, and possibly northward as far as Vancouver and the Columbia River.

The scene in the depot at the starting, represented in our illustration, was one of genial excitement. Judging from the number of champagne baskets and significant-looking hampers placed on board the "Frank Leslie" car, it was evident that its temporary proprietor had a full appreciation of what would tend to the inner comfort of his companions, while the luxurious appointments of the carriage itself promised all that could be demanded for their physical ease. Upwards of a hundred persons were in attendance to wish the party a pleasant journey, and as the last whistle sounded, and the huge train gradually acquired motion, loud cheers arose from the group on the platform, responded to by waving of hands and handkerchiefs from the inmates of the car, and accompanied by a deafening chorus of exploding signal-torpedoes, which Mr. Wagner had, without announcing his intention, caused to be placed on the tracks, in front of each wheel of the "Frank Leslie."²⁷

The party of 12 included, besides Mr. and Mrs. Leslie, Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Hackley, presumably friends of the Leslies; Bracebridge Hemyng ("Jack Harkaway"), one of the Leslie writers; a Miss Davis, possibly another writer; H. S. Wicks, Leslie's business manager; W. K. Rice, a son of Gov. A. H. Rice of Massachusetts, probably also a guest of the Leslies; W. B. Austin, a staff photographer; E. A. Curley, probably Austin's assistant, and Harry Ogden and Walter R. Yeager, staff artists of the Leslie publications.²⁸

As a result of the trip, which extended from coast to coast there appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* nearly 200 illustrations, the majority of which are scenes of Western interest. Most of the illustrations are to be attributed to sketches by Ogden and by

27. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, v. 44 (1877), April 28, pp. 140, 141. Mrs. Frank Leslie, *California—A Pleasure Trip From Gotham to the Golden Gate* (New York, 1877), pp. 17-20, also described the departure. The last account is subsequently cited as Mrs. Leslie.

28. The identification of the Leslie party is based on accounts of the Leslie trip appearing in the *Chicago Times*, April 13, 1877, p. 6; the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 14, 1877, p. 8; the *Omaha Daily Bee*, April 17, 1877, p. 4; the *Wyoming Daily Leader*, Cheyenne, April 19, 1877, and especially the account in the *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, April 20, 1877, p. 4. I am indebted to the Chicago Historical Society, the Nebraska State Historical Society, the Wyoming State Library and Historical Department, and the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library for these accounts.

Yeager or to the joint efforts of the two. A few are obviously based on photographs, and undoubtedly Ogden and Yeager employed Austin's photographs freely in preparing their final illustrations for publication.²⁹

The party arrived in Chicago on April 13, went to the Grand Pacific Hotel and spent two days viewing the Windy city. Many evidences of the great fire were still evident, but the party agreed that Chicago was "a city of magnificent beginnings, a thing of promise."³⁰

Not only are there many illustrations of this transcontinental journey, but there are also extensive written descriptions. Mrs. Leslie described her experiences in book form (*see* Footnote 27), and the individual issues of *Leslie's* for many weeks carried considerable text with the illustrations. The written descriptions are not signed but were probably Jack Harkaway's contribution to history. His descriptions are written with real skill and are in general entertaining and informative. Considering the elaborate and sumptuous character of the expedition, one might expect condescension on the part of the writer toward his audience. Such an attitude is completely lacking, for the writer is able to convey his very real interest in the unfolding panorama about him. The interest, no doubt, was genuine, for none of the party had been west before and the Great West was still a fabulous country to the untraveled in 1877. Read, for example, Harkaway's description of their journey as they left Omaha and were fairly launched into the Great West:

The chief beauty and interest of the Plains [he wrote], so far on our journey, is borrowed from their relation to the sky. The Platte Valley, with its absence of marked features and strong lights and shadows, is something like an expres-

29. Credit is variously given for the illustrations. In the issue of July 7, p. 301, are several small sketches credited to "Harry Ogden and W. Yeager"; in the same issue, p. 304, is one credited to "Harry Ogden"; in the issue of July 14, 1871, p. 321, are several illustrations credited to "Harry Ogden and W. Yeager"; in the issue of September 15, 1877, p. 17, an illustration is credited to "Harry Ogden"; in the issues of September 24, 1878, pp. 420-421, and September 7, 1878, p. 5, are a number of illustrations, "Walter Yeager and H. Ogden"; in the issue of November 30, 1878, p. 220, is one credited to "Walter Yeager"; the remainder are credited either "to our special artist" or "to our special artists," with a very considerably larger proportion credited in the latter manner. In a few instances the credit lines "From photos and sketches by our special artists"; in still fewer cases the credit is given "from a photograph." It seems probable, therefore, that most of the illustrations were the joint work of Ogden and Yeager. Mrs. Leslie is of very little help in crediting illustrations. On p. 22, a comment was made on our artist and Mrs. Leslie continued: "I say our artist, for, although several are with us, H— (presumably Harry Ogden, 20 years old at the time) is ours, *par excellence*, not only because he has grown up beneath the eye of our Chief [Frank Leslie], but from his thoroughly sympathetic nature, combining the ability of a man with the winning qualities of a boy; the *enfant gâté* of our office—the *enfant terrible*, occasionally, of our party." Mrs. Leslie, too, confirmed the fact that the Nevada mining illustrations (to be discussed later in the text) were made by only one of the artists (pp. 282, 283) but she did not indicate which one. The credit line on these illustrations, too, are among the relatively few credited "to our special artist." It would be my guess that the artist was Yeager, for if it had been Ogden, a favorite of Mrs. Leslie, she would have so stated it. She does not mention Yeager anywhere by name.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-33. Illustrations of their Chicago visit appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 21, July 28, and August 4, 1877.

sionless human face; to which, on this windy April afternoon, our first one "out" from Omaha, the rolling cloud shadows lend life and change and incessant variety. Great masses of white cumuli pile up in the blue, trooping westward like ourselves, before a strong, driving wind; the sun wakes hot on the tawny and brown mat of last year's grass, and, as far as eye can reach, there is no shade and no motion in the landscape, except from these hurrying clouds.

The long, parallel lines of smooth, shining rail, and the diminishing ranks of telegraph-posts, stretching away from our track as we sit on the rear platform, are wonderfully important and suggestive features in the scene. Watching all day, you will scarcely see a curve in that long "iron trail"; only now and then, for a few miles, a side-track travels with us, and unites at some little station or round-house. Soon after Fremont is left behind us, we find vast excitement in the approach, on one of these switches, of a train bound East; every window full of heads and arms, chiefly feminine and infantile, for all the men, as the engines "slow up" and stop, seize the opportunity to rush out and exchange greetings on *terra firma*. Our photographer, diving into the curtained section which has been set apart for the storage of bags, hampers and instruments, rummages wildly for his plates and chemicals. Our artist, constituting himself assistant, snatches the camera and disappears; and presently there is diffused over the easy, lounging group of dusty passengers, brakemen in shirt-sleeves, and trim, gold-buttoned conductors outside, a universal and frigid atmosphere of "sitting for their picture." Everybody strikes a hasty attitude and composes his features; the engineer reclines gracefully against his cow-catcher, and all the hands, with one instinctive impulse, seek sheltering pockets, while artist and photographer shift their tripod from spot to spot, hit the happy point of sight at last, and fix the picture. And then there is a scramble for the platforms again, and the engines, with a puff and a wheeze, start their muscles and sinews of iron. In another minute there is only a trail of brown smoke hanging over the plain beside us, and we are once more alone on the great empty waste.³¹

Mrs. Leslie's account of the trip, too, is interesting, but it was difficult for her to forget that she was a member of the *literati*, had traveled widely and could converse in almost any language. Nevertheless she was outspoken on occasion, so much so that she laid up considerable future grief for herself, and she did make on occasion some very observing comments on life and manners of the Western scene.³² That she was a woman of spirit and executive ability was proved on at least one occasion when the party was stranded in a

31. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1877, p. 9.

32. Mrs. Leslie had some very outspoken comments as a result of the visit of the Leslie party to the mining town of Virginia City, Nev. She not only called it "dreary, desolate, homeless, uncomfortable, and wicked . . . [and] God-forsaken" (*Mrs. Leslie*, p. 277), but she made the additional unfortunate comment, "The population is largely masculine, very few women, except of the worse class, and as few children." (*Mrs. Leslie*, p. 278.) The descriptive phrase, tacked onto all the women of Virginia City, so aroused the ire of the celebrated editor, R. M. Daggett, of the *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, Virginia City, that he hired a New York correspondent to investigate the past life of both Mrs. Leslie and of her husband. The correspondent, an admitted enemy of the Leslies, made an exhaustive inquiry into the love affairs of both Leslies and especially of Mrs. Leslie's first marriage with one David C. Peacock which had some of the aspects of a shot-gun wedding. All of the Leslies' conduct was interpreted by this critic in the worst possible light. He made some errors (known to the writer) of fundamental facts and may have made others. His detailed account of the Leslies' past lives, Daggett published in a Sunday edition of the *Daily Territorial Enterprise* on July 14, 1878, occupying all of the front page.



(1) Exterior of Hotel. (2) Proprietor. (3) Registering. (4) Bedroom. (5) Chambermaid. (6) Toilet.

BECKER'S "HOTEL LIFE ON THE PLAINS" (1870)

It seems probable that the "Hotel" was located at Promontory Point, Utah.



OGDEN AND YEAGER'S "BUCKING THE TIGER" IN A CHEYENNE, WYO.,
GAMBLING SALOON (1877)

three-room cabin on the way to see the big trees of California. Despite the incredulous amazement of her party she "rustled up" a supper for the travelers and made the best of affairs when the party of 12 were forced to sleep in a single room.³³

Because of the wealth of pictorial material published concerning this overland trip, no attempt will be made to discuss each picture individually or, for that matter, to catalogue them. A number of the more interesting illustrations and experiences of the party, however, properly form a part of our study and will be included here.³⁴

Only one picture appeared to illustrate the trip from Chicago to Council Bluffs, but beginning at the latter place there are illustrations to depict almost every phase of the journey.³⁵ The "Arrival at Council Bluffs," for example, is interesting from several viewpoints. For many years after the completion of the line from Omaha to San Francisco, Council Bluffs was the principal point of transfer between the roads coming from Chicago and the East, which it continued to be until the early 1880's. The bridge across the Missouri river between Council Bluffs and Omaha, lacking in Richardson's and Becker's day, had been completed by 1872, but the travelers changed trains at Council Bluffs.³⁶ It was therefore an important "junction." Any reader who traveled American railroads 50 years or more ago will recall with nostalgia the interest, excitement and bustle of railroad travel at that time, for, although the illustration is of 1877, a quarter of a century later the scene was scarcely changed.

Crossing the river to Omaha one entered the Union Pacific depot and in "A Character Scene in the Emigrant Waiting-Room of the Union Pacific Railroad Depot at Omaha" there is a worthy companion piece for Joseph Becker's "A Station Scene on the Union Pacific Railway," drawn eight years earlier. [Both reproduced *between* pp. 120, 121.]

To the eyes of the Easterners, the group at the depot were individuals—in some cases literally—of a different world.

Men in alligator boots [recorded Mrs. Leslie], and loose overcoats made of

33. *Mrs. Leslie*, pp. 222-229.

34. Illustrations connected with the trip from Omaha west will be found in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for every weekly issue from August 4, 1877, through August 3, 1878, except the issues of August 11, 1877, and of June 1, 8, 22, July 13, 20, 27, 1878. In addition illustrations will be found in the issues of August 24, 1878, and November 30, 1878. The illustrations in *Mrs. Leslie* include some of those appearing in the *Newspaper* (of smaller size) and several which obviously are reproduced from photographs and are of far less interest than those that appeared in the *Newspaper*.

35. The sole illustration was the "Mississippi River Bridge at Clinton [Iowa]" in the issue of *ibid.* for August 4, 1877, p. 369.

36. "Arrival at Council Bluffs" will be found in *ibid.*, August 4, 1877, p. 369. For the completion of the Missouri river bridge and Council Bluffs as a junction point, see Paul Rigdon, *The Union Pacific Railroad* (Omaha, 1936), p. 78.

blankets and wagon rugs, with wild, unkempt hair and beards, and bright, resolute eyes, almost all well-looking, but wild and strange as denizens of another world.

The women looked tired and sad, almost all of them, and were queerly dressed, in gowns that must have been old on their grandmothers, and with handkerchiefs tied over their heads in place of hats; the children were bundled up anyhow, in garments of nondescript purpose and size, but were generally chubby, neat and gay, as they frolicked in and out among the boxes, baskets, bundles, bedding, babies'-chairs, etc., piled waist high on various parts of the platform. Mingling with them, and making some inquiries, we found that these were emigrants bound for the Black Hills, by rail to Cheyenne and Sioux City, and after that by wagon trains.³⁷

Although Mrs. Leslie may have had her geography slightly mixed (she probably meant Sydney rather than Sioux City) her description as well as the sign in the illustration, "Lunch Baskets Filled For 25 Cents Take Notice Black Hillers" (*between* pp. 120, 121), recalls the ever recurring and frequently changing part that mining—especially of those seductive metals, silver and gold—has had in the development of the West. In the spring of 1877 the discovery of immense deposits of gold bearing quartz, coupled with earlier discoveries in the Black Hills, had set a wild stampede under way toward Deadwood, and the Leslie party was in excellent position to observe the migration. The two most important stations on the Union Pacific making stage connections for the Black Hills—some 250 miles north of the railroad—were Sydney and Cheyenne. And Yeager and Ogden were busy with their sketchbooks recording the incidents of the mining boom as the Leslie party traveled on west from Omaha. Particularly notable are the illustrations, "A Fitting-out Store for Black Hills Emigrants, at Sydney" and "A Party of Gold Miners Starting For the Black Hills [from Cheyenne]." (The last illustration is reproduced *facing* p. 120.)³⁸

The visitors found Cheyenne to be particularly interesting, and their interest, aroused by frequent descriptions of "Hell-on-Wheels,"

37. *Mrs. Leslie*, pp. 39, 40. The illustration will be found in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 18, 1877, pp. 404, 405.

38. The two illustrations, in the order listed above, will be found in *ibid.*, September 29, 1877, p. 53, and October 6, 1877, pp. 72, 73. Actually the Leslie party stopped at Sydney on the return trip.—See *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 285. A poorly reproduced illustration, "A Street of 'Dug-Outs,' on the Hillside in Sydney," appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 22, 1877, p. 37. The Omaha newspapers, of course, were filled with Black Hills news at that time. The *Omaha Weekly Bee*, April 25, 1877, p. 3, had a good account of Sydney and the Black Hills trade and a still better one was given in the *Omaha Daily Herald*, July 6, 1877, p. 2. See G. Thomas Ingham, *Digging Gold Among the Rockies* (Edgewood Publishing Co., 1882), Ch. 5, for an account of the mining development in the Black Hills from 1875 to 1880. Contemporary information on the early stages of the Black Hills gold rush will also be found in *Report on the Mineral Wealth, Climate, and Rain-Fall and Natural Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota* (Washington, 1876), Walter P. Tenney. A review of the history of this interesting period is Harold E. Briggs' "The Black Hills Gold Rush," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Bismarck, v. 5 (1931), January, pp. 71-99. Briggs stated that the peak of the gold rush occurred in the spring of 1877, so it was practically coincident with the arrival of the Leslie party.

was in no way diminished when they stepped off the train and into the celebrated frontier town:

And now, not without some little excitement [wrote Mrs. Leslie], we arrived at Cheyenne, at it is styled upon the maps, the Magic City of the Plains, the City on Wheels, the Town of a Day, as romancists call it, or in yet more vigorous vernacular, H-ll on Wheels, which latter is, perhaps its most popular name among its own inhabitants. In view of this reputation, our conductor strongly advised against any night exploration, at least by the ladies of the party, of the streets and shops of Cheyenne, stating that the town swarmed with miners *en route* for, or returning from, the Black Hills, many of them desperadoes, and all utterly reckless in the use of the bowie-knife and pistol; or, at the very least, in the practice of language quite unfit for ears polite, although well adapted to a place which they themselves had dubbed with so suggestive a name. This opposition, was, of course, decisive; and the three ladies, as one man, declared fear was a word unknown in their vocabulary, that purchases essential to their comfort were to be made, and that exercise was absolutely necessary to their health.³⁹

So the men went along. Not only did the ladies visit several frontier stores but they were invited to visit the town's leading theatre and gambling establishment—and not a man of the party was shot or a woman insulted!

For two or three blocks [wrote Jack Harkaway] the main street of Cheyenne keeps up a character of solid respectability with neat brick buildings, a large hotel and an attractive show of shop-windows; but it soon drops such mimicry of the "effete East," and relapses into a bold disregard of architectural forms and proprieties. The oddest examples of this are in the two theatres, owned and "run" by an enterprising citizen, who also keeps one of the largest gambling establishments in town; and who, with the generous courtesy of a Western man, gave the ladies of our party a full exhibit of the same by daylight—the masculine members having studied it during the hours of darkness. The larger of the theatres—"variety shows" in the fullest sense of the term—connects with the gambling-rooms and bar, in a long, low brick building, which hangs out numerous flaming red signs under the moonlight. Entering the bar-room, the curious visitor is confronted by a glittering show of chandeliers, fresh paint, cheap gilding and mirrors, and some extraordinary frescoes, supposably of Yosemite views, which blaze in every conceivable gradation of color over the bar itself. Turning to the right, we enter a passage leading to the parquette, or pit, of the theatre; a narrow flight of stairs passes up to what, in the East, would be the dress-circle; but in the Cheyenne house is a single tier of small boxes, open at the back upon a brightly lighted passage-way. At the head of the stairs is another and smaller bar, from which the waitresses procure strong drinks, to be served to order in the boxes aforesaid; and over the staircase is posted a gentle hint, couched in the words; "Gents, be Liberal"—a hint not likely to be ignored in Cheyenne, we fancy.

From these little boxes, gay with tawdry paintings and lace hangings, we look down upon as odd a scene as ever met critical New York eyes. The auditorium departs from the conventional horseshoe pattern, and is shaped

39. *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 45.

rather like a funnel, expanding at the mouth to the width of the stage. It is so narrow that we, leaning out of one box, could almost shake hands with our opposite neighbors. The trapezes, through which the wonderful Mlle. Somebody is flying and frisking like a bird, are all swung from the stage to the back of the house, so that her silken tights and spangles whisked past within a handsbreadth of the admiring audience, who can exchange civilities, or even confidences, with her in her aerial flight. Below, the floor is dotted with round tables and darkened with a sea of hats; a dense fog of cigar-smoke floats above them, and the clink of glasses rings a cheerful accompaniment to the orchestra, as the admiring patrons of the variety business quaff brandy and "slings," and cheer on the performers with liberal enthusiasm. The house, for all its cheap finery of decoration, its barbaric red and yellow splashes of paint, and *bizarre* Venuses and Psyches posing on the walls, is wonderfully well-ordered and marvelously clean; the audience, wholly masculine, is unconventional (let us put it courteously), but not riotous. As for the performance, it is by no means bad, and the trapeze feats are indeed exceptionally startling and well executed. The hours of entertainment are from 8 P. M. until 2 A. M., while the doors of the connecting gambling saloon are never closed.⁴⁰

Illustrations of the Cheyenne theatre (*see* cover of this issue) and of "Bucking the Tiger" (*facing* p. 129) are real pictorial contributions to Western history—the West of a very real melodrama.⁴¹

Not so melodramatic but equally interesting is the view, "Scene in Front of the Inter-Ocean Hotel." The scene depicted was busy Central Avenue, then the principal east-west thoroughfare of Cheyenne, with the large hotel—a building of respectable proportions in any city—in the background. (The Inter-Ocean Hotel was one block west of the present day Plains Hotel, for many years another well-known landmark of Cheyenne.)⁴²

The party left the main line of the Union Pacific at Cheyenne for side trips to Denver and Colorado Springs. A very elaborate reception was tendered the party at Denver by prominent Colorado citizens including Gov. John L. Routt and Ex-Governor Gilpin, but few if any illustrations of the side excursion appeared in *Leslie's*.⁴³

One of the few illustrations, however, that was credited to Harry Ogden alone, was made on the trip to Colorado Springs. The Springs in 1877 was legally a temperance town but the thirsty traveler could

40. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 13, 1877, p. 85. The arrival of the Leslie party in Cheyenne "last evening" was reported in the *Wyoming Daily Leader*, Cheyenne, April 19, 1877.

41. The illustrations will be found in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 13, 1877, p. 85 (the theatre), and November 3, 1877, p. 133, title page; with an interesting comment on p. 139.

42. The illustration appeared in *ibid.*, October 6, 1877, p. 73. Information concerning the Inter-Ocean and Plains Hotels comes from Mr. Howard A. Hanson, present manager of the Plains Hotel. According to Agnes Wright Spring, *The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes* (Glendale, Cal., 1949), pp. 50, 78 and 79, the Inter-Ocean Hotel was under construction in 1875 and was in operation by early 1876.

43. The arrival of the Leslie party in Denver, the Denver reception and the visit to Colorado Springs are reported in the *Denver Daily Times*, April 19, 1877, p. 4 (which stated that the party arrived "this morning in a special car from Cheyenne"); *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, April 20, 1877, p. 4.

still satisfy his wants by ways that were devious if not direct and Ogden sketched the method and Jack Harkaway described it in words for the benefit of succeeding fellow travelers:

Close to the depot [wrote Harkaway] is a hostelry yeleft the Pike's Peak House, where an announcement in English and German informs the wayfarer that meals can be had for the moderate sum of forty cents. Entering the house, one finds an empty room; a door in a wooden partition admits into an inner apartment, where four Hoosiers are playing the interesting game of the "devil amongst the tailors." Presently a German approaches and inquires what is wanted, and being informed that there exists a laudable desire for lager-beer, he replies: "Shust put a quarter in dot hole, and de beer gomes up quick!" Accordingly the tourist approaches a wooden wall, and perceives a slit in the board, dirty from use. He drops in a twenty-five cent piece and says, addressing no one in particular and speaking in a very sepulchral tone, "A quart of beer." With magic celerity a sliding panel is revealed, which goes up, and on a bracket there appears a jug of the foaming beverage. Taking it out, imbibing the contents, and replacing the jug and glass, the panel slides back into its place, and the truly Arabian Nights' entertainment is at an end. Subsequently the traveler is informed that anything in any quantity in the drinking line can be obtained in the same mysterious manner at this oasis for the thirsty traveler in the Temperance Desert.

President Barnard, of Columbia College, the Rev. Dr. Armitage, and a number of other gentlemen, left New York City on the 18th for a trip to the Rocky Mountains, stopping at Denver and Colorado Springs. This information will be valuable to them in case they should require any stimulants, as it will enable them to satisfy their thirst promptly and without embarrassing inquiries; for even their distinction will not secure them exemption from the Territorial liquor laws.⁴⁴

Returning to Cheyenne, the westward journey of the party resulted in a considerable number of illustrations before reaching Ogden, when another side trip was made to see Salt Lake City and President Brigham Young. The towns of Sherman (at the top of the pass between Cheyenne and Laramie), Laramie itself, Carbon, Fort Steele, Rawlins, Green River, Hilliard and Evanston all sat briefly while the artists sketched them, and illustrations of each Wyoming town appeared in due time in the pages of *Leslie's*. One small illustration, "Emigrants Camping Out at Night, near Bryan [in western Wyoming]," is particularly appealing as it shows a group of overland travelers—the canvas-covered wagons still in use eight years after rails were joined—about a camp-fire, its smoke rising into a moon-lit sky.⁴⁵

44. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 7, 1877, p. 203. The illustration will be found in the same issue, p. 297. A. A. Hayes and W. A. Rogers were in Colorado Springs two years later and Rogers drew a somewhat similar sketch of the procedure for obtaining a refreshing draft when in the city; see A. A. Hayes, Jr., *New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1880), p. 56.

45. This illustration, along with sketches of Church Buttes, Piedmont and Aspen appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 10, 1877, p. 160. The emigrant camp was apparently sketched on the return trip. Illustrations of other Wyoming towns will be found in the issues of *ibid.* for October 13, 20, 27, November 3, 17, 24, and December 1, 1877.

Utah illustrations appeared in considerable number but many are of familiar landmarks, including Echo and Weber canons, the Devil's Slide, Thousand-Mile tree and Lake Point on Great Salt lake. "The Arrival at Ogden Junction" is of interest as it calls attention to the fact that since 1869 the junction point of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific had been changed from Promontory Point to Ogden and that the Utah Central railroad had been completed from Ogden to Salt Lake City.⁴⁶ The real reason for the trip to Salt Lake City was to see Brigham Young, and Leslie soon had an interview arranged with the head of the Mormon organization. Mrs. Leslie took a spirited part in the interview. In fact, if we are to believe her, the discussion with Brigham would have amounted to nothing more than comments on the weather if she had not participated. As Mr. Leslie did not make much progress in conversation, Mrs. Leslie turned to Mr. Young and said, "Do you suppose, Mr. President, that I came all the way to Salt Lake City to hear that it was a fine day?" To which the astute president replied, "I am sure you need not, my dear, for it must be fine weather wherever you are." The ice thus being broken, Mrs. Leslie proceeded to ask the head of the Beehive house some exceedingly frank questions on Mormonism, including a question as to whether Mormon husbands did not prefer some wives over others. To which, the Mormon president replied with good humor: "Well, perhaps; human nature is frail, but our religion teaches us to control and conceal those preferences as much as possible, and we do—we do."⁴⁷

Both the Leslies were greatly impressed with the Mormon organization and the marvels wrought by its members in transforming the desert. "Certainly, polygamy is very wrong," wrote Mrs. Leslie, "but roses are better than sage-brush, and potatoes and peas preferable as a diet to buffalo grass. Also school-houses, with cleanly and comfortable troops of children about them, are a symptom of more advanced civilization than lowly shanties with only fever-and-ague and whisky therein." Frank Leslie put it in even stronger terms when he said in an interview on his return to the East—"the thriftiest, most contented and happiest people west of the Mississippi are the Mormons, and I for one do not want to see them treated with injustice."⁴⁸

46. Utah illustrations will be found in the issues of *ibid.* for December 1, 8, 15 (including that of Ogden Junction), 22, and 29, 1877.

47. *Mrs. Leslie*, pp. 97-102. No illustrations of the interview appeared in the *Newspaper*, but one is published in *Mrs. Leslie, facing* p. 102.

48. Mrs. Leslie's quotation will be found in *ibid.*, p. 71; the interview with Frank Leslie was secured on the return trip and is reported in the *Omaha Daily Herald*, June 3, 1877, p. 4.

If Mrs. Leslie was impressed with the Mormons she certainly was not with Indians of the West who began to appear at railroad stations through Nevada as the party continued their westward journey beyond Salt Lake City. Shoshones and Piutes were all the same to her and, as Chinese laborers in considerable number also made their appearance along the railroad as they traveled further west, it was almost inevitable that she should make a comparison of the two races. "Ill as their odor may be," wrote Mrs. Leslie of the Chinese, "in Caucasian nostrils, we must say that their cleanly, smooth, and cared for appearance was very agreeable in contrast with the wild, unkempt and filthy red man."⁴⁹

A few illustrations of the Indians encountered through Nevada are recorded in the pages of *Leslie's*. Illustrations of other aspects of Nevada life are copious. Towns, scenery and a particularly exhaustive pictorial study of the silver mines of Virginia City are presented. Leslie must have been particularly fascinated by the silver mines, for not only is the pictorial reporting extensive but written description in abundance is provided. In fact, Leslie with one of the artists—whether it was Ogden or Yeager is not indicated—were the only two members of the party of 12 to descend the shafts of the mines at Virginia City to see mining operations at first hand. Mrs. Leslie, on the other hand, was greatly bored by the entire visit and so unfavorably impressed with Virginia City, itself, that there resulted the unfortunate comment in her account of the trip (*see* Footnote 32).⁵⁰

The depiction of several incidents of travel from Wyoming westward along the main line of the transcontinental road reveal still other aspects of Western travel in 1877. One group of illustrations shows various phases of the long-continued war between railroads and those United States citizens who have long been known as "tramps." "Tramps Throwing Conductor From a Train," "A Night Camp of Tramps Near Bryan [Wyo.]," "Tramps Riding on the Trucks Underneath the Cars" and "Clearing the Rear Platform on

49. *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 108.

50. It was Frank Leslie's interest in the silver mines which undoubtedly was responsible for the relatively large number of such illustrations in *Leslie's*, every issue, beginning with that of March 2, 1878, through the issue of April 27, 1878 (nine issues), contained pictorial records of various aspects of mining in Virginia City; one of the issues (March 2, 1878) contained a four-page supplement, "Panorama of Virginia City," based on photographs by Watkins of San Francisco. From Mrs. Leslie's account, Virginia City was visited on the return.—*Mrs. Leslie*, Ch. 32. The Indian illustrations in *Leslie's*, mentioned above, included: "Indian Lodges Near Corlin, on the C. P. R. R." (January 5, 1878, p. 305), and "Winnemucca, Chief of the Piute Indians Engaged in an Annual Rabbit Drive" (January 26, 1878, p. 353). Some of the Nevada town illustrations included: Elko (January 5, 1878, p. 305), Battle Mountain (January 12, 1878, p. 321), Humboldt (January 19, 1878, p. 337), Carson City (February 16, 1878, p. 405) and a particularly good "View of the Main Street in Virginia City" (March 2, 1878, p. 445).

an Overland Train" were, with the exception of the first, reportedly observed by the artists of the Leslie party.⁵¹

For the protection of baggage and express against still more vicious customers, railroad highwaymen, it was customary to carry a stand of arms in the baggage car, and one of the observant artists sketched "A Baggage-Master's Armory" to record this phase of travel in the past. Cross-country excursion parties, too, were still in vogue nearly ten years after the completion of transcontinental rails, and one such excursion party—in addition to the Leslie party—had their special car which, for some of the journey at least, made up a part of the train which included the Leslie special car. "Nebraska Editorial Party Publishing a Paper on Board a Train," a half-page illustration, shows not only the professional classification of the Leslies' fellow travelers but is an unwitting comment on a profession, the members of which, doubtless more than any other, enjoy a bus man's holiday.

A type of illustration, however, which never fails to arouse interest is one depicting the ordinary occupations of ordinary people—like ourselves—and the Leslie artists secured it in "Weary Passengers Settling for the Night," or the illustration might better be called "Trying to Sleep at Night in a 'Day' Coach." The Leslie party in order to reach the Nebraska editors in the special car passed through three day coaches as the evening was well advanced. By the dull light, Mrs. Leslie noted "we could see the poor creatures curled and huddled up in heaps for the night, with no possibility of lying down comfortably; but men, women, bundles, baskets, and babies, in one promiscuous heap."⁵²

The excursion train at last crossed the Sierra Nevadas, coasted across the Central Valley and eventually reached Sacramento and San Francisco. Many illustrations record the last stage of the overland trip, including a huge double-page one, "The Excursion Trail Rounding Cape Horn at the Head of the Great American Canon."⁵³

Mrs. Leslie thought that this view from Cape Horn was the most impressive of all on the cross-country trip.

51. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1877, p. 373. According to the text accompanying the illustration, the first one was an imaginary sketch based on the story of the Leslie party conductor.

52. Mrs. Leslie, p. 284. The day coach is pictured and also described in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, February 9, 1878, pp. 389, 390, where will also be found the armory illustration. It was observed on the return trip as was the Nebraska editorial excursion; see *ibid.*, February 16, 1878, p. 405.

53. The illustration will be found in *ibid.*, April 27, 1878, pp. 128, 129. Among the more interesting illustrations of this part of the trip are "Snow Sheds at Summit Station" (same issue as above, p. 132); "A Street Scene in Sacramento" and "The Grand Hotel in Sacramento" (May 4, 1878, p. 141); "The Wharf at Oakland, The Terminal of the Central Pacific Railroad, Opposite the City of San Francisco" and "Crossing the Bay on the Ferry Boat from Oakland" (May 11, 1878, p. 165); "The Western Terminal of the Central Pacific Railroad" and "View of Market Street San Francisco, Looking Toward the Palace Hotel" (May 18, 1878, p. 181), and "A View of Montgomery Street, San Francisco" (June 15, 1878, p. 249).

But of all the scenery of the entire route [she wrote], nothing can compare with the Great American Canon, heralded by the rounding of Cape Horn, where the railway clings to the face of a precipice, with a thousand feet of crag above and two thousand feet below; a river winding dimly through the ravine, and giant pine trees dwarfed to shrubs as we look down upon their crests. No blood so sluggish, no eyes so dull, no heart so numbed and encrusted by worldliness but that they must be stirred and thrilled, as few things in this world can stir its favorite children, by the sensation of thus flying like a bird across this precipice, over the depths of this frightful abyss, suspended, as it were, between heaven and the inferno; . . .⁵⁴

Still another wonder, however, was to confront them when they reached San Francisco, for the party immediately upon their arrival went to the newly completed Palace Hotel, according to one Californian at least, one of the seven wonders of the world. Even the blasé New Yorkers were forced to admit the hotel, with accommodations for 1,200 guests and with its three great courts occupying a city block, was "magnificent."⁵⁵

In fact, Mrs. Leslie was so obviously impressed with California that she devoted over half her book to the subject, as well she might, for the Leslies were entertained by California royalty on a royal scale: by Ex-Governor Stanford; by Senator Sharon at his one and one-half million dollar country house, Belmont; by Mayor and Mrs. Bryant of San Francisco; by William T. Coleman, the owner of San Rafael valley, and by the famous "Lucky" Baldwin, who inveigled the party to travel south to Los Angeles, from which Baldwin took them to his wide-flung ranch at Santa Anita. All of the famous wonders of California were visited too, including the redwoods and the big trees, the geysers and Yosemite. San Francisco itself was explored for its famous sights, especially by many trips to Chinatown, to the Barbary Coast, to Cliff-House and to Seal Rocks.⁵⁶ About a month was spent in California, but, oddly enough, relatively few illustrations appeared for this part of the Leslie trip. Several illustrations of the Chinese of San Francisco were published in *Leslie's*, and several additional California views were used in Mrs. Leslie's book, but apparently Frank Leslie decided that mining in Nevada was of more

54. *Mrs. Leslie*, pp. 109, 110.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117. *The Overland Monthly*, v. 15 (1875), September, pp. 298, 299, has an account of the Palace Hotel upon its completion, which contains the statement, "We have seven big world-wonders now: the Bay of San Francisco, the Central Pacific Railroad, the Big Trees, the Bonanza, Yosemite, the Geysers, the Palace Hotel—and Assessor Rosenor." I hope some native son will write me explaining "Assessor Rosenor" and his inclusion as an eighth wonder.

Illustrations of the Palace Hotel appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for May 25, 1878, p. 197 ("The Main Entrance"), and June 29, 1878, p. 281 ("The Grand Court of the Palace Hotel," credited to "our photographer"). Five illustrations of Baldwin's Hotel, also newly completed, and, according to *Mrs. Leslie*, p. 192, visited by the party, appeared in *ibid.*, July 6, 1878, p. 301.

56. *Ibid.*, Chs. 11-21, 29, 30.

popular interest than the sights of California, or possibly he felt that California scenes were by 1877 better known than were those of silver mining.⁵⁷

The return trip from California was begun about the last of May, for the party was in Omaha on June 2. It seems to have been largely anticlimax as neither Mrs. Leslie nor the *Newspaper* had much to say concerning it.⁵⁸

The two artists of the party were both young men at the time the Leslie trip was made. Walter Yeager was 25 and had been on the Leslie staff for three years. He was a native of Philadelphia and had received training at the local Academy of Fine Arts. Shortly after the Western trip he accompanied Mrs. Leslie to Cuba and the Bahamas, and a number of his illustrations resulting from this trip appeared in *Leslie's*. About 1880, he left the Leslie staff and moved to Philadelphia where he became head of the art department of George W. Harris Co., lithographers. Still later he became a free lance artist and illustrated for a number of periodicals and books. He died in Philadelphia on April 17, 1896.⁵⁹

Harry Ogden, the other artist of the Leslie team of 1877—in his later years known more formally as Henry Alexander Ogden—was a member of the Leslie staff from 1873 until 1881 and then resigned to become a free lance artist. He received considerable art training at the Brooklyn Institute, the Brooklyn Academy of Design and the Art Students League of New York and made a specialty of portray-

57. Six Chinese illustrations, credited to Yeager and Ogden, appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 24, 1878, pp. 420, 421; September 7, 1878, p. 5. In *Mrs. Leslie*, California illustrations appeared facing p. 125 (Belmont); p. 128, "Salmon Fishing, Sacramento River"; p. 136 (Chinese theater); p. 142 (Chinese gambler); facing p. 145 ("Chinese Joss House"); p. 154 ("Chinese Barber"); facing p. 169 ("A Chinese Goldsmith"); facing p. 179 ("The Cliff House"); facing p. 180 ("Seal Rocks"); facing p. 205 ("The Witches Cauldron [geyser]"); p. 212 ("A Drive With Fosse of Fosseville"); p. 217 ("On the Road to The 'Big Trees'"); facing p. 227 ("Making a Night of It"); p. 231 ("En Route for the Yosemite"); facing p. 232 (Chinese cobbler); facing p. 244 ("Ascending the 'Fallen Monarch'"); p. 246 ("Cutting Down One of the Big Trees"); p. 276 ("Cutting Bark and Cones as Mementoes of the Mariposa Grove").

58. The return of the party to Omaha in the Palace car "Cataract" was reported in the *Omaha Daily Herald*, June 3, 1877, p. 4. Senator Connoyer of Florida was reported to be a member of the party on the return trip. It should be pointed out again that the side-trip to Virginia City, Nev., was made on the return trip.

59. I am indebted to Mrs. Mary Yeager Poole of Havertown, Pa., for the information concerning her father, Walter Rush Yeager, who was born in Philadelphia in April, 1852. Mrs. Poole wrote me that her father illustrated for *Harper's Magazine*, *Ladies Home Queen* and a number of religious publications in Mr. Yeager's free lance days. He is listed in the Philadelphia city directories as artist or designer from 1885 until 1896. The Library of Congress has a volume, *Art Studies in the Bible*, designed by W. R. Yeager, and published in Philadelphia in 1896. It was this volume that furnished the clue in tracing down the source of biographical information concerning Yeager as the art historians and lists again furnished me no biographical information. A brief death notice of Walter R. Yeager will be found in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, April 18, 1896, p. 8.

Yeager illustrations for an article on the Bahamas by Mrs. Leslie appeared in *Leslie's*, June 21, 1879, pp. 268, 269. California illustrations by Yeager continued to appear for some time after those cited in Footnote 34. They were apparently based on Yeager's trip with the Leslies in 1877; see *ibid.*, May 24, 1879, p. 192; May 31, 1879, p. 201; June 7, 1879, p. 229; June 14, 1879, p. 248 (credited to both Yeager and Ogden); June 23, 1879, p. 281; July 19, 1879, p. 329; August 23, 1879, p. 416. *Leslie's*, January 31, 1880, p. 403, lists Becker, Yeager, Ogden, Berghaus and others as members of the art staff on that date.

ing historic costumes and uniforms. His illustrations appeared in many books and magazines, notably the military illustrations in the *Pageant of America*. He died at Englewood, N. J., on June 15, 1936, in his 80th year.⁶⁰

60. For information on Ogden see *Who's Who in America*, v. 18 (1934-1935), p. 1801, and an obituary in the *New York Times*, June 16, 1936, p. 25. Ogden's labors as a painter of military costumes are given a thorough appraisal in the *Military Collector and Historian*, Washington, v. 1 (1949), April, pp. 4, 5, by George C. Groce. Ogden had other Western illustrations (Texas) in *Leslie's*, May 22, 1880, p. 196. He was also a member of a commercial expedition sent out by *Leslie's* to Mexico in 1879, and sketches on this trip appeared February 1, 1879, and succeeding issues through April 19.

A Review of Early Navigation on the Kansas River

EDGAR LANGSDORF

BEFORE the establishment of Kansas territory in May, 1854, little exact information about the Kansas river was available. Exploration in the 18th and early 19th centuries was concerned chiefly with following the upper Missouri, and the Kansas was hardly known above its mouth. Reports about the river were based, for the most part, on statements by Indians—who usually were reluctant to divulge details of their own country—and on observations of the early fur traders. Despite the handicap of describing and mapping a region which they had not seen, several of the early explorers were able to produce reports of surprising accuracy.

One of the earliest maps of the trans-Mississippi area, drawn by Father Marquette in 1673-1674, although it fails to show the Kansas river, does locate the Kansa and other tribes in approximately their true positions. This map, based upon information secured from Indians with whom Marquette could converse only in sign language, places the Kansa on the 39th parallel, directly south of the Omaha and Pawnee tribes and west of the Osage, thereby indicating that they were then living on the Kansas river. Joliet's map of the same date shows the Kansa in much the same relative position, though farther south, between the 36th and 37th parallels.¹

The first map showing the Kansas river is Guillaume de l'Isle's "Carte de la Louisiane," which was drawn about 1718. On it the "Grande Riv[ière] des Cansez" flows into the Missouri at about the 40th parallel and a large village of "les Cansez" is located at a prominent fork in the river, perhaps the junction of the Smoky Hill and the Saline or the Solomon.² This map, with virtually no changes except for the translation of French into English, was published by John Senex, a London cartographer and engraver, in 1721.³ One of

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1. These maps are reproduced in R. G. Thwaites, *Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France* (Cleveland, 1900), v. 59, facing pp. 86 and 108. Marquette's map is also reproduced in *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 10, facing p. 80. Cf. F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians* . . . , Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30 (Washington, 1907), Pt. 1, p. 653. For a list of early maps locating the Kansa nation see George P. Morehouse, "History of the Kansa or Kaw Indians," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, pp. 344, 345.

2. Reproduced as the frontispiece in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana* . . . (Philadelphia, 1850), Pt. 2. Delisle (1675-1726) was one of the most important French cartographers of the 18th century.

3. John Senex, "A Map of Louisiana and of the River Mississippi," from *A New General Atlas* (London, 1721), facing p. 248.

the earliest written references to the name of the river, other than on maps, is also found at this time. The French explorer Bienville in 1722 spoke of "las rivière des Canzés, qui afflue dans celle du Missouri," though he made no reference to its navigability.⁴

With the extension of trade among the Western tribes at the beginning of the 19th century, reasonably accurate reports of the river began to appear. In 1797 James Mackay, then an agent of the Spanish "Upper Missouri Company," compiled a "Table of Distances" along the Missouri river. In this table he noted the "Rivres des Cances," 100 $\frac{3}{4}$ leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, and described it as a "Beautiful river upon the south bank [of the Missouri], width of 100 fathoms at the mouth, navigable for canoes for more than 60 leagues at all times; but not for more than 20 leagues for large boats in the autumn when the waters are low; the village of the Kansas is 80 leagues from this river."⁵ Another trader-explorer, François Marie Perrin du Lac, who traveled up the Missouri in 1802, spoke of the river of the "Kanees," which he said was "navigable at all seasons to the extent of 500 miles," and spent 12 days trading with the "Kanees" Indians in the vicinity of its mouth.⁶

Although the general course of the river was by this time well established, its tributaries and the capacity of its channel were still little known. A large-scale map of Louisiana, which included all of North America west of the Mississippi and north of the Gulf of Mexico, was published as part of an atlas in 1804, and showed the "Cansas R[iver]" with forks which presumably were intended to represent the Republican, Solomon and Smoky Hill.⁷ Several traders and explorers also referred to the river in their journals and reports. Patrick Gass, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, recorded in his journal for June 26, 1804, that at its confluence with the Missouri the "Canzan or Kanzas, is 230 yards and a quarter wide, and navigable to a great distance."⁸ H. M. Brackenridge, who traveled on the Missouri river in 1811, wrote that the Kansas "can be ascended with little difficulty, more than twelve hundred

4. Lemoine de Bienville to the Council of Regency, Fort Louis de la Louisiane, April 25, 1722, in Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français* . . . (Paris, 1888), v. 6, p. 387.

5. Annie H. Abel-Henderson, "Mackay's Table of Distances," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 10, p. 436.

6. M. Perrin du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas, and Among the Savage Nations of the Missouri*. . . . Translated from the French (London, 1807), p. 60.

7. A. Arrowsmith and S. Lewis, *A New and Elegant General Atlas* . . . (Philadelphia, 1804), Plate 55. M. Carey's *General Atlas*, published in 1814, apparently was the first in which the names of these tributaries appear.

8. Patrick Gass, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, Under the Command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1807), p. 19.

miles.”⁹ In contrast, one of Long’s exploring party in 1819, Edwin James, described it as navigable only in the spring season and then seldom far upstream because of shoals and rapids. He amplified this statement by explaining that it was navigable only in “high freshets for boats of burden, and on such occasions not more than one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, the navigation being obstructed by shoals.”¹⁰ Another early traveler in the Western country was Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, who made a brief trip on the Kansas in June, 1823. He noted that at its confluence with the Missouri it was 80 to 100 fathoms wide and very deep, and remarked that as far as 12 miles upstream he was able to distinguish the counter pressure of the faster flowing Missouri.¹¹

The Indians, of course, had used the river as an avenue of transportation long before white men entered the region. Their canoes, and the pirogues of the French fur traders, adapted to use in extremely shallow water, were never seriously handicapped by natural obstructions in the stream. A white man who spent many years as a prisoner among the Indians during the early 19th century observed that they used the river and its tributaries at all seasons of the year. He remarked that they commonly descended in their canoes along the southern branch, presumably the Smoky Hill, and into the Kansas, which he interpreted as meaning that it was navigable for more than a thousand miles. “In its whole course,” he wrote, “I have never heard of any considerable natural obstruction, nevertheless, many may exist; though as the Kansas Indians were in the habit of frequently descending it from their hunting excursions, it is probable I should have heard something of the causes if they had experienced much difficulty.”¹²

Keelboats, covered freighters which were used extensively on the principal Western rivers until the 1820’s and on the smaller rivers until after the Civil War, were also employed occasionally on the Kansas. These craft, 40 to 80 feet long and seven to ten feet or more

9. Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River, in 1811* (Pittsburgh, 1814), pp. 220, 221. In the second edition of the *Journal* (Baltimore, 1816), as reprinted in R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904), v. 6, p. 67, Brackenridge modified this statement to read: “The patron of our boat informs me, that he has ascended it upwards of nine hundred miles, with a tolerable navigation.”

10. Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains . . . in the Years 1819 and '20, . . . Under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long. . . . Compiled by Edwin James* . . . (Philadelphia, 1823), v. 2, pp. 349, 355.

11. Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, *First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 to 1824* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1835). Translated from the German by Dr. Wm. G. Bek, in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Aberdeen, v. 19, pp. 303, 305.

12. John D. Hunter, *Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes* . . . (Philadelphia, 1823), p. 164. The credibility of Hunter’s account was attacked in *The North American Review*, Boston, v. 22 (1826), pp. 94-108. Cf. Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies* . . . (San Francisco, 1937), p. 25.

in beam, with a draught of about two feet, were designed especially for use in narrow and shallow channels. They were propelled by oars or poles, sometimes assisted by a sail or pulled by a cordelle or tow-rope, and were one of the most important means of transport during the period of the expansion of the frontier. The first keelboat on the Kansas probably was that belonging to Francis and Cyprian Chouteau, which they used in hauling goods and furs between their trading houses and the mouth of the river.¹³

With the development of the steamboat came the end of the keelboat era and the gradual revolution of river transportation. The first such boat to be used on Western waters was the *New Orleans*, built at Pittsburgh in 1811,¹⁴ but Henry Shreve's *Washington*, constructed in 1816, is called the first "real" steamboat to be used on Western rivers. Three years later, in August, 1819, Maj. Stephen H. Long made the first steamer entry into the Kansas river with his little 30-ton boat, the *Western Engineer*. It had been constructed especially for his expedition to the Rockies, was 75 feet long, 13 feet in beam and drew 19 inches of water. The propelling wheel was in the stern in order to avoid snags, and in order to impress the Indians the steam was blown out of the figurehead, a large black serpent with mouth and tongue painted red. Long's account, describing this first steam voyage on the Kansas, stated that the "mouth of the Konzas river was so filled with mud, deposited by the late flood in the Missouri, as scarcely to admit the passage of our boat, though with some difficulty we ascended that river about a mile, and then returning dropped anchor at its mouth."¹⁵ Another soldier-explorer, John C. Fremont, wrote in 1843 that he went by steamboat to Chouteau's landing, near the mouth of the Kansas river and about 400 miles by water from St. Louis, and thence went 12 miles to Cyprian Chouteau's trading house on the right bank of the Kansas, about ten miles above its mouth and six miles beyond the western boundary of Missouri.¹⁶

13. "Reminiscences of Frederick Chouteau," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, p. 428. Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," in *ibid.*, v. 9, p. 321. James Hall, *Notes on the Western States* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 218, 219. Cf., also, Z. M. Pike, *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi* . . . (Philadelphia, 1810), p. 1. Pike's keelboat, in which he started from St. Louis in 1805, was 70 feet long and carried 21 men with provisions for four months.

14. [Robert Baird], *View of the Valley of the Mississippi* . . . (Philadelphia, 1832), pp. 48, 313.

15. Edwin James, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 109; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 262; *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, April 20, 1819, as quoted in Frederic L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days from 1804 to 1821* . . . (St. Louis, 1888), p. 97; Phil E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 277.

16. *A Report on an Exploration of the Country Lying Between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains*. . . . To Col. J. J. Abert, Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, March 1, 1843 (Washington, 1845), p. 9. Probably Fremont's journey to Cyprian's trading house was made by water, but he does not explain whether the boat used was a steamer.

The establishment of frontier military posts, with their network of connecting roads, made ferry boats necessary for crossing the rivers. On the Kansas, the first known ferry was operated by Moses Grinter about six miles east of present Bonner Springs and about eight and one-half miles west of the Missouri boundary. It was established in 1831 to provide a crossing for the military road between Cantonment Leavenworth and Fort Gibson, Okla.¹⁷ Emigration to Oregon and California, much of which passed through Kansas, further stimulated the establishment of ferries.

Probably the most important encouragement to navigation on the Kansas prior to the organization of the territory was the establishment of Fort Riley as a permanent military post in 1853. This event resulted almost immediately in the first official examination of the river to determine its navigability.¹⁸ The survey, although it was inconclusive in many respects, showed that boats of shallow draught, if handled skillfully, could be used on the river during the high-water season. The first attempts to use steamboats, in 1854, were successful, and the next year steamers began operating with some regularity from Kansas City to Lawrence, with occasional trips to Topeka and even as far upstream as Fort Riley. This traffic, which continued through the territorial period and the early years of statehood, falling off rapidly, however, after 1860, gave the Kansas legal status as a navigable stream in the eyes of the Federal government.¹⁹ The trial steamer, which was also the first to make regular trips, was a 79-ton stern-wheeler, the *Excel*, which made her first run in April, 1854, carrying 1,100 barrels of flour from Weston to Fort Riley. In 1855 several other boats appeared on the river. All told, 34 steamboats are known to have plied the Kansas from 1854 to 1866, with cargoes of freight and passengers. The *Lightfoot*, said to be the first boat built in the Territory, was constructed expressly for the Kansas river trade by Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, but it was so unsuccessful that it was shifted to the Missouri river. The last steamer to travel the Kansas was the *Alexander Majors*, which was chartered in 1866 to run between Kansas City and Lawrence until the railroad bridge at the mouth of the river, which had been destroyed by floods, could be rebuilt.²⁰

River traffic on a commercial scale was doomed by an act of the

17. George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2 (1933), p. 264.

18. See "The First Survey of the Kansas River," on pp. 146-158.

19. House Doc. No. 195, 73 Cong., 2 Sess. (1934), "Kansas River . . .," pp. 194, 197.

20. Greene, *loc. cit.*, pp. 318-353.

state legislature which was approved on February 25, 1864. The railroad age was opening, and in its interest the act declared the river nonnavigable and authorized railroad and bridge companies chartered under state laws to bridge or dam the river without restriction.²¹ This law remained in effect until 1913, when, after it had been characterized as "a crime against the public welfare of Kansas,"²² it was finally repealed and the river was thereby restored to its legal status as a navigable stream.²³ This status has not been changed since, although navigation has been confined largely to sand dredging operations.

Since 1879 the Federal government has taken occasional notice of the Kansas. In that year the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers made the first of a series of surveys, most of which resulted in reports that for purposes of practical navigation the river as a whole was unworthy of improvement by the government and that, further, there was no demand by responsible persons for such improvement.²⁴

21. *The Laws of the State of Kansas* . . . , 1684, Ch. 97.

22. Greene, *loc. cit.*, p. 354.

23. *Kansas Session Laws, 1913*, Ch. 259, Sec. 10.

24. *House Ex. Doc. No. 243*, 52 Cong., 2 Sess. (1892-1893), pp. 1-3; *House Doc. No. 195*, 73 Cong., 2 Sess. (1934), pp. 193, 197. Other reports in the series are: *House Ex. Doc. No. 94*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess. (1878-1879); *House Doc. No. 82*, 58 Cong., 2 Sess. (1903-1904); *Senate Doc. No. 160*, 58 Cong., 2 Sess. (1903-1904); *House Doc. No. 94*, 62 Cong., 1 Sess. (1911); *House Doc. No. 584*, 63 Cong., 2 Sess. (1913-1914); *House Doc. No. 321*, 65 Cong., 1 Sess. (1917); Capt. Theodore Wyman, "Report Upon Improvement of Rivers and Harbors in Kansas City, Mo., District," in Engineer Department, *Report*, 1931, Pt. 1. Of these reports only the first, in 1879, recommended improvement of the river, and the surveys since 1911 have been concerned only with improving harbor conditions at the mouth.

The First Survey of the Kansas River

EDGAR LANGSDORF

I. INTRODUCTION

ON MAY 17, 1853, Fort Riley was established as a permanent military post on the Kansas river, thereby making the navigability of that stream a question of immediate interest. The Army Quartermaster corps, which was responsible for moving materials and supplies to the site and for construction of the permanent barracks, was particularly concerned because the cost of transportation by water would be considerably less than hauling overland.

Before plans could be made for hauling freight by water an examination of the river was necessary to determine whether steamboats and keelboats could ascend as far as the new post.¹ Maj. David H. Vinton,² quartermaster at St. Louis, apparently took the initiative and with the cooperation of Brevet Brig. Gen. Newman S. Clarke, commanding Military Department No. 6 with headquarters at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.,³ arranged for a survey. His objective, he explained in a letter of December 2, 1853, to Maj. F. N. Page, was "to obtain such information as would enable me to induce masters and owners of steamers to attempt the navigation of the river at such prices for freight, as would not throw the cost of the experiment upon the Quarter Master's Department. . . . Great expense will be saved if the necessary supplies shall be sent to Fort Riley by water transportation."⁴

Under the direction of Brevet Maj. E. A. Ogden,⁵ quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, the survey was made by Lt. Joseph L. Tidball,

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1. In the fall of 1826 Maj. Angus L. Langham, who was employed by the Indian Department to survey the boundaries of the Kansas Indian reservation and the Kaw half-breed lands, was instructed to "meander the . . . [Kansas river] up to a point twenty leagues [about 60 miles] on a straight line from the mouth. . . .", from which point he was to begin the survey of the reservation. This, so far as is known, was the first time that the course of the river was plotted by a trained surveyor, and this examination, of course, was not concerned with the navigability of the stream.—Letter of William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, to Maj. A. L. Langham, dated July 9, 1826, from "Records of the Office of Indian Affairs" in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

2. Major Vinton was a West Point graduate of 1822 who rose to the brevet rank of major general during the Civil War, retired in 1866 and died February 21, 1873.—Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*. . . . (Washington, 1903), v. 1, p. 988.

3. General Clarke, whose regimental rank was colonel, commanded the Sixth infantry regiment. He had been brevetted brigadier in 1847 for gallantry and meritorious conduct in the siege of Vera Cruz. His death occurred October 17, 1860.—*Ibid.*, p. 307; *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1, 33 Cong., 1 Sess.* (1853-1854), p. 116.

4. Photostat of original letter in "Records of the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General," in the National Archives. Page was assistant adjutant general at St. Louis.

5. Edmund A. Ogden held the regimental rank of captain. He was a member of the original board of officers appointed to locate a new military post near the forks of the Kansas river and subsequently was the officer in charge of construction. He died of cholera during the epidemic which decimated the population of Fort Riley in 1855.—*Official Army Register for 1855*. . . . Adjutant General's Office, Washington, January 1, 1855; W. F. Fride, *The History of Fort Riley* (no publisher; copyright 1926), pp. 61, 63-68.

Sixth infantry, in August, 1853.⁶ At that time the river was at a low stage and Tidball's examination was therefore not conclusive. Major Vinton, in his letter to Major Page, remarked that the survey was satisfactory so far as it went, "but it leaves to conjecture still, the depth of the Kansas River and of its navigableness at the most favorable stage of its waters. . . . It still remains to ascertain the actual depth of the Kansas, at high water, and of the duration of the season of its navigation, if it shall prove navigable. I have therefore to request that observation may be continued for that object and that an early report (after the next 'rise' of that stream) may be made. . . ."

General Clarke, transmitting Tidball's report to Col. Lorenzo Thomas, assistant adjutant general at Headquarters of the Army, New York, said that he had planned to make two surveys of the river, one when it was at its lowest stage and the other at its highest.

Altho' it is not expected that the River is navigable for steamboats for any length of time during the year [he stated], yet I am satisfied that it is navigable at certain periods of the year sufficiently long to throw up a large amount of Supplies, and I recommend that the Quarter Master & Commissary Depts be so instructed. The Quarter Master in St Louis might keep himself advised of the stage of water in the River—and save the Government a great deal by throwing up the supplies by water at such periods as might be deemed safe. The Commanding Officer at Fort Riley will be instructed to give information to the Quarter Master in St Louis when the river is at its highest stage.⁷

No record of the proposed examination during the period of high water has been found. However, one steamboat captain, Charles K. Baker, perhaps as a result of Major Vinton's persuasion, undertook to try the ascent and in April, 1854, successfully sailed his 79-ton stern-wheeler, the *Excel*, from Weston, Mo., to Fort Riley carrying 1,100 barrels of flour. During the next two months, before he left the Kansas for the Missouri river trade, Captain Baker made several such trips, on one of which he even dared a short excursion up the Smoky Hill.⁸

6. Tidball was a graduate of West Point in the class of 1849. He was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant on March 3, 1855, to captain on August 25 of the same year, and retired from the army November 1, 1861.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 961.

7. Gen. N. S. Clarke to Col. L. Thomas, Jefferson Barracks, Mo., January 9, 1853 [1854]. Photostat of original letter in "Records of the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General," in the National Archives.

8. Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 9, pp. 321-324; George S. Park, "Notes of a Trip Up Kansas River . . .," in *Organization, Objects, and Plans of Operations, of the Emigrant Aid Company* . . . (Boston, 1854), pp. 9-19. Park was editor of the *Industrial Luminary*, Parkville, Mo., a newspaper whose Free State tenets caused its destruction in 1855 by a mob of pro-slavery Missourians. His description of his journey up the Kansas was widely read, and was reprinted by several papers, including the first issue of the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Waka-rusa, October 21, 1854.

Copies of Tidball's report to Major Ogden, with a map which he made to illustrate it, were sent to Headquarters of the Army at New York, to Headquarters of the Department of the West at Jefferson Barracks, and to the Quartermaster General at Washington. The copy to the latter is on file among the "Records of the War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General," in the National Archives.⁹ The copy from which the text below is taken was received by the Historical Society on February 25, 1878, with other papers of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, from J. M. Forbes, president of the board of trustees.

II. LIEUTENANT TIDBALL'S REPORT

Fort Riley

Indn Terry Oct 10, 1853

Major:

The duty of prosecuting the survey of the Kansas river, ordered to be made under your supervision, having devolved on me, I have the honor to communicate the following report of my investigations.

As the principal object contemplated in this expedition was to determine the practicability of navigating the river by steamers or keel Boats, my attention was chiefly directed to collecting facts and obtaining information bearing on this point, and less particularly to other matters mentioned in your letter of instructions.¹⁰

The place selected for departure is a point of the river about two miles below the junction of the Smoky Hill Fork and Pawnee river, estimating the sinuosities of the river, and about a mile from, and nearly East of, this post.¹¹ It was not deemed important to commence operations higher up, as the place selected possesses as many advantages for a Steam Boat landing as any point above, and is more easy of access from the fort.

The turbid cast of the water rendering it next to impossible for my Steersman, in his position close to the surface, to determine where the main channel lay, to enable me to keep in it, I found it

9. Letter from E. G. Campbell, director, "War Records Division," The National Archives, Washington, D. C., December 19, 1947.

10. The instructions referred to have not been found either in the files of the Society or those of the National Archives.—*Ibid.*

11. The Smoky Hill and Republican rivers join at Junction City, near Fort Riley, to form the Kansas. The Republican took its name from a branch of the Pawnee confederacy known as the Kitkehahki or Republican Pawnees who lived along its banks until about 1815, but it was also called the Pawnee by several early explorers, including John C. McCoy, who performed many of the surveys of Indian reservations in present Kansas. He stated that the river was called Pa-ne-ne-tah or Pawnee by the Kansas Indians.—See John C. McCoy, "Survey of Kansas Indian Lands," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 305; Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopedia of State History*. . . . (Chicago, 1912), v. 2, p. 577; George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3, p. 246; F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*. . . . Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30 (Washington, 1907), Pt. 1, p. 707. Tidball's point of departure was at or near the point where One Mile creek enters the Kansas.

necessary, almost from the outset, to feel my way by having recourse to the sounding rod, the use of which, was seldom discontinued during a run, and only when the appearance of the water removed all doubt as to its considerable depth. This process, though vexatious and wearisome, was attended with the advantage of giving a more accurate knowledge of the general depth of the water than could have resulted from less frequent soundings. This system of soundings showed the general depth of water in the main channel, for a distance of fifty miles, or thereabout, to be from two to seven feet; that is, it varied between these limits, more frequently exceeding the greater than falling below the less; when the latter occurred, special mention is [made] of it, and the localities are, as nearly as possible, pointed out.

These I found to be quite numerous, nine such having been found above the mouth of the Blue Earth river.¹² The first is about one mile from the point of starting; the second, above a small island some four miles lower down; about three fourths of a mile above Clarke's Creek, again just above the mouth, and at distances of four and six miles below the mouth of this creek, there are bars. Severally, these are of little extent in the direction of the flow of water, not more, perhaps, than fifteen or twenty yards, but most of them traverse the river throughout its entire width, with a minimum depth of twelve inches of water. Four miles below the last mentioned point, is a bar of considerable magnitude, fifty or sixty yards across, with only eight inches of water. Two other bars were found above the mouth of the Blue Earth river; the first a small one, a little way above two small islands abreast; the other, opposite the mouth of a slough on the left shore, between six and seven miles lower down. The least depth of water on the first of these was one foot; on the second, about ten inches, though next the left bank, there was a narrow channel with eighteen inches water. The general width of the Kansas above the mouth of the Blue Earth river, is about eighty yards, seldom narrower, and occasionally widening to a hundred and twenty or more. It is comparatively free from flood wood and snags; a circumstance due most probably to the sparsity of timber in this region. In respect of flood wood and snags in this part of the river, I deem it necessary only to mention the mouth of Clarke's Creek, a point some ten miles lower down, and a point in the main channel,

12. The Big Blue, as it is known today, is the largest tributary of the Kansas. It was commonly called the Blue Earth river in earlier days, from the name "Mon-e-ca-to" or "Moh-e-ca-to" by which it was known to the Kansas Indians. The Indian name is used in Isaac McCoy's field notes of his survey of the Delaware lands and outlet in 1830 and on his plat of the north and south lines of the Kansas Indian lands.—See superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 1, pp. 48, 58.

at an island about two miles above the mouth of the Blue Earth river.

Of these places the last two are the worst, though I do not regard any of them as considerable impediments. At the junction of the Blue Earth and Kansas there is a bar of considerable extent, formed most probably, in great part, by deposits from the waters of the former, the least depth of water on it, ten inches. It stretches almost entirely across the Kansas, and completely spans the mouth of the Blue. This is much the largest affluent of the Kansas; its width at the mouth from sixty to eighty yards, and its depth there was found to be from two and a half to four feet. Notwithstanding, however, it was discharging a considerable volume of water, there was no perceptible addition to the general depth of the Kansas, the increment of water being fully absorbed by the expansion in the width of the river commencing there, and with little variation continuing to prevail as far down as Soldier's creek.

Passing below the mouth of the Blue Earth river, there was an approach to uniformity in the general depth of the water, though it was by no means regular; bars and shoals were of less frequent occurrence, but many of them were of much greater extent than any yet mentioned. At a distance of five miles below, a bar was found stretching nearly across the river; and half a mile lower down a second; neither large, with a depth of one and a half feet, on each. Four or five miles farther on, there is a marked increase in the width of the river—which there flows between banks lower on both sides than usual—the water gradually becomes shallow, and for a distance of three or four hundred yards the prevailing depth was fourteen inches. There is no distinctly defined bar, but it seemed, rather, a shoaling of the water due to the expansion in the width of the stream. A little distance below this point there is a rapid, or a succession of rapids, for there are three, distinctly marked, at intervals of two or three hundred yards. These are caused by a flat reef of rock, no where visible, but first discoverable at the upper rapid, and thence continuing to form the bed of the river for some distance below the last. Loose water worn stones and fragments of rock are strewn over the bed of the river in places, in greatest abundance near the upper rapid. Individually, these rapids are but a few yards across. The Channel is straight, with a depth of one and a half feet, and the acceleration of current is about one half; but at the distance of twenty five or thirty yards below the several rapids, it resumes its usual velocity. Between this point and St. Mary's Mission there is little change in the general character of the river, except that, for

part of that distance, the limits between which the general depth of water varied, were somewhat different. This was first remarked a few miles above the mouth of Vermillion, and from the time my attention was drawn to the fact, until I had passed Uniontown ferry,¹³ the prevailing depth was from eighteen inches to seven feet.

There are two other places, between the rapids mentioned and St. Mary's Mission, that require notice. About twelve miles above the mouth of the Vermillion is an island between which and the left bank, the great body of water pours. I found this place almost impassable for my skiff, in consequence of its being choked with a series of little bars, disposed like ribs across the channel, with not more than eight inches of water on some of them, while below and between them it was not unfrequently six or seven feet deep. I find it difficult so to designate the locality of this island that it may be distinguished from others very similar in appearance, and removed but little distances from it. It may suffice to state that it is the fifth above the mouth of the Vermillion.

A bend below the mouth of Phillip's creek, a small branch emptying in a short distance above the Mission, presented a collection of snags, not numerous, however, and the only point thus far below the Blue Earth river, which, in this particular, it is important to mention. Of course I would not be understood to say that that part of the river, or any other of considerable extent enjoys entire immunity from these ugly customers; but from the impossibility of defining [or] fixing positions, mention only is made of such as appeared to me likely to prove [provide?] difficulties in the way of navigation, or invest it with any degree of danger. In the vicinity of St. Mary's Mission the river widens beyond its usual limits, and is thereabout, for perhaps a mile, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards wide. Within this stretch, nearly opposite, perhaps somewhat below, the Mission, are two small islands close together, and still another, lower down. The whole distance embracing these islands, and extending a little above and below them, is a bar, seamed by narrow irregular gullies through which, with a variable depth of from eight to eighteen inches, the great volume of water finds its way. Some two miles below the Mission the river makes an abrupt bend, running in a westerly direction for one or two miles, when it sweeps away to the southward, gradually resuming its general course. It is somewhat narrower than usual between these el-

13. Uniontown crossing, just above the Uniontown rapids near the point where Cross creek flows into the Kansas, was about one and one-half miles above the old village of Uniontown and about five miles above Silver Lake. The ferry there was operated by L. K. Darling in 1853 and was known as Darling's ferry.—See George A. Root, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

bows, both of which are receptacles of snags, most numerous and dangerous in the upper. Below an island, situated in the lower bend, the river again spreads out to a greater width than usual, the water becomes shoal, and [an] other stretch, not unlike that in the vicinity of the Mission, presents itself. The least depth of water found here was twelve inches, which may be regarded as that prevailing for the greater part of a mile, when the prevalent features as to depth were restored, and continued without interruption some eighteen or twenty miles farther. Eight or nine miles below the Mission, another nest of snags, numerous and ugly, was found. About a mile lower down there is a rocky developement in the right bank, from one point of which a spur, nearly perpendicular to the thread of the current, and extending about one third the width of the river, causes a partial rapid. Between this point of rock, and the left bank the channel was three feet deep; there was slight increase in the velocity of the water, so little, it is doubtful, if, at a higher stage, it would be distinguishable from the general current.

Of the rapids in this river, that usually known as the Uniontown rapid is the only one that fairly embodies the idea suggested by the term. It extends the entire width of the river, and is caused by a ledge of rock stretching diagonally across, presenting a general concavity down stream, its lower extremity resting on the right bank. I had not the means of determining the difference of level between the head and foot of the rapid, but the fall is sufficient to produce an increased velocity of current, extending through sixty or seventy yards. The depth of water was variable; the deepest on the crest of the rapid, was found between the middle of the river, and the right bank, and was from two to four feet, increasing somewhat below, the least depth, between the middle and left bank, but thirteen inches. The channel conforms pretty generally to the direction of the stream, and seems to cross the head of the rapid about one third the width of the river from the right bank. Detached masses of rock strew the bed of the rapid; only a few of these were visible, and those near the left bank, in the shoalest water. In respect of magnitude, this is much the [most] considerable rapid in the river, and, therefore, all else being equal, would be found a much more serious difficulty in the way of navigation. But the current is, as nearly as I could estimate it, about twice as strong as that of the river in general; the crest of the rapid is little, if any, more than a hundred yards above an abrupt curve in the river narrower there than above, so that, at a high stage, a stronger current than usual may be looked for throughout this curve.

These circumstances I apprehend may be found to render this point additionally difficult to pass. Another rapid, produced doubtless by a continuation of the same body of rock, in part forming the right bank between the two, occurs about a fourth of a mile below. It is unimportant as compared with the principal rapid; and as it appeared to me likely to offer no difficulty at a time when a boat may reach it, little more is necessary than to note its existence and position. On this, the deepest water, from eighteen inches to two feet, was found between the middle of the river and the left bank. Soon after leaving Uniontown rapids I again had occasion to observe a change in the general depth; and until I reached the vicinity of Soldier creek it ranged between fourteen inches and half as many feet. So frequently was it the former, that I am not sure a great error would be committed were much of this distance denominated a series of shoals. This extent, however, is not equally bad throughout. Between Weld's and Papan's ferries¹⁴ the course of the stream is more direct, and the channel less irregular in depth. Except these general features, the only matters presenting themselves to my notice, in this part of the river, as bearing on the matter under consideration, were, the existence of numerous snags just below Papan's ferry, and at intervals between that and the mouth of Soldier creek, and a bar, about midway between these points, on which, for perhaps a hundred yards, I found only ten inches of water,—A change in the breadth of the river is observable soon after passing the mouth of Soldier creek. It becomes narrower. And indeed the lower part of the river is, with occasional exceptions compressed within narrower limits than were found to characterize, as a rule, the portion between the Blue Earth river and Soldier creek; while for several miles above its junction with the Missouri, and at that point, it is even more contracted, a circumstance that may lead to an erroneous idea of its prevailing width. If that portion lying between Turtle creek and Cedar creek be excepted, abrupt curves in the stream, below the mouth of Soldiers creek, are comparatively few; as a whole, the channel was more distinctly defined; some improvement and less irregularity were perceived in the general depth, which was from eighteen inches to six feet, until within a few miles of the Missouri, when it became more regularly deep, seldom less than five feet. This part of the river is not, however, exempt from those features that disfigure other portions of it. Bars of considerable mag-

14. Probably this should be Wells' ferry. Hiram Wells and John Ogee established a ferry service in 1853 at a point near the old Baptist Mission which became known as the "Great Crossing." Papan's ferry in that year was operating about four miles above the mouth of Soldier creek.—See George A. Root, *loc. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 365, 366; v. 3, p. 16.

nitide were found at intervals; while snags are of more frequent occurrence, and the collections of these in places are equal, if not greater, than any yet mentioned. A partial rapid, too, similar to that between St. Mary's Mission and Uniontown rapids, occurs between the mouth of Grasshopper and Turtle creek, about six miles above the latter. A rib of the reef causing it, extends from the right bank about halfway across; but between it and the left bank is a smooth channel, of which the least depth, on the prolongation of the rib, was two feet.

Bars, in the order in which they occur, were found at a point about three miles above the mouth of Grasshopper; a mile above the mouth of Turtle creek; at the mouth of a little creek, emptying in from the south, between Turtle creek and Stranger; some three miles above the mouth of Cedar creek; opposite the mouth of Rock creek; at Delaware ferry;¹⁵ and just below a small island from three to five miles lower down. Of these the largest are those situated at about equal distances above the mouth of Grasshopper and Cedar creek, and that at Delaware ferry;—the first at least half a mile in extent, without any discoverable main channel across it; the others traceable for a distance of two or three hundred yards. The minimum depth of water on the first two, was ten inches; on the last, one foot. The least depth of water on these, in the order in which they are enumerated, was, ten inches on the first, fourteen on the second, but eight on the third, and on the fourth ten inches. Of the portion of the river under consideration, that between the Grasshopper and Cedar creek is most plenteously supplied with snags. Few of the elbows in this interval but hold them in greater or less abundance. A sharp bend about six miles below Grasshopper, (river running northeasterly, for a little distance) the vicinity of the rapid last mentioned, and a bend in the river just above the mouth of Cedar creek, are repositories of the largest collections. The last of these surpasses in extent any other in the river, stretching along a distance of nearly or quite two hundred yards. Below Cedar creek there are comparatively few; two other points, however, one in the vicinity of Delaware ferry, the other a few miles above the mouth of the river, are worthy of mention in this connection.

Except in a few places to which allusion has been made, at the rapids and in their vicinity, the bed of the river is an easily yield-

15. Delaware or Grinter's ferry, known also as Military ferry and Secondine crossing, was the earliest ferry established on the Kansas river. It was about eight and one-half miles west of the Kansas-Missouri boundary, near the Indian village of Secondine, and was operated by Moses Grinter as a crossing on the military road between Cantonment Leavenworth and Fort Gibson, Okla.—*Ibid.*, v. 2, pp. 264, 265.

ing quicksand, and its surface broken. In descending, a gradual shoaling of the water was noticed in approaching the bars, which were found to terminate very abruptly, so that not infrequently a few feet only intervened between least and greatest depth of water. The banks of the upper portion of the river are formed almost entirely of sand, occasionally mingled with clay. Lower down, this is seen in somewhat greater abundance, sometimes in thin strata alternating with sand; occasional beds of gravel and in a few places, for short distances, rocky developments occur. But these last are rather exceptions to the general rule than a prominent feature in the geological character of the banks.

The river, as a whole, is quite crooked, varying of course in this respect in different parts, and some of the curves are very abrupt. This feature is perhaps more strongly marked in the portion between this post and the mouth of the Blue Earth river; in that lying between St. Mary's Mission and Weld's ferry; and in that between Turtle creek and Cedar creek. In the main, as was to be anticipated the greatest depth of water was found following the concave portions of the banks, and along the bluff shores; but not always, for in many places, and in straight portions of the river, where there was no apparent cause for a diversion in the channel, it was found to run in a zigzag course from bank [to bank?], crossing a right line three or four or half a dozen times in a distance of a few hundred yards; of course every salient point seems to give a new direction to the great body of the water; so that, numerous as are the curves of the river, the channel is even more tortuous.

The tributaries of the Kansas, below this point, though numerous are small. The Blue Earth river is the largest. It is not to be supposed that the discharge of water from these, singly, can at any time, in great degree, augment that of the river, but during the spring and early summer its volume is probably much swollen by their united supply.

It is needless to speculate as to whether the river is navigable at a low stage of water. Still, the facts elicited by no means, I think, definitely settle the question whether or not it is ever navigable. Throughout the entire course of the stream the evidences were abundant that the water had been from six to eight feet above its level when I descended. The water marks along the banks were satisfactory on this point; but if doubt could rest upon these, the accumulation of flood wood on the heads of islands and in other places, as indication of the height to which the river had risen was not to be

mistaken. Nor could it be supposed, as at first seemed probable, that that which lay highest had, in every instance, been forced above the surface by the accumulating drift wood above, for instances were numerous when that occupying the highest positions lay apart from the general collection, in places it could have reached through no other agency than the immediate action of the water, and where, that having subsided, it rested. These conclusions are strengthened by the concurrent testimony of persons of whom inquiry was made, at different points along the river. Touching the duration of the period of high water, the testimony is concordant.

At Uniontown ferry, I was informed that, for about two months preceding my arrival there, the water had been from six to seven feet higher than at that time; at Weld's ferry, that it had been from eight to ten feet higher, and all summer several feet above its stage then; at Delaware ferry, that from the tenth of April until the tenth of August it had been about five feet higher than I found it, but that high water had prevailed, it might be, a month longer this year than usual. Added to this, it is well known here, that from the time of the arrival of a battalion of the 6th Infantry at this place, about the 20th of May, until about the 10th of August, the river at this point was from five to ten feet above its level a month later.

I have too little experience in matters relating to navigation to form opinions concerning it in which I can rest entire confidence; yet, with all the facts and evidence before me, I am strongly impelled to the belief that there is a period of from two to four months of the year, dating from the first spring rise, during which boats can ascend to this point. I am gratified to be able to state that this opinion is also entertained by Capt. Lovell¹⁶ of my regiment, who descended the river in the Autumn of last year, in a skiff. The effort to ascend, if made at the proper time, would at least be attended with such positive results as cannot be arrived at by any examination of the river, however carefully conducted, by parties descending in small boats.

The removal of the snags I conceive to be the only valuable improvement that could be made in the river. This might be affected by means usually available for such purposes; but I do not regard their removal as absolutely necessary. Their existence can only ren-

16. Capt. Charles S. Lovell, Sixth infantry, like Major Ogden was a member of the board of officers which selected the location for Fort Riley. This group first visited the site in the fall of 1852, and it is possible that Lovell's descent of the river was made on the return journey. On May 17, 1853, he established the first post, thus becoming Fort Riley's first commanding officer.—Pride, *op. cit.*, p. 61; *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess. (1853-1854), p. 116.

der transit in some degree hazardous, without interfering to effectually prevent it. No remedy suggests itself for the bars; they will always exist, if not where I found them, at other points; and during low water their presence must be an insuperable obstacle to navigation. Should any attempt at improvement of the rapids be contemplated, it suggests itself to me that it would be wisdom to institute, under the direction of a competent practical Engineer, or an officer of the Department to which such duties properly pertain, a more rigid examination than it was possible for me to make. I am of opinion that expenditure for their improvement is unnecessary; for it is clear to my mind that if a boat can ever reach them, it will find sufficient water to pass them without danger.

The nature of my duties was such that my investigations were necessarily confined within narrow limits. Hence I had little opportunity of acquiring information relative to the valley of the river, and the adjacent country. The valley is comparatively narrow, and is terminated on either side by a range of limestone bluffs, at distances varying from a few hundred yards to several miles; occasionally, however, approaching closely to the river; still more rarely, and for short intervals, forming its banks. As a whole, it is sparsely timbered. This is particularly true of the upper portion, throughout which timber exists only in clumps and narrow belts along the banks of the river, and in its immediate vicinity. Descending, a gradual increase is perceptible; but it is not until approaching the lower part of the valley, that it is found in any considerable abundance. There, too, the better qualities of forest trees, as the hickory, oak, ash, hackberry, walnut, &c. replace in some degree, the cottonwood, which is the prevailing growth in the upper region.

At only one of the places mentioned in your letter of instructions, was I enabled to obtain definite information of the existence of coal. This is found in a limestone cliff, within a few hundred yards of Welds' ferry. Where it was shown me, it exists in seams three or four inches in thickness. I was told it appears at different points along the face of the bluff. It is doubtful if it exists in great abundance.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of timber along the river, I think there is sufficient for the probable wants of steam navigation for years. The larger islands, which are numerous, are covered with a fine growth of cottonwood. This could be made available. Were there any demand, there is no doubt but the supply, at convenient points, would fully meet it.

The means placed at my disposal for inquiring into the feasibility of navigating the Kansas, were, you are well aware, insufficient for the prosecution of a minute and accurate survey. My researches do not pretend to that dignity. Only such facts as were to be obtained with those meagre means were sought after. In regard to the matter of distances, I may be somewhat at fault. Their calculation rests upon data that could not be relied on for positive accuracy; and, therefore, as laid down, they can only be regarded as approximate. The difficulty of determining them with exactness has, too, involved me, in making this report, in a deal of circumlocution that otherwise were unnecessary.

It may be well to state that this examination was commenced in the latter part of August, when the river was very low, and that is was constantly falling during the progress of the inquiry.

I am very respectfully,
Your Obt Servant

(signed) J. L. Tidball
2d Lieut 6 Infy

Brevet Major E A Ogden
A. Q. M.—U. S. A.
Fort Leavenworth
Mo.

The Renaming of Robidoux Creek, Marshall County

ROBIDOUX CREEK: a stream about 25 miles long heading near Summerfield and flowing generally southward to the Black Vermillion River 1.5 miles southwest of Frankfort; Marshall County, source in sec. 12, T. 1 S, R. 9 E, and mouth in sec. 20, T. 4 S, R. 9 E, sixth principal meridian, mouth at 39° 41' 15" N, 96° 26' 30" W. Not: Black Vermillion Creek, Robidoux Fork, Vermilion Creek, Vermillion Creek, West Fork.

THE above decision, appearing in a publication of the U. S. Board on Geographic Names¹ in May, 1947, officially restored to Robidoux creek the name by which early settlers of Marshall county knew it, and which was perhaps first applied to the stream by French fur traders. As far as can be learned, this is the first time the board has restored a geographic name in Kansas. The story of this stream, and its renaming, is worth recording.

One hundred and nine years ago this year, a 43-year-old fur trapper carved his name and occupation—"M Robidoux TRAPPER 1841"—on a large limestone rock near a ford on the west branch of the Black Vermillion river in present Marshall county.² Because he did so, this tributary of the river was later to bear his name.

The ford (later known as the lower Robidoux crossing) was on an Indian trail, used also by hunters and trappers in the 1830's and 1840's. In these decades the immediate area was Indian country not assigned to any particular tribe. A little to the east, and extending to the Missouri river, lay the Kickapoo reserve. Beyond, on the east bank of the Missouri, was the Blacksnake Hills trading post of Joseph Robidoux, where the town of St. Joseph, Mo., was founded in 1843.

The establishment at Blacksnake Hills had existed since the latter 1820's. Joseph Robidoux, oldest of six fur-trading brothers,³

Much of the material used in the preparation of this article was furnished by OTTO J. WULLSCHLGER of Marshall county who was instrumental in re-establishing Robidoux as a geographic name in Kansas. The article was written by LOUISE BARRY, who is in charge of the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

1. U. S. Board on Geographic Names. *Decision Lists*, Nos. 4701, 4702, 4703, January, February, March, 1947 (Washington, D. C., May, 1947), p. 2.

2. The rock is on the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 6, Township 3 South, Range 9 East, on a farm belonging to M. L. Goin.

3. The Robidouxes were from St. Louis. Joseph Robidoux (b. 1750) arrived there in 1770 from Montreal. He married Catharine Rollet in 1782 and they had six sons and two daughters. Joseph (b. 1783), the oldest, and Michel (b. 1793), the youngest son, are mentioned above. Michel (also variously spelled Michael, Mitchel and Mitchell) married Susan Vaudry, of St. Louis, a sister of Angelique Vaudry, the second wife of his brother Joseph.—*The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* . . . (St. Joseph, Mo., 1881), pp. 392-396; Mrs. O. M. Robidoux's *Memorial to the Robidoux Brothers* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1924).

founded it while working for the American Fur Company. In 1830 he bought out the company's interest and employed his own hunters, who ranged the country east and west in search of furs. Presumably "M Robidoux"—Michel, youngest of the Robidoux brothers—was working for Joseph in 1841 when he inscribed his name on the rock in northeast Kansas, some 90 miles from the trading post. Little is known of Michel's activities in the West, although he apparently spent a good many years in the fur trade, and is said to have traded principally at Fort Laramie.

During the 1840's two great thoroughfares to the Far West were developing across present Marshall county, one north and one south of the lower Robidoux crossing. These were arteries of the Oregon and California road. One was the main route of the Oregon trail from Independence, Mo. The other was the branch of this trail which began at St. Joseph, Mo.

Another starting point for westbound travel in these years was Fort Leavenworth on the Kansas side of the Missouri river about 50 miles below St. Joseph. A circuitous route north from this post to intersect the "St. Joe" road was in use in the 1840's. But in April, 1850, Maj. E. A. Ogden, quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, surveyed a shorter route northwest from that post to the crossing of the Big Blue. According to P. G. Lowe, who was with Ogden, the new military road led along the divides, crossed the Delaware river at present Kennekuk, and the Nemaha river where Seneca now is. Between that point and the Big Blue river ford (present Marysville) there was a juncture with the "St. Joe" road.⁴ The place at which this road crossed the west fork of the Black Vermillion is not certain, since no report of Ogden's survey has ever been located. By the late 1850's the generally-traveled road (the overland stage route) forded the stream at Guittard's station, about nine miles north of the lower crossing.

It would appear that the lower crossing was never on a main trafficway across Marshall county, although some travelers evidently used this ford as late as 1861. The rock on which Robidoux's name appears also has these inscriptions: "J. FREY 1860," and "L. ROW 1861." Frey was a well-known Pony Express rider in

4. Lowe was a private in Troop B, First U. S. dragoons, in 1850. His statements about the route of the new military road were made many years later in his book, *Five Years a Dragoon* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1906), pp. 84, 85. According to an article in the *New York Daily Tribune*, June 22, 1854, the new military road of 1850 which the government "caused . . . to be surveyed, improved and bridged," has since been kept in good repair, and "is called the best of the emigrant routes, being high, level, dry, with fine grass, and convenient water." No details of the route are mentioned beyond the statement that the "St. Joseph road does not unite with it until within twenty miles of . . . [Big Blue] river."



PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE LIMESTONE ROCKS ON THE M. L. GOIN FARM ABOUT FOUR MILES SOUTHWEST OF BEATTIE, MARSHALL COUNTY, SHOWING THE CARVED INSCRIPTIONS: "M. ROBIDOUX TRAPPER 1841 J. FREY 1860 L ROW 1861," "J. BRIDGER GUIDE 1857" AND OTHERS. MICHEL ROBIDOUX WAS A BROTHER OF JOSEPH ROBIDOUX, THE FOUNDER OF ST. JOSEPH, MO.; JOHNNY FREY WAS A PONY EXPRESS RIDER, AND JAMES BRIDGER WAS THE NOTED SCOUT AND GUIDE. PICTURE COURTESY OF OTTO J. WULLSCHLEGER.

1860, but his regular route lay to the north, fording Robidoux creek at Guittard's station. On another stone in the same ledge of rocks are the following names: "J. BRIDGER GUIDE 1857," "C. F. SMITH," and "J. S. JONES—MAY 7, 1856." According to the biography of James Bridger by J. Cecil Alter,⁵ the famed trapper and guide went East (by boat, down the Missouri river) in the spring of 1857, spent a brief time in Washington, D. C., and was back at Fort Laramie by early summer of that year. While this does not authenticate the inscription, it does show that Bridger very likely did cross northeast Kansas territory on his return journey to Fort Laramie in that year.

Whether the west fork of the Black Vermillion was called Robidoux creek before Kansas was opened to settlement is uncertain. Settlers began to come into Marshall county in 1856. Between November of that year and May, 1857, government surveyors platted Townships 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Range 9 East—the townships through which the stream runs. Their maps were the first of the area to record detailed geographic data, and the first, as far as is known, which gave a name to the west fork of the Black Vermillion. On the plat of Township 1, where it heads, surveyor Cornelius B. Keller wrote the name "Vermillion creek." Blair H. Matthews, who surveyed Townships 2 and 3, also called it "Vermillion creek." (The stones with the inscriptions heretofore mentioned, and the lower Robidoux crossing are in the northwest part of Township 3, Range 9.) However, on the plat of Township 4, Range 9, where the stream enters the Black Vermillion river, surveyor Felix G. Herbert entered the name "Robidoux Fork." Herbert's survey was made between May 8 and 17, 1857, and his is the earliest record found definitely linking the name Robidoux with the stream.⁶

The first printed maps in the Kansas State Historical Society's possession which show a name for the Black Vermillion's west fork are three which were published in 1859. Of these, the J. H. Colton & Co. map and the Stevenson & Morris map list the stream as "Robidoux Fk." The Gunn & Mitchell map of 1859 (as well as their maps of the 1860's) call it "Vermillion Cr."

An examination of later maps in the Society's collection shows that the Colton maps (1868, 1869, 1871); the Blanchard maps (1870, 1871); Ross' map (1871); Wilmarth's map (1871); the Cram

5. J. Cecil Alter's *James Bridger* . . . (Salt Lake City, c1925), pp. 269-271.

6. The original manuscript plats are on file in the state auditor's office.

maps (1871, 1874, 1876, 1879), all labeled the stream "Robidoux Cr." More important as documentary evidence is the fact that the Marshall county map in an official state atlas published in 1887 shows the stream as "Robidoux Fork."⁷

However, in an article in the Waterville *Telegraph* of March 31, 1871, this statement appeared: "At GUITARD'S, on West Fork, at the crossing of the old overland and military road, is a postoffice which supplies an extensive section." By the name West Fork, or West Branch, the stream was apparently known to many Marshall county residents from the 1870's on. A. L. Thornton's map of the county, published in the State Board of Agriculture *Report* for 1874,⁸ shows the name as "W Br Vermillion R," and the same appears 14 years later on the Marshall county map published in the board's *Report* for 1887-1888.⁹ Other mapmakers called it Vermillion creek, and that name appears on a map published as recently as 1949.

By the 20th century, "Robidoux" was practically extinct as a geographic name in Kansas. It would have remained so except for the efforts of a present-day resident of Marshall county, Otto J. Wullschleger.

Mr. Wullschleger, whose farm is less than two miles from the old lower Robidoux crossing, has long been interested in local history. Years ago, a pioneer resident, Charles Thompson, had pointed out to him the location of the once-used ford, and told him that early settlers had found names carved on a ledge of rocks on the west bank of the stream.

But Mr. Wullschleger did not see the inscriptions until 1934 when, after an intensive search, the stones were found, their carvings covered over with soil washed from a nearby field.

In May, 1945, Mr. Wullschleger, and others interested, began a campaign to restore the name Robidoux to the west fork of the Black Vermillion. Petitions were circulated in the townships along the stream, and the response was favorable. Articles about the plan, published in local newspapers (the Marysville *Advocate-Democrat*, the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, and the *Frankfort Index*) in 1945, included some friendly debate on the subject of the name restoration. County officials were not averse to the

7. *The Official State Atlas of Kansas Compiled From Government Surveys, County Records and Personal Investigations* (Philadelphia, L. H. Everts & Co., 1887), p. 124.

8. State Board of Agriculture, *The Third Annual Report . . . for the Year 1874* (Topeka, 1874), p. [166].

9. *Sixth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture . . . for the Years 1887-88* (Topeka, 1889), p. 294. This is a Rand, McNally & Co. map.

name Robidoux, provided official sanction of its use could be secured.

At the State House, Mr. Wullschleger enlisted the interest of Jacob C. Mohler, then secretary of the State Board of Agriculture. With the assistance of Warden L. Noe, the board's attorney, the historical data for the name Robidoux, and the petitions, were sent to Washington, D. C., to the U. S. Board on Geographic Names. That's board's decision, published in May, 1947, officially restored to the west fork of the Black Vermillion the name "Robidoux Creek."

Lincoln College, Forerunner of Washburn Municipal University

PART TWO: LATER HISTORY AND CHANGE OF NAME—Concluded

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

EARLY in 1865, after nearly a decade of failure and frustration, the Kansas Congregationalists announced the founding of Lincoln College, to be a monument to the victory of freedom and its champion, Abraham Lincoln. A lack of population as well as resources, depression, drought and finally Civil War had all delayed the launching of a Congregational college in Kansas. The founders had in mind an institution of learning which would promote the ideals of their Puritan forefathers and furnish a more adequate supply of trained ministers for a wide territory of the Missouri valley, which they then expected to be rapidly settled. Religion and its handmaid, education, would rescue the great West from the clutches of worldliness, and plant the principles of New England on the farthest frontier.

COLLEGE FAIR

After some delay, on January 3, 1866, the new college at Topeka formally opened its doors. During the initial weeks the students and faculty were obliged to carry on in a very inadequately furnished building. This arose from a lack of ready cash, the funds advanced by Topeka being scarcely sufficient to erect the structure, while those collected in the East and throughout Kansas were given almost exclusively to the endowment.¹⁰⁵ To provide for this urgent need it was decided to hold a fair, to be the first social gathering of Lincoln College. Apparently it was hoped to derive a little of the needed money from the Kansas legislators, then in session in Topeka. A complete program for this event was published in a local paper, February 8, 1866:

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN, of La Porte, Ind., is a former staff member of the Kansas State Historical Society.

105. Topeka *Weekly Leader*, February 8, 1866, quoted below. The urgent need of ready cash is apparent in the minutes of the meeting of the trustees, February 13, 1866, when the treasurer was authorized to sell the college property, except the "permanent site," and to ask \$2,000 of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West (College society) to pay the teachers for the current year. In fact, a financial report of July, 1867, pointing out the necessity of taking \$1,600 from the endowment fund to help defray the cost of constructing the college building.

LINCOLN COLLEGE FAIR,

Monday Evening, February 12th, 1866.

ORATION—in the Hall of the House of Representatives by Hon. T. C. Sears of Leavenworth, Tuesday evening, February 13th [below].

CONCERT AND SUPPER—at the College Building. The services of the Topeka Brass Band have been secured and the supper will be the best that the ladies of this city can furnish. Everything will be arraigned [*sic*] for a festive occasion, Wednesday evening, Feb. 14th.

The following programme will give an idea of the entertainments at the last evening of the Fair:

FANCY DEPARTMENT.—A large outlay of money and time has been made to furnish this department with any variety of useful and ornamented articles.

DEPARTMENT OF ART AND LITERATURE.—This embraces some 400 Engravings, Photographs and Lithographs, a collection of choice Prayer Books, and Bibles, some 30 volumes of Holland's Life of Lincoln in all varieties of binding, many volumes of History and Poetry, Illustrated works, Toy Books, Albums and Picture Frames. The above articles will be sold as cheap as they are retailed in New York City.

In addition to the above there will be a FISH POND, a POST OFFICE, and last though not least, the ELEPHANT will be on exhibition for the inspection of the curious.

One of Lippmcolt's beautiful Velvet Albums filled with pictures, and valued at \$40 will be disposed of by ballot to the *handsomest* unmarried lady present at the Fair.

A splendid engraving of President Johnson will be given in the same manner to the *homeliest* member of the Kansas Legislature.

OBJECT OF THE FAIR.—The funds secured will be appropriated for furnishing the College Building.

The funds raised here were barely sufficient for the erection of the building and those collected at the East were given exclusively to the endowment.

The college is educating without charge a large number of students, mostly soldiers and now seeks the means to continue this work with still better facilities.

Tickets for the evenings, covering the Oration, Concert, Supper and Fair, \$1; for any one evening 50 cents.

Tickets for sale at Willmarth's Book Store.¹⁰⁶

The next week the *Leader* announced that, despite inclement weather, on the second night of the fair a very large crowd at Lincoln College enjoyed the "grand entertainment":

Notwithstanding the falling snow and driving wind, one of the largest assemblies ever witnessed in Topeka was gathered at Lincoln College on Tuesday evening. It is estimated that at least five hundred people were present. The lower hall of the building was a gay scene. The walls were covered with paintings, engravings and other decorations. The table of fancy work was ornamented with the finest exhibition of taste. The Department of Art and litera-

^{106.} *Ibid.* A preliminary announcement appeared in the *Leader* of the previous week (February 1, 1866).

ture was the greatest attraction—the best engravings—the nicest Bibles and Prayer Books with a choice collection of Books of all kinds were to be found here[.] The Fish-Pond was over drained. The Elephant was visited by multitudes and was declared Elephantine. The velvet Album was disposed of after an exciting contest to Miss Annie Elmore. The result we doubt not is satisfactory to all, the recipient being highly esteemed for her virtues. Thursday eve is the closing evening of the Fair and will have connected with it a Free Supper and Concert. Let all who wish to see this college, now the pride of our citizens, prosper, attend.¹⁰⁷

Another entry of the same issue of this paper announced that the severe weather had led to a postponement of the final evening of the fair until Thursday, when the remaining articles, including paintings and engravings not previously shown, would be sold. An engraving of President Johnson would then be voted to the legislator with "the most distinguishable facial organs."¹⁰⁸ The next issue of *The Congregational Record* announced that the fair realized over \$600 for the college, clear of all expenses. "An ordinary broom was bid off at auction for two dollars. A large collection of books, pictures and photographs was secured by Prof. S. D. Bowker, as donations. These sold well. . . . The proceeds will be expended in furnishing the building."¹⁰⁹

THE ACADEMIC YEAR OF 1865-1866

During the winter and spring terms of 1866 a total of 38 students enrolled at Lincoln College—all in the preparatory department, since the college proper was not yet in actual operation. The catalogue for that year listed 22 men students, largely residents of Topeka or Tecumseh, of whom 18 were enrolled in the English department and the remainder the classical. There were 16 women students enrolled in the "Ladies' Course," also predominately from Topeka and Tecumseh, among whom the English department was again the leader.¹¹⁰ An account of May, 1866, remarked:

Although the Institution did not commence its first term till January, last, still thirty eight pupils have already connected themselves with it, and a class is preparing for College. The prospect for a large attendance in the fall is quite promising[.] The lack of a boarding house is a difficulty which the Trustees

107. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1866. The preliminary announcement in this paper remarked that the fancy work was a "large and varied assortment . . . upon which the ladies of this city have been engaged several months."

108. *Ibid.* Those who were expected "to furnish provisions for the free supper and who have not been called on will be visited on Thursday morning."

109. Volume 7 (1866), March, p. 157.

110. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of LINCOLN COLLEGE For the Winter and Spring Term of 1865-66* (Topeka, 1866), pp. V, VI. In its admission of women Lincoln College reflected a democratic trend which was more pronounced after the Civil War, particularly west of the Mississippi river, where every state except Missouri made its state university coeducational from its first opening. In 1840 there were only seven American colleges for the higher education of women, but by 1860 the number had grown to 161 as coeducational academies grew up over the land. In fact, the instruction of women at Lincoln College was largely on a preparatory school level.

are now endeavoring to obviate so as to furnish board to students from abroad at nearly cost prices.¹¹¹

In their admission of freedmen, as well as in their policy toward coeducation, the authorities of Lincoln College adopted a progressive attitude. During the war and thereafter many of the former slaves flocked to the "abolition strongholds" in Kansas, thereby constituting a problem of the first magnitude.¹¹² The Congregationalists had stressed the role of Lincoln College as a champion of freedom and could not logically exclude qualified students of color that might apply for admission; in fact, Article III of the "Articles of Association" promised "all classes, without distinction of color, the advantages of a liberal education. . . ." The following account described the first negro student of Lincoln College:

"THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT" has actually entered the halls at Lincoln College, in the form of a bright, sparkling colored boy. This is the first college, in Kansas, which, to our knowledge, has ventured the experiment. The "darkey" evidently enjoys his educational privileges, and bids fair to "shine" in more ways than one.¹¹³

According to the school calendar for 1865-1866 the winter term extended from January 3 to March 20 and the spring term from April 4 to June 26. At the close of the winter term the custom of a public examination was initiated. The following account indicates that the students acquitted themselves in a satisfactory manner:

The examination at the close of the winter term was quite thorough and creditable to the institution. The classes in the languages and mathematics evinced, by their clear conception and ready answers, the work of the teacher and pupil during the term. Between thirty and forty students were in attendance.¹¹⁴

111. *The Congregational Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, p. 39, report entitled "Lincoln College." Concerning the boarding house, see the section below entitled "The Academic Year of 1866-67."

112. By late 1861 considerable numbers of freedmen were already crowding into Lawrence, Topeka and other Free-State centers. The following winter Lawrence established a voluntary evening school for their education, which was very popular, proving conclusively the desire of the former slaves for self-improvement. Some months later a "Contraband Church" was erected at that place, under Congregational auspices, which was subsequently destroyed in the Quantrill raid, but speedily rebuilt. During the war Daniel Ellix, the pastor of this congregation, and his flock passed through many harrowing experiences. In April, 1864, it was said that schools for the freedmen had been successfully maintained during the preceding winter at Wyandotte, Quindaro, and Kansas City, Mo. One writer who in 1862 visited the school at Lawrence was much impressed by the songs which closed the evening session, one of which, adapted from a familiar hymn, was sung with fervor:

"Where, O, where is the Captain Moses,
Who led Israel out from Egypt?
Safe now in the promised land."

113. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1866), March, p. 157.

114. *Ibid.*, April & May, p. 192. The first college catalogue announced that there would be private examinations of the classes at the close of the fall and winter terms, and a public examination at the end of the spring term. However, the public ceremony was often placed at the close of the fall or winter term—perhaps not to interfere with commencement exercises in the spring.

The first annual examination after Lincoln College was renamed Washburn was held June 21 and 22, 1869, and was described in some detail in the next issues of the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka. Although there were "troubled minds and trembling hearts and shaking in boots" among the students, they acquitted themselves in a way entirely satisfactory to their audience. Late in the afternoon of the second day they assembled in the chapel to hear the reports of their standings. In reading this account one cannot help feeling that the ceremony had an aspect of "staging," and was partly motivated by a desire to "sell education to the public."

Another practice common in those days was begun at this time and adhered to later—a "Prize Exhibition" of recitations, orations and dialogues by the students. The following program for the first event of this nature appeared in the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, March 22, 1866:

PROGRAMME OF PRIZE EXHIBITION AT LINCOLN COLLEGE,
FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 23, 1866.

Music—Scholars' Greeting—By the School

1. Recitation—Mauel [Maud] Muller—Miss Carrie E. Sain.
2. Fourth of July Oration—L. A. Heil.
3. Dialogue—Morning Calls—Miss S. Rice, M. L. Hodges, R. Biggers, E. R. Campbell, N. H. Ferry, M. Wilder.

Music.

4. Declamation—Washington and Lincoln Compared—A. M. Covell.
5. Dialogue—Leaving School—S. Rice, C. Lain, E. R. Campbell.

Music.

6. Declamation—Sergeant Buzfuz—L. P. Huntoon.
7. Recitation—Over the River—E. R. Campbell.
8. Dialogue—Matrimonial Felicity—W. J. [I.] Stringham, C. E. Sain.

Music.

9. Declamation—Sheridan's Ride—L. B. Stone.
10. The Two Lecturers—L. A. Heil, L. P. Huntoon.

MUSIC—INSTRUMENTAL.

11. Dialogue—Queen's English—Miss N. M. Ferry, E. F. Nichols, C. E. Sain, S. Rice, M. Wilder, E. R. Campbell, M. J. Hodges.
12. Declamation—Tribute to our Honored Dead—W. J. [I.] Stringham.

Music—Parting Song—By the Choir.

Admittance—25 Cents.¹¹⁵

In the spring term Edward F. Hobart, formerly of the Baraboo Institute of Wisconsin, was made acting professor of natural science and principal of the preparatory and scientific department, in a temporary capacity, apparently to accord greater freedom to S. D. Bowker to pursue his work as financial agent.¹¹⁶ At the close of this term a note of appreciation for the good work of the college appeared in *The Congregational Record*:

115. The March 29 issue of the *Leader* remarked that their foreman had published the above program, the editor being out of town. However, "the courtesy of a free ticket was not extended. Nobody to blame." Perhaps this explains the absence of a subsequent account of the entertainment.

116. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, p. 39, entitled, "Lincoln College." A letter of Prof. G. H. Collier (MS. in Washburn library), February 24, 1866, invited Hobart "to take charge of the Academic Department next summer, but possibly for no more than a single term."

"I feel so confident that a good man will find a permanent position either in the Mathematical or Scientific department, that I should be willing to pay part of such a man's expenses provided no such place is left vacant."

"The salary at present paid is \$1000 a year. . . ."

"I write this without authority from the board of trustees. . . ."

On February 13, 1866, the trustees reappointed S. D. Bowker financial agent, probably leading to an invitation to Hobart for the spring term.

LINCOLN COLLEGE.—The summer [spring] term of this institution closed, after a prosperous session, on the 26th of June. The friends of the college have reason to feel encouraged in view of the large share of public confidence and patronage which the college has already received both in our own and in other States. Prof. S. D. Bowker is now at Biddeford, Maine. Prof. G. H. Collier is spending a vacation at his old home in Wheaton, Ills. Prof. H. Q. Butterfield is laboring in behalf of the college among personal friends at the East. Prof. E. F. Hobart, temporarily connected with the institution is now at Baraboo, Wisconsin. He did a fine work and endeared himself in the estimation of all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.¹¹⁷

Soon after the close of the spring term Professor Collier wrote from Wheaton, Ill., describing what he regarded the important mission of Lincoln College as a preparatory school and expressing doubt of his ability to continue teaching at Topeka, a salary of \$1,000 being inadequate to support his large family. Excerpts from his important letter follow:

The farther I go from Topeka the greater the work before Lincoln College appears. For it there is a wide and open door, and it has a large and doubtless, fruitful field to cultivate, but it can scarcely take rank as a college for some years. It must first prepare its students, for they cannot be found ready prepared in Kansas, and there is little hope of importing them. This preparatory work is not less beneficial or less noble than that which may follow, but the machinery adapted to the one is not in all respects the best for the other.

What Lincoln College most needs, in my opinion, is a good Principal of the Preparatory Department assisted by an *efficient and experienced lady teacher*.

Other instructors will be needed as the college advances in the number and scholarship of its students.¹¹⁸

On August 14, 1866, Collier resigned the chair of mathematics at Lincoln College but assured the trustees of his confidence in the "final success and usefulness" of the institution.¹¹⁹ In a letter 10 days later to "Dear Brother Bodwell," he stated his reasons for this step and added that he expected soon to leave for the Pacific coast.¹²⁰

That the \$1,000 salary granted members of the Lincoln College faculty in 1866 was inadequate in those days of post-war inflation

117. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, pp. 46, 47.

118. G. H. Collier to the Rev. P. McVicar, July 2, 1866.—MS. in Washburn Municipal University library.

"I have felt and now feel as though the interests of Lincoln College do not require that I should be in Topeka for at least two years. . . ."

"Still farther—after posting all the accounts, it is evident it will be very difficult for my large family to live on \$1,000 and yet this is all and more than the college ought to pay. I was not able find a house in Topeka before I left. . . . [Thinks the interests of all parties will be promoted by his going elsewhere.]"

119. G. H. Collier to the board of trustees, from Findley's Lake, N. Y., filed with preceding correspondence.

120. Letter of August 24, 1866, also filed with above correspondence.

"I am thoroughly convinced of the final success and urgent demand for Lincoln College. I was delighted with the beauty of the country and better pleased with the inhabitants than with those of any other new country that I was ever in. . . ."

The November issue of the *Cong. Record* stated (v. 8 [1866], November, p. 87): "Prof. G. H. Collier has resigned, and with his family is on his way to Oregon. He has accepted a position in the Pacific University." In 1866 he still retained this position in what was then known as the State University of Oregon.

is also apparent in the correspondence of Horatio Q. Butterfield. In the spring of that year the college authorities were endeavoring to conclude an agreement with the Connecticut educator and add him to the teaching staff for the coming school year, but the problems of low salary and added expense of moving from New England to Kansas proved serious obstacles. As a solution Butterfield desired permission of the trustees to obtain donations in New England, in the name of the college, from which he might retain enough to make his total annual salary \$1,500, which he regarded the absolute minimum to provide for all contingencies. He pointed out:

1. I can not possibly get my family & my goods to Topeka without help. . . .

2. Bro. Cordley intimated, in a note written me before my Election, that my salary for the first two years might not be but \$1000. I am now receiving \$1500, and I find it does not go much farther than \$1000 in 1860 or \$900 in 1858. As I shall be breaking the ground the first two years,—needing books and all kinds of helps for my professorship, I am more & more afraid I shall be terribly pinched. If I only had even \$1,000 in the bank, I would gladly spend it for Lincoln College. But I have nothing.

Now I am acquainted with a good many rich men in Maine, N. H., Mass. & Conn. And it is my intention to visit them in behalf of Lincoln College.

(1). Will the Trustees allow me enough out of the first \$1000 I may raise to make me whole in moving? To cover expenses & necessary sacrifices? . . .

(2). Can the Trustees see their way clear to promise the full salary (\$1500) as soon as I begin?¹²¹

A few weeks later Butterfield wrote that he chiefly wanted permission "to approach certain friends & acquaintances in the name of the College rather than in my own," whereby he thought he could procure all he needed, and added that he was ready to try his hand at securing the endowment.¹²² At their second annual meeting on May 22, 1866, the college trustees pledged Butterfield a yearly salary of \$1,000, providing they obtained aid from the College society. They permitted him to secure \$500 from other sources, in the name of the college, and specifically authorized him to procure the amount needed to move his family to Topeka and to aid Prof. Bowker in

121. H. Q. Butterfield to the Rev. Peter McVicar, dated Rockville, Conn., April 16, 1866. —MS. of the Kansas State Historical Society.

"I still believe I can serve the Cause of Christ more Efficiently there [Lincoln College] than here. My people are importuning me to give up at once the plan of going West & be settled here. But my heart still turns toward Topeka. [He adds that if the trustees cannot meet these conditions, he will feel duty bound to fill the professorship to which he has been provisionally appointed, and has in mind a minister who is a ripe scholar, well versed in the ancient languages.] . . .

"The point I make for myself is this: I can beg for the College, but not for myself. . . . Am I worth moving to Topeka?"

122. *Ibid.*, dated May 7, 1866, filed with preceding. "I am ambitious enough to wish and almost vain enough to hope that my connection with it [college] will redound rather to its pecuniary advantage. . . .

"Prof. Bowker asks me if I can turn into the work of securing the endowment. I am ready to do anything the Trustees wish. I should like to try my hand."

securing the endowment.¹²³ This action was received with entire satisfaction by Butterfield, who returned his unconditional acceptance and agreed to begin immediately the work of canvassing for the endowment.¹²⁴ His addition to the faculty was to prove extremely fortunate in the later history of Lincoln College.

ADOPTION BY THE COLLEGE SOCIETY

The early efforts toward an endowment had achieved some success, chiefly in the form of long-time subscriptions, but these had not been enough to afford any important income for the college, the urgent need of which became very apparent once the institution opened its doors. A circular of 1866 understated the case: "The great want now, to give practical efficiency to the College, is an *endowment* whose amplitude will warrant the employment of the *most able teachers* the country affords."¹²⁵

The financial problem was in fact so serious that it rendered doubtful the employment of any teachers at all and obliged the trustees at their meeting of February, 1866, to authorize the treasurer to sell the real estate belonging to the college, with the exception of the "permanent site"; also to ask a grant of \$2,000 from the College society to support the teachers for the current year and to request the endorsement by that organization of the effort to raise a \$50,000 endowment in the society's field (chiefly New England).¹²⁶ The report on the college which was presented to the general association in May, 1866, stressed the importance of completing the col-

123. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 26-28. At this meeting W. E. Bowker, J. W. Fox, H. W. Farnsworth and Lewis Bodwell were elected trustees for a three-year term. The trustees also extended to Professors Bowker and Collier the privilege of retaining \$500 for themselves from any sums they might obtain for the college.

124. Butterfield to McVicar, dated Rockville, Conn., May 30, 1866, in preceding correspondence.

"Yours of the 23d, transmitting the result of the action of the Trustees on the day preceding, came this morning. I am *entirely Satisfied*."

"Let me say: my request for the guaranty of \$1500 was not a *sine qua non* condition . . . to what I *did* make a condition indispensable, viz: the defraying of my expenses in moving. Had I understood as much about Western Colleges in general & Lincoln College in particular as I did after seeing Prof. Bowker, I should not have named the thing. The Trustees will not find me disposed to drive a hard bargain."

"I am now bound for Topeka."

"My acceptance of the Professorship of Ancient Languages is hereby made full & unconditional."

"I shall enter at once upon the work of canvassing for the endowment. . . . May the Lord Smile on Lincoln College and upon all Christian efforts for its upbuilding. My faith in it is large and unequivocal."

125. LINCOLN COLLEGE, INCORPORATION AND NAME, a broadside of the Washburn Municipal University library.

126. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 24, 25. An abbreviated copy of this letter to Theron Baldwin, secretary of the College society, is possessed by the Washburn library. "Point 5" of this application reviews the "Pecuniary Resources" as follows:

Permanent site, \$1,000. Building, \$8,000. Real Estate, \$2,000. Nine pledges of friends toward the endowment, \$7,880. Library, \$2,000. Books pledge, \$2,000. Kansas endowment, \$8,000. Pledge by a friend of the College, \$1,000. Total, \$31,880, and when the \$10,000 Kansas endowment was complete, total over \$33,000.

There follows in abbreviated language a detailed review of the geographical advantages allegedly possessed by Topeka, which was in a central location with respect to the populated portion of the state, and on the line of the Pacific railroad, already constructed to that place.

lection of the \$10,000 Kansas endowment fund, "both on account of its bearing on our future effort at the East and more especially from the fact that . . . [this] is an important Consideration in securing aid from the Society for the promotion of Collegiate and Theological education at the West [College society], to help support the Teachers of the Institution."¹²⁷

At its annual meeting at Norwich, Conn., in the fall of 1865, the College society anticipated an application for aid from Lincoln College and appointed a committee with power to act.¹²⁸ After receiving the formal application of the college trustees, dated February, 1866, this committee met in May at New Haven, Conn. Lincoln College was represented by Samuel D. Bowker, assisted in an unofficial way by H. Q. Butterfield, who was about to be added to the faculty. Immediately thereafter Bowker sent to Peter McVicar, the president of the board of trustees, a detailed report of the proceedings:

The committee of the College Society met at New Haven yesterday and spent several hours in considering the case of Lincoln College. I met with them and will make report of progress (?) The chief points which afforded occasion for questions or objections were these, viz. 1st The existence of a state university so near the college. 2d The apparent fact that the college was subject to Ecclesiastical control. 3d The *immature* state of the Institution—it having no *freshman class*. & 4th The lack of evidence that the laws of Kansas had been complied with.

The first question raised was soon laid aside for *No. 2*, which you will see by their second resolution was left somewhat undecided.

On the points No's 3 & 4 there was somewhat of a protracted discussion. On the 3d point it appeared that the *Board of Directors* had put on record their purpose to aid only *colleges*, and that while the *Board* might remove that restriction the *committee as such* had no power to do so. The 4th point could have been met easily if we had had a copy of the Revised Statutes of Kansas, they simply wished to *see the law* under which the incorporation was secured so as to know what power it gave trustees &c. This result falls short, of course of what we expected, and yet Bro Butterfield and myself who were present feel that it was as much, all things considered, as we had any right to *demand*.

I would advise the *appointment of a committee* . . . to consider the propriety of a modification of the *7th of the Articles of Association*. . . .¹²⁹ The committee are prepared to meet again and take final action when the law of the state concerning colleges is made known to them and they have a statement of there being a freshman class. . . . The result is simply a *delay*

127. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, p. 39. Concerning the early endowment efforts, see the first installment of this article.

128. *Ibid.*, September, pp. 60, 61, an article entitled, "Lincoln College."

129. This article provided: "Be it further declared that it is the intent and purpose of this Association, that the Board of Trustees of said College, shall be so constituted at all times that its members shall be acceptable to the General Association of the Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas."

where at one time we stood all the chances of defeat. . . . These light afflictions are but for a moment, and will be as nothing a few years hence when Lincoln College becomes a power in the land. . . .¹³⁰

The resolutions adopted at this time by the special committee of the College society expressed their sympathy with the Lincoln College enterprise, and promised more positive action when the required conditions were met:

Resolved, That having read and considered the papers presented, and heard Prof. Bowker in regard to their Institution, the Committee express their strong sympathy with the enterprise, as one of great hope and promise, and when they shall have further information in regard to its incorporation under the laws of the State of Kansas, as, also, of the formation of a regular college class, the way will be open for its reception and endorsement, in accordance with the rules and principles of the College Society.¹³¹

Lincoln College having been during the first two terms of its existence *exclusively* a preparatory school, the College society required proof of the "formation of a regular college class," before it would endorse the institution. Professor Bowker wrote that they especially desired evidence of the existence of a freshman class:

Their understanding of a Freshman class is this that students who are examined or who may furnish evidence of their fitness to enter such a class next September are to all intents & purposes a Freshman Class and when you can certify that you have students whether now in or out of the college who are prepared to enter such a class (to the number of *one, two, three* even) they will regard it as a college proper and endorse it. . . .¹³²

During the summer of 1866 the officials of Lincoln College made great efforts to fulfill these requirements. At their meeting on June 25 the trustees voted to authorize the president of the board and the professors to secure four students to form a freshman class, and to offer them free tuition for one year and board at not more than three dollars a week.¹³³ The official announcement for the fall term stated:

130. S. D. Bowker to "Bro. McVicar," dated Rockville, Conn., May 19, 1866.—MS. in Kansas State Historical Society. Quoting further:

"Mr. Baldwin stated that without the presence of some one nothing at all would have been accomplished. . . . This also makes it more desirable that Bro Butterfield should be authorized to raise funds as he can accomplish I doubt not a good deal . . . in communities where the College Society does not go (in Maine &c). . . .

"I will mention further that they wish to obtain the *rules and regulations* of the corporators adopted . . . on the 6th of February 1865. . . . I escaped unharmed out of the "paw of the lion" . . . and have every reason to rejoice. . . . Mr. Baldwin was active in our support and deserves our thanks. . . . "S. D. Bowker."

131. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), September, p. 60. The committee also called attention to the "Articles of Association" as "seeming to conflict with a principle upon which the society had acted—not to aid any college under ecclesiastical control."

132. Bowker to McVicar, May 19, 1866, cited above. "If you can find one student, (the more the better of course) the only way is to anchor to him . . . this seems to be the only way whereby we can secure the cooperation of the Society this year—and that without such cooperation the work will be an up hill business. . . ."

133. "Minutes" of the trustees' meeting, June 25, 1866, "First Secretary's Book," pp. 29, 30.

A FRESHMAN CLASS,

Is desired to be formed at the commencement of the Fall Term, September 12th—All who are prepared to join the class are earnestly invited to send in their names at once.¹³⁴

Nevertheless, no freshman could be obtained who was qualified to enter the college, entirely confirming the observation of Professor Collier that college students "cannot be found ready prepared in Kansas, and there is little hope of importing them."¹³⁵ Finally two upperclassmen with the proper qualifications were enrolled, thus meeting the requirement of a "regular college class":

The trustees readily met all the conditions, except the "formation of a regular college class." This, and the only remaining condition is now fulfilled. Two young men, Perly M. Griffin, formerly a member of Harvard, and A. P. Davis, a student in Beloit College, purpose to persue [sic], one the Sophmore [sic] studies, and the other the Junior studies in Lincoln College at the commencement of the next term. The trustees are also very desirous to form a Freshman class, and we hope that friends of the college will co-operate and encourage young men who may be prepared to enter such a class, to enter at once.¹³⁶

In mid-August, 1866, Theron Baldwin, secretary of the College society, wrote to S. D. Bowker, stating that the chief requirements had been met. McVicar and Bowker had sent satisfactory information concerning the formation of a college class and also data proving that the college incorporation was entirely legal in nature.¹³⁷ McVicar had also explained the purpose of the incorporators in their seventh article of association (requiring the trustees to be acceptable to the general association) as intended to make Lincoln College for all time a Christian institution.¹³⁸ Baldwin suggested, instead, the doctrinal belief of the general association, which would, he believed, "take away all the aspects of 'ecclesiastical control' and thus meet the views of the Committee and of the Society upon this particular point."¹³⁹ The subsequent correspondence of Bowker and McVicar was reviewed at an adjourned meeting of the special committee in

134. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, facing p. 48.

135. G. H. Collier to the Rev. P. McVicar, July 2, 1866, quoted above.

136. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), September, p. 61. "The prospect now is, that the way is clear for the College Society to aid and endorse the institution, in accordance with the application presented, which was for two thousand dollars, to meet current expenses, and permission to raise an endowment of fifty thousand dollars, in the Society's field of operations."

The only college students listed in the catalogue for 1866-1867 were Addison P. Davis of Sarcxie and Perley M. Griffin of Topeka. They also acted as assistants to S. D. Bowker, the principal of the preparatory department, which now contained 90 students.

137. Theron Baldwin, secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, to the Rev. S. D. Bowker, dated New York, August 16, 1866.—MS. in the Washburn library.

138. *Ibid.* (McVicar sent a copy of the "Laws and Regulations" adopted by the incorporators.)

139. *Ibid.*

September, 1866. It removed all doubt, and prompted final action:

Having received fuller information in regard to the incorporation of Lincoln College, under the laws of the State of Kansas; also evidence of the formation of a regular College Class; and a satisfactory explanation of the seeming ecclesiastical control, alluded to in the 7th Article of their Association, as not in conflict with the principles of the College Society. . . .

Resolved—That Lincoln College be received under the patronage of this Society and commended to the aid of the friends of Christian learning.¹⁴⁰

When the general association met in the following May (1867), it expressed great gratification at this result, achieved by virtue of "the earnest and timely efforts of the President of the Board of Trustees," Peter McVicar, who by August, 1866, had fulfilled the required conditions:

Thus within eight months from the time that the College was open for students it was endorsed by the Society whose aid has established a score of flourishing colleges and seminaries in the West, and whose support places beyond question the complete equipment and final success of the Institution.¹⁴¹

During the summer of 1866 both S. D. Bowker and H. Q. Butterfield continued in the East to campaign for aid for the college, although it was not yet possible to solicit the churches of New England—the chief source of funds for the College society. Bowker wrote from Washington, D. C., where he hoped to obtain a substantial sum, and expressed confidence in the future:

Of Lincoln College, I may say that it has received the endorsement of the Western College Society, though certain technical requirements yet delay the work of soliciting aid from the churches. Professor Butterfield has packed his household goods and labelled them "Topeka, Kansas," and is canvassing down east among his friends in behalf of the College. He takes hold of the work with a warm heart, and energy that will command success. Here at Washington we are working for a lever with which to pry a hundred thousand dollars out of loyal and christian people. . . . I am confident that we now have only to receive the permission of the Western College Society to enter the field, in order to raise an ample endowment. S. D. B.¹⁴²

140. Baldwin to Peter McVicar, dated New York, September 21, 1866, included with the minutes of the college trustees, November 20, 1866, "First Secretary's Book," pp. 33, 34.

141. *Minutes of the General Association* . . . appendix to meeting of May, 1867, pp. 12-15, entitled, "On Education—Lincoln College." "No college within our knowledge has ever before so speedily secured for itself the endorsement of that Society. When we consider how great was our dependence upon the favorable action of this Society . . . we cannot but feel that the churches of the Association are called upon anew to exercise gratitude to God . . . [for such] sympathy and aid in the pioneer work to which they have been called."

S. D. Bowker and Peter McVicar both deserve credit for the successful conclusion of this work.

142. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), September, p. 56. Gen. O. O. Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington, was described by Bowker as regarding with favor the proposal to become the first president of Lincoln College (see the section below entitled, "The College Presidency"). Howard's popularity may have been the "lever" Bowker refers to here. He added that they had had the active cooperation of such men as Governor Buckingham of Connecticut, and the secretaries of the Congregational Union, the American Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association.

A review of the college finances makes it certain that no large sums were obtained at this time. Although it was considerably later before funds were available from the College society, its support made the future of Lincoln College appear much brighter, as it now had the support of an organization with an enviable financial record.¹⁴³

THE ACADEMIC YEAR OF 1866-1867

The official announcement for the coming school year, published in the summer of 1866, pointed out that the collegiate course was "the same as that of the first-class Colleges at the East," and that a freshman class was "desired to be formed."¹⁴⁴ As two upperclassmen had agreed to attend, the institution was now to be a college in fact as well as in name. The fall term opened on September 12, and the next day a local paper remarked:

The Fall term of Lincoln College commenced yesterday, with encouraging prospect of a large attendance. Prof. Butterfield arrived yesterday and in connection with Prof. Bowker, with the assistance of Miss Minnie Otis, will conduct the instruction in the College. . . .

The boarding house will be ready for use in a short time, and the design is to reduce the price of board as low as possible, and thus encourage students to come from abroad.¹⁴⁵

The catalogue for this year later listed 30 ladies and 60 gentlemen in the preparatory department, thus more than doubling the enrollment of the previous year.¹⁴⁶ Tuition fees remained the same, free tuition being given disabled soldiers, those with two years' service, and the children of those who died in the war; also children of home missionaries and students planning to become ministers or teachers.¹⁴⁷

During the preceding year the need of better accommodations for students "from abroad" had been keenly felt, since board in "good

143. On October 15, 1866, Harrison Hannahs wrote to Lewis Bodwell from Rome, N. Y. (MS. in Washburn library), stating that he had decided to make a gift of \$1,000 to the college.

"But do not think that the College can be successfully established with the aid of money alone. . . . There are two things essentially necessary to secure the prosperity of an institution of learning. 1st money 2nd Students. . . . It will require as much energy and persevering effort to obtain students for the college as it will to obtain money for it. But there is one thing that is absolutely necessary . . . viz: the blessing of God. . . .

"Let us not expect to see a College of the 1st grade established at the beginning of our labors. It requires time, long years of patient toil, industry and economy. . . .

"Let it be a denominational institution; and then let every Congregational minister & layman be an agent to secure not only money, but students for it . . . young men whose lives are sanctified to God, young women whose Christian virtues shall shine as the stars in the firmament. . . ."

144. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, facing p. 48.

145. *Topeka Weekly Leader*, September 13, 1866.

146. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of LINCOLN COLLEGE for the . . . Year 1866-67* (Topeka, 1867), pp. V-VII.

147. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, facing p. 48. The fee for the college course was to be \$24 a year, and for the preparatory department, including both the scientific and the ladies' courses, \$6 per term, not counting the extra fees for the "fine arts" (music, drawing and painting).

private families" varied from \$5 to \$6 a week.¹⁴⁸ To reduce this to \$4 a week it was first planned to encourage boarding clubs; subsequently the idea of a boarding house under college auspices seemed more feasible. At their May (1866) meeting the trustees named a committee to act on this matter, and soon thereafter *The Congregational Record* announced:

The scarcity of rooms and high price of board in the city render a boarding house absolutely necessary. Accordingly, steps have been taken by the Trustees for the erection of a building during the present season, sufficiently commodious to accommodate twenty-four students and a family. The building will front the Cipitol [sic] Square, and be in the form of a spacious dwelling house, with a view to be disposed of as such when the permanent [college] building shall have been erected.¹⁴⁹

Instead of erecting a building under college ownership, however, the trustees permitted one of their number, John Ritchie, to build such a structure and then rented it from him at \$300 a year.¹⁵⁰ Before the fall term opened the construction of this building was announced, whereby "board will be reduced to nearly cost prices."¹⁵¹ Early in the fall the *Record* remarked:

The Boarding House is progressing, built by Col. John Ritchey, and rented to the trustees at ten per cent. on the money invested. . . . The building is of stone, two stories high, with a basement, and will accommodate sixteen or twenty students, with a family. . . . We invite earnest students from all parts of the State, and promise to furnish all the facilities that can be expected of a new institution, in the earnest work of securing a liberal education.¹⁵²

The boarding house was under the direct supervision of S. D. Bowker, and provided "new and cheerful rooms" for only 75 cents a week, and table board for \$3 for the same period, which was "an outlay hardly exceeding the cost price"—a very practical effort to lower the cost of education.¹⁵³

The winter term began on January 2, 1867. A local paper announced that all "desiring to attend are requested to be present on the first day of the session. All tuition bills must be paid within the first two weeks of attendance."¹⁵⁴ With the approach of Lincoln's

148. *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College, 1865.*

149. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1866), April & May, p. 192. A number of possible sites were then being considered for the permanent college location, one of which, when improved, would, it was hoped, encourage the construction of private homes nearby, "and thus obviate to some extent the necessity of boarding houses." With this in view the trustees had then obtained land of D. L. Lakin near the southwest corner of the city limits.

150. Minutes of the meeting of September 11, 1866, "First Secretary's Book," pp. 31, 32.

151. *Topeka Tribune*, August 31, 1866, official notice of the college opening, signed by Ira H. Smith, secretary of the board of trustees.

152. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), September, p. 61.

153. *Ibid.*, v. 8 (1867), January, facing p. 128.—An announcement by McVicar, president of the board of trustees.

154. *Topeka Weekly Leader*, December 27, 1866. At about this time McVicar resigned the presidency of the board, and Bodwell took his place.

birthday it was proposed to celebrate the occasion with a social banquet, to which the students, friends of the college, members of the legislature and state officers were invited, to enjoy the speeches, music, refreshments and a "general good time."¹⁵⁵ In March the close of the term was celebrated by the annual prize exhibition, this year a "*Dramatic Entertainment*, accompanied by dialogues, select pieces, and Music."¹⁵⁶ For two evenings Germania Hall was filled to capacity, the audience displaying much interest in the humorous selections. A local paper reviewed the program:

Without wishing to make any invidious distinctions, we may be permitted to say that our friend, the public, was briefly entertained by the "*Dialogue on the Location of a school house at Crabtown*." "The treatment of children versus cattle," was pungently argued. . . . "The Rival Poets" was a keen thrust at such sentimental youth as aspire for greatness and quote Longfellow's Excelsior without the requisite exertion. "Doesticks on a Bender" was a most convincing diagnosis of the wonders of Niagara. "The March of Intellect" was too much interrupted in its presentation, but was a success so far as the difficulties of the piece would admit. "The Wags of Windsor," however, seemed to elicit the keenest enjoyment of the audience. Mr. Bull, the Irishman, the Yorkshireman, and the Universal Genius were personae most admirably.¹⁵⁷

The spring term of 1867 opened on April 10, with a change in the faculty due to the temporary absence of H. Q. Butterfield, who had been made financial agent for the college—a role previously performed by S. D. Bowker. To fill the vacancy the trustees employed the Rev. J. D. Parker, a graduate of Michigan University and for six years a successful teacher in Illinois.¹⁵⁸ When the general association met late in May, Peter McVicar, as chairman of the committee on education, presented a detailed report on Lincoln College which praised the progress already achieved and looked with hope to a still better future, but gave solemn warning of grave financial problems:

The whole number of students in attendance during the year has been 92. In this number are representatives from nearly all sections of the State. Some

155. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1867. No subsequent account of this celebration in honor of Lincoln could be found by the author. A few weeks later a public lecture was announced by the Rev. J. N. Lee on the subject of "Colonial Enterprise, Ancient and Modern."

156. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1867. "The *catalogue* of the college, which has just been issued, shows an attendance of 92 students during the year. Of this number, twenty were returned soldiers, who have received free tuition. Four regular college professors have been connected with the corps of instructors, and several assistant teachers have given a portion of their time to hearing classes. One thing which speaks well for the college is the fact that, unlike many other institutions, it does not draw a majority of its students from the school district in which it is located. In fact only about 20 come from this district, while over 40 come from other towns and counties—all sections of the State, except it may be the extreme south, are represented. The first year of the efficient organization of the college shows a success which should ensure it the most ample support and confidence of the friends of education throughout the State."

157. Topeka *Weekly Leader*, April 4, 1867.

158. *Ibid.* This action of the trustees took place on March 12 ("First Secretary's Book," pp. 37, 38). Parker, a resident of De Kalb, Ill., was granted an annual compensation of \$1,000—the regular college salary. At this time S. D. Bowker tendered his resignation as principal of the preparatory department, effective at the end of the spring term.

twenty returned soldiers have received free tuition in the college during the year. From this number we have formed a Sophomore and a Junior class, to which both Harvard and Beloit have contributed; and we are about to welcome a Freshman class of our own preparing. Three years have wisely been allowed for the preparation of students and we see no tendency to abate one jot or tittle from the course of study pursued in the great Universities of our land. Several students have already come to us to prepare for the ministry, and a still larger number are teachers, . . .

The College examinations indicate commendable proficiency on the part of teachers and scholars. Professors Bowker and Butterfield are . . . faithfully endeavoring to carry out the original design . . . to make Lincoln College worthy of the confidence and patronage of the people.

The pressing need of the College, at present, is more funds. . . .¹⁵⁹

COLLEGE LOCATION

In 1867 a financial crisis arose which posed a major threat to the continued location of the college at Topeka. Although that place had very largely furnished the means for constructing the original college building, it could not procure the amount needed for running expenses; nor could this sum be rightfully taken from that given in Kansas or the East for the permanent endowment while the income therefrom was very small. By May, 1867, a crisis had arisen, which was well described in the report of the committee on education to the general association:¹⁶⁰

Nothing has as yet been actually received from the College Society. The tuition received does not more than cover the incidental expenses. The Trustees have had to hire money to pay the salaries of the Professors . . . for the present year . . . paid only in part. . . . No contingent fund is yet raised and hence no provision made to liquidate the debt incurred in payment of the first year's salaries. Funds raised East and those thus far raised in the State are for the permanent endowment and cannot be used for other purposes.¹⁶¹

If such were the case, would the college profit by removing from Topeka? At the annual meeting of the trustees, July 2-4, 1867, matters of finance and college location were carefully considered. An auditing committee was named to examine the financial condition

159. *Minutes of the General Association* . . . , appendix to meeting of May, 1867, entitled, "On Education—Lincoln College," pp. 12-15.

160. A letter of inquiry of Harrison Hannahs to Sherman Bodwell, dated Rome (N. Y.), May 25, 1867 (MS. in Washburn library), is interesting in this connection:

"I wish you would give me the true account of the present condition and progress of the College—what is the prospect of its remaining at Topeka. I saw in the papers a statement that efforts would be made to remove it to some other point—and that its present prospect of success was dubious. . . . [asks a number of questions]."

161. *Minutes of the General Association* . . . , appendix to meeting of May, 1867, quoted above, pp. 12-15. "Two thirds of our liabilities have been incurred in the employment of the teachers who were absolutely needed." The library needed books, the cabinets apparatus and specimens, and several rooms in the boarding house needed at least partial furnishing.

of the institution.¹⁶² On the motion of C. B. Lines a committee of three was appointed to report on the following questions as to location:

1st Is the College in such a sense, permanently located at Topeka, as that its removal to any other locality, would involve bad faith on the part of the Trustees, or are we at full liberty to make any change which we believe would subserve all the great interests which are concerned in its success?

2nd If the Institution remains in Topeka, when shall the buildings be permanently located?

3rd If, in view of securing the highest success of the enterprise, it is best to remove to some other point, when shall it go, and what are the advantages to be gained by its removal?¹⁶³

Messrs. Storrs, Cordley and Parker were placed on a committee to consider these resolutions. On July 4 they rendered a partial report, whereupon it was resolved that the officers of the board of trustees constitute a committee to consult with the citizens of Topeka and "locate the College site within the City or Town of Topeka, where they deem best for the pecuniary, educational and religious interests of the College."¹⁶⁴ Both the *Topeka Tribune* and the *Leader* branded this episode an attempt by the partisans of Leavenworth to capture the college for their city, and the latter paper added "that it was the zeal and finances of the members of the board in our city that retained the college here."¹⁶⁵

At that time no decision was made as to where the college buildings were to be permanently located, providing the institution remained in Topeka. The "preparatory" building at Tenth and Jackson streets had always been regarded a temporary abode, to be disposed of when a more suitable "permanent site" was obtained. The Davis claim, which John Ritchie purchased in 1859 and deeded to the college, was often called the "permanent site"; after formal incorporation it became the legal property of the institution, but this did not settle the problem of permanent location. Apparently many Topekans thought this site too distant from the town—it was nearly

162. For the report of this committee, entitled, "A Report of the Committee on Finances," dated July 4, 1867, see Footnote 86 and adjacent text in the first installment of this article.

163. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 39-41.

164. *Ibid.* The following trustees were present at the meeting on July 4: Bodwell, Liggett, Storrs, Cordley, Parker, Smith, W. E. Bowker, Brewer, Farnsworth and Gov. Crawford.

165. *Topeka Weekly Leader*, July 11, 1867. "Soon after the opening of the [trustees'] session it became apparent that the Leavenworth people had made up their minds to gobble the whole establishment.

"A final quietus after a discussion of two days, was put upon this scheme, by passing a resolution to locate the college site where, within the city or township of Topeka, the interest of the college would be best promoted."

In its issue of July 12, the *Topeka Tribune* remarked: "Notwithstanding the feeling of ownership we were beginning to have in the institution, the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees in this city, last week, disturbed our pleasant dream. Leavenworth and the Missouri river, were found to be competitors against Topeka and the now tranquil Kaw. A two days session, however, left matters favorable to the Kaw. You are poor said Leavenworth, come over to us and we will make you rich and send you students in crowds."

one and one-half miles from the existing settlement. During the year 1866 the question of permanent site was repeatedly brought before the trustees, and tracts of land owned by Messrs. David L. Lakin, Andrew J. Huntoon and Anthony A. [?] Ward were all considered in addition to the Ritchie quarter section which was more distant. In order to encourage the erection of "commodious dwellings" nearby, the trustees wanted to obtain a location conveniently close to Topeka and thus avoid the need of student boarding houses. With this in view they bought of David L. Lakin a tract of 56 acres near the southwest corner of the city limits and northeast of the Ritchie quarter section, but failed by the narrowest of margins to locate the college thereon (a tie vote, November 28, 1866). As no decision could then be reached, the whole problem of a permanent site in Topeka was indefinitely postponed.¹⁶⁶

During the year 1867 the only mention of a permanent location to be found in the records of the trustees is that of July, already discussed, when the proposals to remove from Topeka were rejected. From remarks in the *Leader*, however, it is clear that the following sites were being considered: "the high knoll extending nearly to the river on Mr. Wards farm, the central block on the north side of Capt. Huntoons land embracing Mr. Cross' farm and lot, and the west half of the Lakin quarter section lying west of Gen. Mitchell's house."¹⁶⁷ In October Harrison Hannahs wrote that he had received letters from trustee Farnsworth, asking him to devote his contribution (\$1,000) towards a college site on the Ward land. Hannahs replied that he did not care to dictate to the trustees, but believed that future considerations for the college should be paramount and strongly op-

166. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 24-35; *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1866), April & May, p. 192. On February 13, 1866, the trustees forbade the treasurer to sell the "permanent site" of the college. On the following May 21, 22 a special committee was named to probe matters of deed from Col. Ritchie and subscriptions to the "permanent site"; also a committee to consider purchase of an 80-acre tract south of the Ritchie donation. On June 25 the committee on site reported they had obtained 56 acres from Mr. Lakin, northeast of the Ritchie tract. The next day the trustees examined both the Lakin and Ritchie properties, and Ritchie proposed an exchange of lands. At the next meeting, September 11, the committee on site reported proposals of Ritchie, Huntoon and Ward, and the trustees recessed to view the various tracts. It was voted to continue the committee on permanent site, and to authorize it to sell the Lakin land, with the view of negotiating for 20 acres of Mr. Ward. A motion to deed back to Colonel Ritchie his donation of 160 acres, if he would pay his subscription of \$2,400 for erection of the preparatory building, was indefinitely postponed. At the meeting of November 20 the committee on site reported a proposal of Mr. Ward, which W. E. Bowker moved they reject. Lewis Bodwell moved a postponement to give the secretary time to circularize Cordley, Liggett and Storrs to see if they would each pledge to raise \$1,000 in their respective congregations toward a location. At the next meeting on November 28 it was reported that only one pastor had replied. The motion to reject the Ward proposal was then voted down; a motion by Bowker to locate the college on the Lakin tract resulted in a tie vote, and the chairman then declining to cast a deciding vote, the question of a permanent college site in Topeka was indefinitely postponed.

For an identification of the full names of the Topeka land owners involved in these transactions, the author is indebted to Robert F. Beine of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

167. Topeka *Weekly Leader*, July 11, 1867.

posed purchase of the Ward tract as "exorbitant" in price.¹⁶⁸ This letter may have been influential in forestalling action by the trustees.

In the fall of 1868 the board of trustees authorized the purchase of land formerly belonging to Mr. Lakin, which had been a formidable rival of the Ritchie donation, but in June, 1869, this tract was reported unobtainable.¹⁶⁹ Henceforth, the Ritchie land was regarded with growing favor by the trustees and early in January, 1870, they authorized the selection from it of a suitable part for Washburn College.¹⁷⁰ By the fall of 1871, at least, it had been finally decided that the permanent site should be a part of the present Washburn campus—the Ritchie quarter section originally known as the Davis claim—thus ending the protracted question of college location.

THE ACADEMIC YEAR OF 1867-1868

The school year of 1867-1868 began on September 11, with some changes in the faculty. Samuel D. Bowker having resigned his position as principal of the preparatory department, this place was filled by the appointment of the Rev. D. W. Cox, a teacher in Phillips Academy, Mass. H. Q. Butterfield being on leave of absence for the year as financial agent, the routine work fell upon Bowker, J. D. Parker and Cox. Because of the growing illness of Bowker, who in December, 1867, was relieved of all active duties, Parker and Cox were increasingly obliged to shoulder the day to day work of the college with the help in the preparatory department of advanced students.¹⁷¹

The year was marked by the admission to the college proper of

168. Harrison Hannahs (no signature) to "Dear Bro."—probably Lewis Bodwell, dated Rome, N. Y., October 19, 1867.—MS in Washburn library. He pointed out that the river scenery would be an asset to the Ward site, but the price was exorbitant. The Lakin tract would cost about the same. As to distance to town, Huntoon's site was best, and Ritchie's well over a mile farther; however, Hannahs was not opposed to the latter. He would not withhold his contribution if used toward the Ward property, "but shall consider it a short-sightedness—unpardonable." In a subsequent letter to "My dear Lewis" (Bodwell) Hannahs said he had advised Farnsworth "to make haste slowly," adding that if the college building were completed in fifteen years he "might consider the scheme a success and accomplished speedily."

169. On November 19, 1868, the same day the trustees changed the college name to Washburn, they authorized one of their number, Judge Cooper, to buy the tract of 58 acres that Bowker had bought of Mr. Lakin, but at the meeting of June 3, 1869, Cooper reported his inability to procure any of this land.—"First Secretary's Book," pp. 45-49.

170. *Ibid.*, p. 55. At the annual meeting of June, 1869, the trustees authorized the executive committee to reserve 40 acres of the Ritchie donation for a permanent site, and sell as much of the remainder as needed to restore in full sums taken from the endowment fund, but this was avoided and the property thus preserved entire.—*Ibid.*, pp. 50-53.

171. In his annual report for 1868 as president of the board, Lewis Bodwell commented upon the work "entirely beyond their power" placed on Parker and Cox. Straitened finances forbade the employment of another teacher at full pay, and so they enlisted the aid of advanced students: P. M. Griffin in the classics, A. P. Davis in English and Jules Billard in mathematics.—*Minutes of the General Association*, report of 1868, pp. 9-11.

the first freshman class.¹⁷² At the start it was announced that calisthenics and military tactics would be offered but apparently this was not done. "The boarding house still affords ample accommodations at less than \$4.00 per week."¹⁷³ During the school year there were daily recitations of from 18 to 22 classes.¹⁷⁴ Late in the fall it was announced that, although attendance had been good, with more than the usual number of "advanced scholars," the winter term, beginning January 2, promised an increase of students, the trustees having made "most strenuous efforts to sustain and enlarge the influence of the College."¹⁷⁵ On December 24 a public examination was held, the results of which were praised in a local paper:

The Fall term of school closed on Tuesday, Dec. 24th, with the usual reviews of important portions of the studies of the term. To those who had attended previous examinations, there was satisfactory evidence of work by teachers, and progress by pupils toward the high standard of attainments set as their mark by the founders of the College. The severe and protracted illness of Prof. Bowker has compelled him to entrust a portion of his duties to Messrs. Davis & Griffin, now completing the studies of the junior and senior years of their College course, and the condition of their classes shows their capacity and faithfulness in the work to which they have thus been called.¹⁷⁶

On the evening of December 30 an exhibition by the Ciceronian society in the hall of Lincoln College was a fitting close to the activities of the term.¹⁷⁷

The winter term was marred by the demise of Samuel D. Bowker, who died on February 15, 1868, a victim of tuberculosis.¹⁷⁸ More than any one else the founder of the institution which he had taken up when a "mere hope" and "lifted into a reality," Bowker had

172. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Washburn College, 1867-68*, p. 6. The first freshman class included Jules B. Billard, Loudean P. Huntoon, W. Irving Stringham and Herbert K. Tefft, all of Topeka; and George M. Lancaster of Doniphan county. Billard and Tefft enrolled in the scientific course. With A. P. Davis and P. M. Griffin, upperclassmen, the collegiate department now numbered seven students.

173. *Topeka Weekly Leader*, September 12, 1867.—"The prospects of the college were never more flattering than now. Let the people assist it in its mission of giving a liberal Christian education to the young men and women of our State."

174. *Minutes of the General Association*, report of 1868 signed by Lewis Bodwell, p. 9. "During the current [spring] term, there are in reading, one class; arithmetic, two; English analysis, one; Latin, four; Greek, five; algebra, one, and in botany, astronomy, geometry and zoology, one each."

175. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, December 18, 1867. Total attendance for the fall term was 48, and for the winter term only 40.

176. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1868.

177. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1867, which gave the following program of the forthcoming event:

"Salutatory.
Declamation.
Tableau.
Unfinished Gentleman. (Farce.)
Declamation.
Tableau.
Cinderella. (Drama.)
Declamation.

Tableau.
Starting in Life. (Drama.)
Declamation.
Tableau.
Drop too Much. (Drama.)
Declamation.
Tableau.
Valedictory."

178. Concerning the time of Bowker's death, errors have crept into several of the accounts, but both the *Topeka Weekly Leader* and the *Kansas State Record* agree on the above date.

accomplished a great work in enlisting the "friends of freedom" throughout the country. Their gifts of favorable publicity and much needed (although limited) funds had started the infant college, but to Bowker, who had come to Kansas to recruit his broken health, such sacrificial labor, in addition to the exertions of the campus, was too great a strain. In a tribute to his memory the students of Lincoln College adopted resolutions of sympathy, mourning the loss of "an able teacher, a self-denying laborer and a . . . generous, warm-hearted Christian friend."¹⁷⁹ The funeral services were held at the Congregational Church and were attended by a large assemblage. The college students wore badges of mourning, and in sorrow bore the remains to the tomb. In his sermon and obituary the Rev. Lewis Bodwell drew attention to the resolutions of the trustees, unanimously adopted on the occasion of Bowker's resignation:

Resolved, That we would here by express our deep sense of obligation to him for the work he has done for Lincoln College, in taking it up when it was a mere hope, and lifting it into a reality.

We appreciate the enthusiasm with which he undertook the work; and the zeal and hopefulness with which he prosecuted it, until the institution was an assured success. We feel that the College owes its existence in a large degree, to his faith and industry, and the friends of the Institution will always remember with gratitude, his labors, while they look back with pain, to the sacrifice of health, which we fear he has made in its behalf.¹⁸⁰

An outstanding event of the winter term of 1867-1868 was the revival campaign—a movement affecting many states, which in Kansas was particularly notable at Wabaunsee, Lawrence and Topeka.

179. *Kansas State Record*, February 19; *Topeka Weekly Leader*, February 20, 1868. The latter remarked: "Since residing in Topeka, Mr. Bowker gave entire attention to the building up of Lincoln College." The *Record* commented: "Mr. Bowker first came to this city in 1864, with the seeds of consumption in his system. The change of climate helped him, and it is not improbable that if he had not, during most of the last two years, confined himself to the school room, his life might have been much longer spared. Lincoln College is, in a great measure, the work of his hands. It was him who solicited the home subscriptions with which to erect the present building. It was him who in the east raised a fund sufficient to endow two Professorships [?]. He considered the building up of Lincoln College his life work, and while spared and able to do, he worked with his whole soul for it. . . . He leaves a wife and one child and a brother in this city, Mr. W. E. Bowker, the Treasurer of Shawnee county [also the college treasurer]. . . ."

180. "First Secretary's Book," p. 43, quoted with slight variations by Lewis Bodwell in his "Obituary"—an extract from a funeral sermon delivered at the Congregational church, February 16, in *Kansas State Record*, March 4, 1868. Excerpts from the "Obituary" follow (for Bodwell's previous remarks, see Footnote 72 above, in first installment of this article): "But failing health again warned him from such labors [as financial agent], and in the Summer of 1866 he entered upon his duties as Professor of English Literature to which position he had been just called by vote of the Trustees. Soon it became more and more evident that the overtasked frame was yielding to such labor. In the spring of 1867 he resigned his place as Principal of Preparatory Department and limited his work to his own special department. At last deprived of the ability even to enter the recitation rooms, he continued to hear some portions of his classes even in his sick room. On the 24th of December, 1867, he presented . . . his request that he be excused from all active duty for at least one year . . . there was no failure of his interest in the success of the institution. . . . It successes were his, its trials his, its pupils his. . . ."

"For her my tears shall fall
For her my prayers ascend
To her my toils and cares be given
Till toils and cares shall end."

At the latter place it was timed to coincide with the session of the state legislature and thereby to resist what was regarded the evil influence of this assemblage. The meetings about town continued for over 60 evenings, with large crowds in attendance and many conversions, particularly among the young people.¹⁸¹ The Lincoln College students were present at many services and also attended numerous prayer meetings in their own building. In addition to their religious motivation, the latter were probably also meant to hold the student body together, *against* the attraction of the legislature.¹⁸² The students displayed the keenest interest, and almost all of them were said to have become professed Christians.¹⁸³

In the Lincoln College revival no one was more active than Lewis Bodwell, president of the board of trustees and pastor of the Congregational church of Topeka, who in his diary made repeated reference to his presence at college prayer meetings, sometimes several in one day during February and March, 1868.¹⁸⁴ He later pointed out that in the preceding fall a weekly prayer meeting had been established for the students.¹⁸⁵ Among those converted, Bodwell reported, were three who expressed a desire to prepare for the ministry. "We rejoice in the . . . hope for that for which the College is mainly planted."¹⁸⁶ Although the revival was not repeated the following year, it appears to have had some permanent effect upon the college as evidenced in "the weekly prayer meeting regularly and

181. Clipping from the *Congregationalist*, dated Topeka, March 25, 1868, and signed "A"—probably Lewis Bodwell—in "Bodwell Scrap Book," p. 15. Many converts were received at Lawrence, and even more at Topeka. "A small community, 250 members and hangers-on of our State legislature have been a force strong enough . . . to influence almost every family in the place; and those who know the general character of western legislatures, know that it is not favorable to religion. Heretofore no effort at protracted meetings has ever long survived the assembly of that body. . . . [Details of meetings follow.] Twenty-five are already propounded for admission to the Congregational church; and others . . . the various churches of their choice. From all parts of the State we hear of numerous conversions.—"Ibid.

182. If so, it was not effective, judging from a report by Principal D. W. Cox of the preparatory department to L. Bodwell (MS. in Washburn library, bearing no exact date): "A number of students left, near the close of the Winter Term, and attended the Legislature. This one act did the College more harm in its attendance and regularity, than anything else that has happened during the whole year thus far."

183. *The Home Missionary*, New York, v. 41 (1868), June, pp. 32, 33.

184. "Bodwell Diary," a MS. notebook in the "Lewis Bodwell Collection," Kansas State Historical Society. Here are a few entries of February, 1868:

"6. Coll prr meeting at 4. full & good. 21 present. 20 arose. At eve I led, made it a prr meeting—full & well sustained. About 12 rose, *determined* 7 for prayers. . . .

"7. Coll prr m. at noon. 25 present. *Huntoon* arose & spoke. To the joy of all. Another meeting at 4. Better still. . . ."

These meetings continued from February 8 to 15, with Bodwell a leader, who on the latter date called on the converts, "who fully occupied the time." The last meeting of the term was held on March 23, 1868.

185. *Minutes of the General Association* . . . , report of 1868, pp. 9-11, on "Lincoln College." All the "impenitent" were said to have attended "regularly or very frequently; all but one publicly expressed a desire for religion . . . and there appear to be but six who do not now give reasonable evidence of true conversion."

186. *Ibid.* (The author believes there may be some wishful thinking in these observations.) In a letter to B. D. Coe of the American Home Missionary Society Bodwell requested publication of the facts concerning this campaign but nothing more. "The work was so good that no extra paint is needed to make it a matter of admiration and gratitude."

well sustained, and especially in the strong feeling which seemed to pervade the meetings on the 'day of prayer for colleges.'"¹⁸⁷

With the approach of the end of the spring term it was announced that the annual commencement of Lincoln College—the first of the college proper—would be held on June 24, 1868.¹⁸⁸ A copy of the official "Programme of the First Commencement of Lincoln College" still exists. The first event, on Sunday evening, June 21, was to be an "Address before the Missionary Society of Inquiry" by the Rev. J. D. Liggett. On the two following days the "Annual Examination" was scheduled for 9 A. M. and 1 P. M., and at 7:30 P. M. on June 23 the Rev. Richard Cordley was slated to deliver his "Oration before the Ciceronian Society." On Wednesday, June 24, beginning at 9 A. M., the actual Commencement exercises were to be held. The program for the final events follows:

MUSIC—PRAYER—MUSIC

ORATION—Labor versus Genius—W. I. Stringham.

ORATION—Self Culture—L. P. Huntoon.

ORATION—Imperfections of our Government—J. P. Billard.

MUSIC

ORATION—Consistency . . . —M. R. Moore.

ESSAY—Home Influences—Miss Carrie Sain.

ESSAY—Born to Die . . . —Miss Hattie D. Scales.

MUSIC

ORATION—Discipline of the Classics—P. M. Griffin.

ORATION—The Tendency of Cities . . . —A. P. Davis.

MUSIC

BACCALAUREATE—Conferring Degrees.

MUSIC

BENEDICTION

WEDNESDAY EVENING

REUNION.¹⁸⁹

A subsequent account of these exercises remarked that the oration of Cordley at the Congregational church was addressed to the young,

187. *Minutes of the General Association* . . . , 1869, pp. 17-21, report on "Washburn College."

188. *Kansas State Record*, June 10, 1868. "By the way we notice that a neat, substantial fence has been put around the College building."

189. *PROGRAMME of the First COMMENCEMENT OF LINCOLN COLLEGE*, a broadside in the Washburn library, printed by Millison & Co., of Topeka. The catalogue of Washburn College, for the year 1868-1869 (p. 20), stated that the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on those completing the classical course, and passing the examination, and that of Bachelor of Science on those completing the scientific course. The Master's degree was conferred on graduates of three years' standing "who shall have engaged, during that period, in professional, or in literary and scientific studies." Those completing the Ladies' course were awarded a diploma, duly signed by the proper authorities.

"and dealt with earnestness and eloquence on their influence upon each other, maintaining that the young have more influence upon the young in any direction than those of more mature age." The ceremony of graduation was held at the same church and was attended by a large crowd. These exercises went off well, "all that took part both the graduate and the under graduates acquitted themselves with credit."¹⁹⁰ The baccalaureate address was delivered by Professor Parker of Lincoln College on the subject of "A Baconian Philosophy." The Davis quartette furnished the music which was of "the first order." Concerning the first graduate, a local paper remarked:

Mr. A. [Addison P.] Davis is the first graduate, and as such he was presented with his diploma by the President of the Board of Trustees, Rev. Lewis Bodwell, who admonished him in a brief address as he was the first to go forth that he should set an example that those who follow should emulate.¹⁹¹

Although these events did not attract the literati from far and near, as in the case of older colleges, "the day of small things is not to be despised." With Kansas progressing so well, in another 20 years Lincoln College would "attract to our city the graduates of the college from all parts of the country. By that time . . . will be erected, college buildings that will compare with those of Ann Arbor University. . . ." ¹⁹²

THE ACADEMIC YEAR OF 1868-1869

The resignation of D. W. Cox as principal of the preparatory department made necessary a new man for this post, and in September, 1868, the executive committee appointed the Rev. John A. Banfield, then minister of the church at Louisville. Professor Butterfield's continued absence as financial agent in the East, along with the number of students in attendance, required the employment of several assistant teachers who were found in the advanced classes of the

190. *Kansas State Record*, July 1, 1868. "Special attention might be called to the orations of M. Griffin, M. Stringham and Mr. Davis, as being well written and well delivered."

191. *Ibid.* "On Wednesday evening there was a reunion at the college, which was largely attended and passed off pleasantly."

The corresponding ceremony a year later, after the college had been renamed Washburn, was attended by a "small but appreciative audience . . . at the church. There were doctors and lawyers and divines and professors. Many ladies in beautiful attire graced the occasion. . . ." Perley M. Griffin was the second graduate of the college, a veteran of four years service in the Army of the Potomac, who after winning an enviable reputation at Lincoln (Washburn) College, was now going to Andover Theological Seminary. Miss Hattie D. Scales was the first graduate of the Ladies' course and was also highly praised for her accomplishments. The Rev. Richard Cordley delivered the baccalaureate address and Lewis Bodwell conferred the degrees with appropriate remarks.—*Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, June 25, 1869.

192. *Kansas State Record*, July 1, 1868. These comments may have been inspired by Professor Parker who often referred to his alma mater, Ann Arbor (Michigan) University. In his *Public Education in the United States* (Boston, New York, etc., 1919), Ellwood P. Cubberley pointed out (p. 208) that Michigan opened as a state university in 1841 with only two professors and six students, and as late as 1852 had an enrollment of only 72. However, by 1860, "when it had largely freed itself from the incubus of Baptist Latin, Congregational Greek, Methodist intellectual philosophy, Presbyterian astronomy, and Whig mathematics, and its remarkable growth as a state university had begun, it enrolled five hundred and nineteen."

college proper—Perley M. Griffin and Miss Hattie D. Scales, both seniors, to instruct in the classics; Jules B. Billard, a junior, in mathematics, and W. I. Stringham in “various studies of the preparatory department.” With the hope of enlarging the enrollment of women, late in the year Miss Mary Jane Jordan of Newbury, Vermont, was named preceptress of girls in charge of the Ladies’ course. During the first term 40 students were in attendance, composing 18 classes; the second term 49, constituting 21 classes, and the third term 53, with again 21 classes.¹⁹³ In a historical review of the institution, then known as Washburn College, a Topeka newspaper in 1869 listed the faculty and board of trustees, many of whom were members of the ministry:

INSTRUCTORS:

Rev. H. Q. BUTTERFIELD, A. M., Professor of Languages.
 Rev. JOHN D. PARKER, Ph. D., Professor of Natural Science.
 Rev. JOHN A. BANFIELD, Principal of Preparatory Department.
 Miss MARY JANE JORDAN, Preceptress of Ladies’ Department.

[appointed late in year]

PERLEY M. GRIFFIN, Instructor in Language.
 JULES B. BILLARD, Instructor in Mathematics.
 C. E. POND, Teacher of Penmanship.¹⁹⁴

BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

Rev. LEWIS BODWELL, President.¹⁹⁵
 Rev. RICHARD CORDLEY.
 Rev. J. W. FOX.
 Hon. H. W. FARNSWORTH.
 Hon. D. J. BREWER.
 Rev. R. D. PARKER.
 Hon. C. B. LINES.
 Wm. E. BOWKER, Esq.
 Hon. S. C. POMEROY.
 Rev. J. D. LIGGETT.
 Rev. IRA H. SMITH.
 JESSE COOPER, Esq.
 His Excellency Gov. JAMES M. HARVEY.¹⁹⁶

193. *Minutes of the General Association* . . . , report of 1869, cited above, pp. 17, 18. The catalogue for 1868-'69 listed only five students in the college proper—one senior, Griffin; one junior, Billard; two freshmen, and one “Fourth year,” in the Ladies’ course, Miss Scales. Twenty-two were listed in the preparatory department and 30 as “Names not Classified.” Of the five freshmen of the previous year, only two, Billard and Stringham, appear to have still been enrolled.

194. As the reader will note, this list is not the same as that above from the annual report of the president of the board. The instructors being students, were probably employed on a part-time basis which varied from term to term, according to current needs.

195. See the section below entitled, “The College Presidency.”

196. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, May 11, 1869—an article entitled, “Washburn College.” The “Articles of Association” made the governor of the state and, when appointed, the president of the college, ex-officio members of the board of trustees.

The chief event of 1868-1869, the renaming of the college, is treated in the concluding section.

CURRICULUM AND METHODS OF WORK

During the first academic year of Lincoln College, comprising the winter and spring terms of 1865-1866, the institution was entirely a preparatory school, but when the second year began in the following fall the college proper was opened with the admission of two upper-class students. Since there were in the early years almost no pupils qualified for advanced work, the preparatory department necessarily received the great bulk of the student body and trained it for higher instruction. Being obliged to depend on students who often had had all too little schooling, it was necessary for the college to devise some sort of entrance examination. Late in 1865 the *Circular and Prospectus* defined the essentials of admission as follows:

TERMS OF ADMISSION.

Students entering the Preparatory and Scientific Course should be familiar with Geography and the first principles of English Grammar and Arithmetic.

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, in the four years Collegiate Course, will be examined in the studies taught in the Preparatory Department of this Institution.¹⁹⁷

The first college catalogue more carefully defined entrance qualifications and indicated the relative importance that was still placed on Latin and Greek for those beginning advanced work:

ADMISSION.

1. To the Preparatory Department.

Students entering this Department must sustain an examination in Writing, Reading, Geography, and the first principles of English Grammar and Arithmetic.

2. To Ladies' Course.

Candidates for admission to this Course are required to pass an examination in Geography, English Grammar, and the first rules of Arithmetic.

3. To the Collegiate Course.

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class are examined in the Grammar of the Latin and Greek Languages, Virgil, Cæsar, Cicero's Select Orations, Sallust's Catiline, Arnold's Latin Prose, Xenophon's Anabasis, and two Books of Homer's Iliad, Geography, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Algebra to Equations of Second Degree, and Geometry—first five Books. Real equivalents will be accepted for the text-books named.¹⁹⁸

197. *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College, 1865.*

198. The history of college entrance requirements in the United States dates back to Harvard, 1642, where a speaking knowledge of Latin, ability to make Latin verse and a thorough grammatical education in Greek were necessary prerequisites. During the nineteenth century arithmetic, geography, geometry, algebra, history, the natural sciences and modern languages were generally added to the prescribed list of subjects, as the colleges adapted themselves to the expanding curriculum of the academies and their successors, the high schools. Nevertheless, as late as 1897 a total of 402 of the 432 colleges in the country still named Latin and 318 Greek as entrance requirements.

TIME AND CONDITIONS OF EXAMINATION.

Candidates for admission to any of the courses of Study will be examined on Tuesday preceding the opening of the Fall Term. . . .

Testimonials of good moral character are in all cases required.¹⁹⁹

In December, 1865, *The Congregational Record* announced the studies pursued in the preparatory department of Lincoln College. The course was of three years' duration, thus being somewhat similar to that of a senior high school of today, but placed far more stress upon Latin and Greek, in preparation for the college proper. The following subjects were studied:

English.—English Grammar, Higher Arithmetic, Algebra to Equations of Second Degree, Geometry—first five books.

Latin.—Harkness' Latin Grammar, Harkness' Latin Reader, Hanson's Latin Prose, Virgil.

Greek.—Hadley's Greek Grammar, Owen's Greek Reader, Xenophon's Anabasis, Homer's Iliad—two books, Arnold's Greek Prose.²⁰⁰

In the beginning or junior year the first two terms were devoted entirely to Latin, grammar and arithmetic; in the third term ancient history was substituted for grammar. The middle year was devoted for all three terms to Latin, Greek, arithmetic and algebra, the study of Greek beginning at this time. The final or senior year was devoted to Latin, Greek, mathematics and rhetoric, with the following schedule:

SENIOR CLASS.

FIRST TERM.

LATIN.	Æneid of Virgil (Hanson and Rolfe), Latin Prosody.
GREEK.	Boises Xenophon's Anabasis.
MATHEMATICS.	Geometry.
RHETORIC.	(Declamations and themes throughout the year.)

SECOND TERM.

LATIN.	Bucolics & Georgics of Virgil.
GREEK.	Homer's Iliad, Greek Prose.

THIRD TERM.

LATIN.	Sallust's Cataline (Hanson's), Arnold's Latin Prose.
GREEK.	Homer's Iliad. ²⁰¹

199. *Catalogue of* . . . 1865-66, cited above, p. VII.

200. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), December, p. 111, and subsequent issues. A similar announcement of May, 1867, listed the following: English grammar, higher arithmetic, algebra, geometry, Latin grammar and reader, Virgil, Greek grammar and reader, Xenophon and Homer.

201. *Catalogue of* . . . 1865-66, p. IX. A notice of the first examination for admission to the preparatory department of Washburn College (*Kansas State Record*, December 30, 1868), stated: "The regular classes of the year are Arithmetic—commencing at Division of Compound Numbers; Analysis of English Sentences; Latin—commencing the Reader. Those of the 2d year are Algebra; Latin—Caesar; Greek—to begin the Reader at the middle of the term. Those of the 3d year are Latin—third book of Virgil's *Æneid*; Greek, Xenophon's *Anabasis*; Geometry.

"Should there be a sufficient number of applicants for a more elementary class in Arithmetic, English Grammar and Geography, such an one will be formed. John A. Banfield, Principal."

In line with the general democratic trend in education, which was particularly notable after the Civil War, Lincoln College offered to train women students in its Ladies' course which was aimed to afford educational advantages "equal to those furnished by the older and more celebrated Seminaries in the East."²⁰² The course was much similar in content to that of the preparatory department, with which it was closely connected, but offered a greater freedom of choice and in its final year more nearly approached the collegiate program. If there were enough demand it permitted the study of French or German in place of Greek and also offered music, drawing and painting. The fourth class (beginners) studied Latin, English grammar and arithmetic, with grammar replaced by ancient history in the last term. The third class studied Latin, arithmetic and algebra and French. The schedule for the second class was Latin, mathematics (geometry), physical geography, natural philosophy, history and rhetoric (themes and declamations). The first class (seniors) enjoyed a rather large choice, if there were enough demand, including chemistry, physiology, mental philosophy, moral philosophy, astronomy or French, English literature, rhetoric, geology, botany, evidences of Christianity and logic.²⁰³

Before the collegiate department of Lincoln College opened in the fall of 1866, it was announced that the course of study would be "the same as that of the first-class Colleges at the East."²⁰⁴ The catalogue of 1866-1867 published in detail the subjects to be offered students in the four-year college course, which probably was closely patterned after that of an Eastern institution. Each academic year was to be divided into three terms, with more or less variation in the subjects to be offered. The following is a summary:

FRESHMAN YEAR

GREEK—Four books of Homer's *Odyssey*, Herodotus, Euripides' *Alcestis*, and Arnold's *Greek Prose*.

LATIN—Lincoln's *Livy*, the *Odes* and *Epodes* of Horace, and *Latin Prose*.

MATHEMATICS—Robinson's *University Algebra* and *Geometry* (two terms), *Plane and Spherical Geometry* (one term).

HISTORY and ELOCUTION (two terms).

202. *Minutes of the General Association* . . . , report of May, 1867.

203. *Ibid.*; *Catalogue of* . . . 1865-66, pp. X, XI. The early notices of the college drew attention to a scientific and industrial department "for those who wish to pursue the advanced studies without the languages," which was intended "to prepare young men and women, as effectually as possible in a three year's course, for the earnest duties and practical relations of life."

With the exception of the senior year, women students enrolled in the Ladies' course were classified with the preparatory department.

The reader should keep in mind that only a limited part of the subjects *theoretically* offered were *actually* given, as will appear in the specimen schedules quoted below.

204. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, facing p. 48.

SOPHOMORE YEAR

GREEK—Select Orations of Demosthenes, the Electra of Sophocles, the Clouds of Aristophanes, Xenophon's Memorabilia, and Greek Prose.

LATIN—The Satires, Epistles and *Airs Poetica* of Horace, Cicero de Officiis, Tacitus' Germania and Agricola, and Latin Prose.

MATHEMATICS—Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Navigation and Surveying, one term; Analytical Geometry, Conic Sections, one term; Mechanics, one term.

RHETORIC—Whately's Themes, declamation, and philology.

JUNIOR YEAR

"During the Junior Year, the Student may elect, instead of Latin or Greek, or both, any one, or any two of the languages here named, viz: French, Italian, German, and Hebrew."

GREEK—Demosthenes de Corona, Thucydides, and the Prometheus of Æschylus.

LATIN (two terms only)—Tacitus' Histories, Juvenal, and Latin Prose.

RHETORIC—Themes, forensics, and declamations; Logic (Whately).

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY and CALCULUS (two terms).

SCIENCE (one term)—Chemistry, Astronomy, and Botany.

SENIOR YEAR

RHETORIC (two terms)—Themes, forensics and declamations; English Literature.

PHILOSOPHY—One term each of Mental Philosophy (Hamilton's Metaphysics), Moral Philosophy, and Political Philosophy.

SCIENCE—Geology (Dana, two terms), Chemistry and Astronomy (one term).

POLITICAL—Political Economy, Law of Nations, History of Civil Liberty, and Constitution of the United States (each one term).

THEOLOGY—Butler's Analogy, and Evidences of Christianity (each one term).²⁰⁵

The listing of so extensive a course of study was almost entirely a theoretical matter, particularly in the year 1866-1867 when only two students were actually enrolled in the collegiate department!²⁰⁶ Perhaps it was meant as an extra argument toward adoption by the College society. The list of subjects *actually* studied was far more limited, as is apparent from the following schedule of uncertain date, which seems to include both preparatory and college subjects:

			G	D	B	
9:15 to 10	Greek 3	Horace 2	Anabasis 2			
10 to 10:30	Greek 3	Caesar 5	Herodotus 1	Arithmetic 6		
11 to 11:30	Astronomy 2	} Sat. Reader 7			Algebra [?]	
11 to 12						
11:30 to 12	Geometry 4					
P. M.						
1:15 to 2		Eng. Analysis 9		Reading 6		
2 to 2:45		H. Arithmetic 5				

205. *Catalogue of . . . 1866-67*, pp. XII-XIV. The senior year was particularly notable for its inclusion of the newer subjects, including the sciences, history and political economy.

206. As to the enrollment in Lincoln College, the author has been able to identify a total of only ten students, including Miss Hattie D. Scales in the Ladies' course. This covers the entire history of the college, under its original name.

3 to 3:30 Zoology 3 Latin 4
 3:30 to 4 Botany 9 Anabasis & Gr.
 Gram. 1²⁰⁷

On January 8, 1868, a Topeka paper described the course of study by enumerating the classes, according to the subject pursued:

Of the amount of labor performed, and the advantages offered, it is enough to say, that during this term [the fall term of 1867, just closed] there have been regularly sustained classes in studies of the following names and grades:—Reading 2, Arithmetic 3, Grammar 3, Algebra 3, Anabasis 2, and in Latin commenced, Greek do., Latin Reader, Cicero and Livy, Virgil, Geometry, Trigonometry, Geology, Physical Geography, Guizot's History, English Literature, and Mental Philosophy, one each or twenty-five classes in all. At \$18 per year for the preparatory, or \$24 for the Collegiate course, with a wide free list, and no extra charge for any study necessary to the course; we know of no similar school which offers equal advantages at so low rates. . . .²⁰⁸

In the fall of 1868 the following schedule appears to have been in effect for the preparatory department and was probably the classes taught by its principal, J. A. Banfield, when the college was renamed Washburn:

DAILY PROGRAMME FOR THE FIRST TERM
 OF THE YEAR 1868-1869

J. A. BANFIELD

9 - 9:15	Chapel
9:15 - 10	Xenophon
10:00 - 10:45	Arithmetic
10:45 - 11	Recess
11 - 11:30	Arithmetic
11:30 - 12	Virgil
<hr/>	
1:30 - 2:15	Algebra
2:15 - 3	Beg. Latin
3 - 3:15	Recess
3:15 - 4	Extra Latin (a class of two—[?] up to Caesar) ²⁰⁹

207. Manuscript fragment at Washburn Municipal University, mutilated on right side. The numerals following the subject title may indicate the number of students enrolled in the class, that for algebra in column B seems to have been severed. There is nothing to indicate the exact date, but the MS. is marked Lincoln College.

208. *Kansas State Record*, January 8, 1868. "Founders, friends, and teachers are agreed in the purpose that if the College succeeds, it shall be by offering to every pupil a good foundation in all, which shall make his education worthy of the name, and a life long source of profit, honor and usefulness."—*Ibid.*

Brief reviews of the subjects pursued are also to be found in the annual reports of the president of the board of trustees to the general association, published in the *Cong. Record*, or *Minutes of General Association*.

209. MS. at Washburn library, headed as above. This appears to omit the classes of the other instructors.

A year later a sketch of the annual Washburn College examinations, held June 21 and 22, 1869, stated that during the preceding term the following classes had regularly met: Reading and Spelling, 2; Arithmetic, 4; Geography, 2; English Grammar, 1; English Analysis, 1; Algebra, 1; Geometry, 1; Trigonometry, 1; Greek, 4; Latin, 5; Astronomy, 1; Calculus, 1, and Geology, 1, making a total of 25 classes. "The peculiar advantage which the students have enjoyed is, that they have been compelled to do their own work, most of the class[es] being small."—*Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 23, 1869. This account of the examinations, by "Freshman," is one of the best the author has seen.

A description of a visit to Lincoln College, as it existed late in 1867, will give a clearer conception of the building (*see picture facing p. 48*) and of the classes in actual session. The following narrative was apparently written by a student and is the outstanding account:

WHAT WE HAVE AT LINCOLN COLLEGE

It may be well to divide our subject into *externals* and *internals*.

Externally, we may be said to occupy an *elevated* position. In fact, we think, we are not to be *overlooked* by anybody in Topeka. From our belfry we can see up and down the Kaw for many miles; so spacious is the foreground of our vision, that the huge city of Topeka, even, is but a dot in the vast prairie. Coming back, however, to our more immediate surroundings, we do *not* have any fence to enclose our grounds, nothing but a few stones scattered here and there obstruct the approach to the very threshold of our doors of all diligent hunters for knowledge. Thus is the original design accomplished, to have the approaches open to all, without question as to whether they wore *pants* or have a *tinted* cuticle.

We enter the door of this abode of science, and find that the thick limestone walls enclose a hall and seven rooms. The first room occupies most of the first floor and is the assembly room for the college. Here, also, Prof. Cox hears his classes,²¹⁰ and restrains by suavity and law all untamed boyishness and girlishness that enters here. Immediately back of this room is the Cabinet, already rich in geodes and many other mineral specimens. The second floor has three rooms, one of which contains the library, the two others are occupied by Professors as recitation rooms.

But the bell rings for the opening of the daily session. We enter the audience room, and precisely at *nine* o'clock the door is closed and fastened. One of the Faculty takes charge of the exercises. First comes the reading by each student of verses from some chapter of the Bible, then a hymn is given out, and, what is better, it is sung by the whole school in concert—almost all sing—how it opens and exhilarates the soul thus to gush forth in song! The *praise* having subsided the *prayer* begins, sometimes brief, sometimes longer, sometimes hortatory, sometimes liturgical, then scientific or philosophical, and now and then devout, penitential or supplicatory. Devotions ended, recitations commence, and delinquents who have waited in the hall have a chance to come in. We follow the Teacher's class to the south room above. The room is warm and pleasant with its flood of sunshine from without, and the heat from the Stewart stove within.²¹¹ The Teacher's class is something new, organized this term, and has already had eighteen members. The class was organized by Prof. Bowker, and is at present under his charge. This term has been devoted to a drill in the principles of English Grammar. No text book is used, the class study by *topics*; free discussion allowed, the *reasons* of things are sought out. By this drill students are taught independence of thought, which

210. D. W. Cox was principal of the preparatory department during the school year of 1867-1868.

211. With inadequate funds for running expenses, it was often a question how to purchase such necessities as stoves. The minutes of the meeting of the trustees, November 28, 1866, quote the college treasurer, W. E. Bowker, as reporting that seats had been provided, without expense to the board, and that \$47.50 was due for a stove which it was hoped would be met from money received for tuition.

enables them to defend their opinions independently of text books. A drill like this for a year or two, will do more to make teachers masters of their profession than any other method.

From the recitation room we step across the hall to the Library, supplied with its two thousand volumes, the larger number of which are on the shelves. The dearth of libraries in this new country, enhances much the value of this collection. It is already quite full in History, General Literature and Text-Books; it stands much in need of a large and complete Encyclopaedia.²¹² Adjoining the Library is Prof. Parker's room, with its spacious range of black-board. Here Mathematics and Natural Science are taught by one enthusiastic in his search of Nature's laws; and sometimes in vision the walls of his room stretch away into a vast collection of cabinets, the gifts of liberal donors, or the results of geological travels. Time would fail me to tell of the three classes in Greek, four in Latin, seven in Mathematics, two in Grammar and the single class in Reading, History, Physical Geography, Geology, English Literature and Mental Philosophy that report themselves constantly to the Faculty and their Assistants. Let me say . . . that a most excellent class of students are now in attendance. Their manners, both in college and on our streets, evince their thorough appreciation of what becomes ladies and gentlemen. Of other things yet unnamed in our college, is the Rhetorical exercises, which come once a week, and the occasional college paper should not go unmentioned, in which all witty and witless things can find free ventilation. Speaking and writing are regarded by the Faculty as fundamental to a thorough education, and each student has to prepare himself regularly and thoroughly for the exercises.

The young men of the college have caught the spirit and in the Ciceronian have a society for the culture of oratory, argumentation and composition. . . . The rehearsals and other signs of preparation indicate the public appearance of this society before many weeks. . . .

We have thus briefly enumerated some of the things pertaining to our college. Do you wish to know more? Come and see.

RUGBY.²¹³

DISCIPLINE

From the founding of the college those in authority were deeply concerned as to the proper control of "untamed boyishness and girlishness" in their midst. The *Circular and Prospectus* of 1865 provided for a brief service of prayer at the beginning of each school day, attendance upon which by the students was made obligatory, and promised to extend to all from a distance who were "removed

212. The library at Washburn Municipal University includes a *Catalogue of Lincoln College Library*, which has a total of 4,179 accessions, including documentary material. Religious and literary works were the most numerous, but there was important stress on those of a historical nature, and a considerable number of scientific treatises. What appears to be a companion volume, in a very fragile state, classifies these works into their various fields.

213. *Kansas State Record*, December 25, 1867. A comparison of the Lincoln College courses of the 1860's with those of Washburn in February, 1885, when the enrollment had grown to 240, shows interesting changes. "The Literary Collegiate" course had taken the place of the earlier "Ladies' Course," and was notable for its "richness and breadth of culture," and larger choice of subjects. The collegiate, classical and scientific courses had been revised and enlarged. All the collegiate courses were then "parallel with . . . [those] in the best Eastern colleges," permitting a good student at Washburn to enter Yale, Amherst or Williams without any loss of standing.—*The Kansas Telephone*, Manhattan, February, 1885.

from the restraints of home" the "watchful care needful to the promotion of a moral and religious character." The tendency of the students to leave their studies and follow other attractions that presented themselves, posed a very serious problem, as was evinced in the attendance reports submitted to the president of the board of trustees. Thus that of May, 1868, including the time when the legislature had been in session in Topeka, indicated a wide disparity between *aggregate* and *average* attendance, as the following figures show: First term, aggregate attendance—48, average—39; second term (including the legislative period), aggregate—40, average—26, and third term, aggregate—29, and average—21.²¹⁴ Despite the religious revival which had been carried on with marked success during the winter term, Principal D. W. Cox of the preparatory department wrote that a number of students left and attended the legislature. He added: "This *one* act did the College more harm in its attendance and regularity, than anything else that has happened during the whole year this far."²¹⁵ That these pioneer students should not be unduly blamed for a lack of dependability, however, one need only recall that the entire frontier population was characterized by its "footloose" nature.²¹⁶

The catalogue of 1867-1868 carefully summarized college discipline in the following words:

DISCIPLINE

Students are required to be present at the beginning of the term, to continue to the end of the same, and to be in their places at all stated exercises of the College.

Students must not absent themselves from town without permission from the Faculty.

The observance of regular hours of study and recreation is enjoined on all the students.

Excuses from class recitations, or for failure in college duties, must be rendered to the Professor having immediate jurisdiction, who shall report all unexcused marks to the Faculty for record.

Any pupil receiving ten marks during one term, without good excuse, shall cease to be a member of the College.²¹⁷

214. *Minutes of the General Association*, report of 1868, entitled, "Lincoln College," p. 9. However, a report of Principal D. W. Cox to Lewis Bodwell (MS. in Washburn library) quotes somewhat different figures, evidently for the same periods. Apparently the record of absences had not been very accurately kept, particularly by Professor Bowker in the preceding fall. During *most* of the winter term average attendance had been 40; during the final third, when the legislature was in session, he reported it as 29.

215. D. W. Cox to Rev. L. Bodwell (no date given), a manuscript in the Washburn library, quoted in Footnote 182.

216. In its issue of April, 1860 (v. 2, pp. 23-25), *The Congregational Record* discussed "Homelessness as a Hindrance to the Gospel." The unsettled nature of the population was one of the most discouraging peculiarities of frontier society. "The western phrase, 'I do not live, but only stay,' is of almost universal application. The word 'home' might be entirely stricken from our vocabulary; . . . there are very few here who have positively made up their minds to make this their home. . . . It is all an experiment. . . ."

217. *Catalogue of . . . Washburn College, 1867-68*, which covered part of the Lincoln College period.

These remarks apparently refer to the action of the executive committee of the board of trustees, who at their meeting of September 5, 1867, adopted a series of *RULES For the Government of Lincoln College*.²¹⁸ On entering the college each student was required to sign a declaration of his intention to comply with these regulations. All were "to attend the public exercises of the college, to observe the hours prescribed for study, and to be in their rooms by ten o'clock P. M., unless permitted to be absent by the Faculty," such leaves of absence to be granted only "in cases of urgent necessity." Those leaving without permission were liable to suspension or expulsion. No student could drop a subject without faculty permission. No meeting of students in the college building could be held without consent of the faculty. "Any injury done to the building or furniture will subject the one doing it to the expense of repairing the injury and to such other penalty as the Faculty shall see fit to inflict." All students were requested to attend worship on the Sabbath. "The tuition of each student must be paid within the first ten days of the session, and in no case for less than half a term. . . ." No society or club was to be formed, the constitution and by-laws of which were not approved by the faculty, "and on no condition shall a secret society be organized or be permitted to exist." The 11th rule was very significant and read: "Continued idleness, neglect of recitations, and attendance upon places of dissipation or vain amusement, will be deemed derogatory to the discipline of the college and will be punished by the Faculty." A system of marks for attainment in recitations and deportment was adopted which was intended to reward the faithful and punish those guilty of disobeying the rules.²¹⁹ How this code functioned in actual use is not known.

THE COLLEGE PRESIDENCY

During the entire history of Lincoln College under its original name it was directed by a board of trustees appointed by the "General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kan-

218. A three-page broadside in the Washburn library, the date of which is fixed by reference to the minutes of the executive committee.

219. *Ibid.* "In *Recitations* ten shall indicate perfection in the *statement* and in the *understanding of a principle or fact*, and the lower figures shall show the various degrees of imperfection; and *absence* shall be marked zero, unless a satisfactory excuse is rendered within twenty-four hours after, in which case the recitation shall not be counted.

"In *Deportment* any failure to observe the Rules of the college or the regulations of the recitation-room will take five from the deportment of the day, and a flagrant violation will reduce it to zero. Five cases of neglect or three cases of flagrant violation of the Rules during any one term, shall subject the offender to suspension, and in case he persists in this course of conduct he shall be expelled.

"In *Punctuality* an absence from the public exercises of the college will subject the absentee to a loss, for each case, of one from the ten he would receive from attendance on ten exercises, and when five absences either from public exercises or recitations, during any one term, remain unexcused, the student shall be liable to suspension, and in case ten are unexcused he shall be liable to expulsion."

sas." From 1863 on these nine trustees (later increased to 13) were elected by that body for terms of one, two or three years, to exercise general direction of a projected college. Early in 1865 when the institution was finally incorporated, the trustees adopted articles of association and thereafter met at irregular intervals on the call of their president. By the appointment of committees²²⁰ they carried on the necessary business of the college and kept a permanent record of their proceedings ("First Secretary's Book"). Their president was the chief executive officer who, without salary, presided at meetings of the board and between sessions performed what duties were needed, including the hiring of teachers and, in collaboration with the committee on education, preparing a detailed report to the annual meeting of the general association. The first holder of this office was Peter McVicar, then pastor of the Congregational church at Topeka and superintendent of schools of Shawnee county, who in late December, 1866, resigned the college position to become State Superintendent of Public Instruction.²²¹ He was succeeded by Lewis Bodwell, now for the second time pastor of the Topeka church. Bodwell left Kansas in June, 1869, because of ill health.

Despite a serious lack of funds for running expenses, in 1866 steps were taken to procure at an early date a president for the college in the person of Gen. Oliver O. Howard, then head of the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington, D. C.²²² To promote the endowment campaign S. D. Bowker visited Washington in the summer of that year and informally broached the matter of the presidency to

220. Of these the executive committee, consisting of the president of the board and three or four additional trustees, appears to have met more often than the general board, to which it was responsible, and to have exercised a more direct supervision of current business, but unfortunately its records do not seem to have been carefully preserved. The author located only one such paper—the minutes of its meetings from July, 1867, to August, 1868. During that period W. E. Bowker, I. H. Smith, H. W. Farnsworth and C. B. Lines were the chief members, in addition to the president, Lewis Bodwell.

221. "First Secretary's Book," p. 36—entry of December 28, 1866. Speaking later of his predecessor, Lewis Bodwell asserted that "no man has given our school more thought & prayer & unpaid labor. . . ." In 1871 when Richard Cordley declined the appointment, McVicar was elected the second president of the college. He retained this position for 24 years, during the period of greatest growth of the institution, contributing an outstanding service in its upbuilding which subsequently won him the title of the "Grand Old Man" of Washburn College.

222. Oliver O. Howard (1830-1909), a graduate of West Point, had an important career in the American army. In the Civil War he took a leading part in many battles in the Eastern theater but has been blamed for reverses at both Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. In 1863 he was transferred to the West, and later given command of the Department of the Tennessee and awarded the rank of brigadier general in the regular army. He was with Sherman on his march through Georgia, but was distressed by its attendant horrors. In May, 1865, President Johnson, following Lincoln's choice, made Howard commissioner of the newly created Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. This agency did good work in relieving destitution, but due to Howard's lack of executive ability, it became burdened with inefficiency and corruption. Howard was freed of personal responsibility, beyond the facts that he was a poor judge of his associates and spent too much time in other activities. Later, while in command of the Department of the Columbia, he led several expeditions against the Western Indians. In 1886 he was made major general in command of the Division of the East, which he retained until he retired in 1894. He wrote a number of books, contributed to magazines and newspapers, and was a popular lecturer and preacher.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 9, pp. 279-281.

Howard who regarded the proposal with favor, "when the interests of the country will allow of his retirement from his present post of duty."²²³ At a date probably early in January, 1868, Howard visited Topeka and was very favorably impressed by its people. Apparently acting with the tacit consent of the board of trustees, later that month Lewis Bodwell wrote a letter of invitation to General Howard, which he enclosed in a message to his friend Senator Pomeroy, requesting the latter to use his good offices in behalf of the Howard appointment. To Bodwell General Howard was a brilliant example of a Christian scholar and soldier who had wielded the "flaming sword of Gideon" against the "slave power" and was now accomplishing a great work for the freedmen. In urgent terms Bodwell appealed to Howard to lend his aid as soon as possible—this would reduce the time needed for the "permanent endorsement" of the college by eight or ten years. His name would "in one year quadruple the number of our students" and attract many to the work of the ministry.²²⁴ In a very cordial letter General Howard declined this offer:

As a single matter of ambition I would be glad to join hands with you and give my influence to the complete establishment and further development of your college; but I cannot conscientiously leave here, for duty points in this direction. My official position is now very important and promises to be so for some time to come.²²⁵

It is very probable that the numerous duties of the president of the board of trustees were burdensome to Lewis Bodwell, particularly in view of his state of health. In July, 1868, Harrison Hannahs wrote to "My dear Lewis" that, while on his way to St. Louis (Mo.), he conferred with Peter McVicar, and was "more than ever satisfied

223. Washington, D. C., correspondence, signed "S. D. B.," quoted in *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), September, pp. 55, 56. Bowker praised Howard's work for the freedmen and believed that if President Johnson vetoed the current bill for that bureau, Howard would resign. This "noble christian scholar and soldier . . . is disposed to regard with favor the proposition informally made to him, to take the Presidency of our college . . ." after retiring from his work in the Freedmen's Bureau.

224. A manuscript letter without signature now in the Washburn library, in the handwriting of Bodwell and dated Topeka, January 27, 1868. Bodwell did not doubt his ability to obtain the signatures of a thousand Christians to this appeal. The great mission of Lincoln College—to supply the state with Christian men and ministers—he regarded practically hopeless of attainment by the state institutions, at least at that time. (Howard's name had also been placed before the board of regents of the State University.) Howard had a great reputation as a Biblical soldier—"the Havelock of the Army"; his honesty, humanitarian interests and religious enthusiasm were undoubted, and he was a capable speaker and writer.

225. Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard to "Rev. Lewis Bodwell, President Lincoln College," February 11, 1868, on official stationery of the Freedmen's Bureau, MS. in the Washburn library. Pomeroy replied similarly, and added that Howard University, then being erected, would draw heavily on the general's time. He suggested Gen. Charles Howard, the brother of O. O., who was even "better educated," with a "gem of a wife," and only a little behind his famous brother, "the foremost man of our country, at this time."

Howard University, Washington, D. C., was founded in 1867 and named after the Civil War general. In 1869 O. O. Howard was made president, and gave much time to the institution until 1874, when he resigned.

he is the man for the Presidency of the College.”²²⁶ The problem of salary was probably a matter of grave concern until November, 1868, when the munificent gift of Ichabod Washburn removed any such barrier. That it had been negotiated by Horatio Q. Butterfield must have been a powerful argument in the minds of the trustees in favor of elevating their professor of classical languages to the post. At their meeting of June 3, 1869, the board unanimously elected Butterfield president of the institution, now Washburn College, and voted to make his salary the “proceeds of the Washburne Donation until the notes are paid and after that, not less than \$2,000.”²²⁷

Butterfield made a verbal report of his labors for the college at the annual meeting of June 23, 1869, and added that he had been offered a place on the board of the Society for Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West. In reply a committee of the trustees made a strong appeal to Butterfield to head the college:

A College, *anywhere*, and particularly where educational interests are in a formative state . . . *must* have an able, efficient and influential head. The time has come as we judge, when this *necessity* of Washburne College must be met.

Our relation as a College, to the Churches of Kansas, both in view of *this call for educated men*, and of *their duty to aid* in building up a College in their midst demands such a man *now*, at the head of this Institution.²²⁸

Two days later Butterfield wrote to the board, thanking them for tendering him the position of president: “After much prayerful consideration I have resolved the last doubt, and decided to accept.”²²⁹

LINCOLN COLLEGE RENAMED WASHBURN

From his earliest connection with Lincoln College, Horatio Q. Butterfield had performed services of a financial nature. Before reaching Kansas in 1866 he worked with S. D. Bowker in the East in behalf of the college endowment, but the results were disappointing. In the following fall the institution was adopted by the College society, but still no funds were forthcoming. By late 1866 the crisis

226. MS. in the Washburn library, dated Rome, N. Y., July 17, 1868. Hannahs added suggestions as to how to finance the college.

227. “First Secretary’s Book,” pp. 48, 49. The annual report to the general association (1870), however, quoted his salary at \$1,750.

228. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-53. “The Society, in view of our wants and necessities, will not ask us to jeopardize our existence and usefulness, and consequently the ground of her own success. . . . These considerations were urged upon Butterfield, “as reasons why he should accept the position tendered him in deep earnestness by the College Corporation.”

229. *Ibid.*, p. 54. In November, 1870, Butterfield resigned the presidency to accept the secretaryship of the College society. He withdrew the resignation on December 20, and on January 30, 1871, he resigned again. The Washburn College post was offered to Richard Cordley, who declined to accept, whereupon Peter McVicar was elected the second president (February, 1871). After an extended period as secretary of the College society, Butterfield accepted the presidency of Olivet College, Michigan.

was so pronounced that the trustees voted to procure as soon as possible a "suitable person, as financial agent . . .," the former agent, Bowker, now being occupied with other duties.²³⁰ On March 12, 1867, the trustees authorized Professor Butterfield to act as financial agent for a year, or for the time needed, and to pay him his regular salary plus necessary traveling expenses.²³¹ With a leave of absence from Lincoln College and temporary employment by the College society, Butterfield soon left for the East.

When the general association met in May, 1867, the report on Lincoln College described a "pressing need" of ready cash, which posed an alarming threat to the future of the new institution.²³² The severe financial crisis prompted a movement by the partisans of other towns to remove the college from Topeka, but the trustees declined to consent. A few months later Lewis Bodwell, president of the board of trustees, wrote to Horatio Q. Butterfield:

We have lately been burdened with . . . increasing indebtedness. . . . So great have been its dangers that we have talked of curtailing. But where? The Prep. Dep nearly or quite pays its own way. . . . The *cost* is from that which does *not* pay & yet which is to day the part nearest to our end,—vis—Our College classes—our candidates for the ministry. . . .²³³

Late in the year financial affairs appear to have improved. Early in January, 1868, a local paper announced that Professor Butterfield had collected enough to pay the outstanding debts to the faculty—he was trying to avoid earlier mistakes by soliciting for both running expenses and permanent endowment:

The low rate of charge, and the number of those who under the rules obtain free tuition, have imposed some heavy burdens upon trustees and teachers; but in addition to some progress in the work of endowment, Prof. Butterfield has raised an amount sufficient to extinguish the indebtedness to teachers, and encourage the Trustees to continue the offer of tuition on the same liberal terms as heretofore.²³⁴

In the following spring the report to the general association reflected a marked financial improvement. The aid pledged by the

230. "First Secretary's Book," p. 36—minutes of December 28, 1866. The treasurer was authorized to borrow \$500 to pay the teachers for the last quarter.

231. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38. The annual report of May, 1868, to the general association remarked: "While in the employ of the College Society, as he now is, the salary of Prof. Butterfield is paid by the Society, and thus, during the year, the College has been held responsible only for the payment of the present corps of instructors—an amount which does not much exceed \$2600 per annum."—*Minutes of the General Association*, report of 1868, p. 10.

232. *Ibid.*, May, 1867, pp. 12-15, report entitled, "On Education—Lincoln College." The report of the finance committee, July 4, 1867 (cited in Footnote 86), gave further details. For the preceding year the income had been only \$1,592.05, while expenses amounted to \$4,557.03. Total indebtedness then stood at \$4,320.75, and there was no cash in the treasury, although total assets amounted to an estimated \$16,414.22.

233. Lewis Bodwell to "Dear Bro Butterfield," dated Topeka, October 23, 1867, a MS. in the Washburn library.

234. *Kansas State Record*, January 8, 1868.

College society was enough "to warrant the hope that our already diminished indebtedness will ere long be wholly cleared away." Butterfield was "working with growing confidence"—at his last report nearly \$8,000 had been "collected and pledged" (obviously overestimated), and of this amount the college treasurer had already received over \$1,500. The college indebtedness then amounted to only \$3,100.75—the sum due on the salaries of the teachers and for money advanced by the treasurer out of his own pocket.²³⁵ When the next report was issued in May, 1869, the annual income of the college had grown to \$3,211.24, with \$2,059 credited to the activities of Professor Butterfield—enough "to meet all outstanding claims for current expenses, and the teachers are paid to the beginning of the present term."²³⁶

In his solicitation for the permanent endowment of Lincoln College, Horatio Q. Butterfield was even more successful. Largely because of Butterfield's personal influence, Ichabod Washburn of Worcester, Mass., became interested in the college and late in October, 1868, announced his decision to give the Kansas institution the sum of \$25,000 towards an endowment.²³⁷ In view of this large donation Butterfield accompanied his report to the trustees "by the opinion of the College Society and its friends and ours, that the name of the Institution should be changed to that of the family name of our generous friend."²³⁸ The subject was taken up by the college trustees at a special meeting on November 19, 1868, as indicated in the following quotations from the minutes:

235. *Minutes of the General Association*, report of May, 1868, written by Lewis Bodwell, pp. 9-11. Several gifts had been made to the college during the preceding year, including 20 acres of land from W. E. Bowker, two notes totaling \$1,000 from Harrison Hannahs and a pledge of a like amount from Simpson Bros., of Lawrence.

Although Butterfield reported to the trustees, the author has not been able to locate any of this important correspondence, if it still exists, which is doubtful. Eugene Floyd, while in charge of public relations at Washburn Municipal University, made a search for Butterfield correspondence, but without success.

236. *Minutes of the General Association*, report of May, 1869, pp. 17-21. "Commencing with his first remittance, June 18th, 1867, Professor Butterfield has raised and sent us for current expenses about \$4,400, of which amount we have received over \$2,059 in books; and \$65 . . . in the publication of our annual catalogue. In another direction our Agent's labors have been successful in securing by special contributions the \$800 needed to purchase the excellent library of the late Professor Bowker. . . ." See Footnote 245.

237. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, May 11, 1869; McVicar's *An Historical Sketch of Washburn College*, p. 6; *Catalogue of . . .* 1867-68, p. 20.

Ichabod Washburn was born at Kingston, Mass., August 11, 1798. When he was still an infant his father died, leaving the family with few resources. Young Ichabod learned the trade of harness making, worked in the cotton mills, served an apprenticeship as a blacksmith and then began making plows at Millbury, Mass. In 1821 with W. H. Howard he started the making of lead pipe and woolen goods machinery. A very great demand for the latter induced him in 1823 to go into the exclusive manufacture of woolen goods machinery with Benjamin Goddard, a pursuit he followed with great success until 1834, when the partnership was dissolved. A few years before this the firm began the making of iron wire, then a new business in this country. By a wire drawlock improvement, Washburn greatly increased the output; after the dissolution he devoted his entire time to wire manufacture and became the leader of the American industry, thus laying the foundation of his large fortune. For some time his twin brother, Charles, was associated with him, but after 1850 this role was taken by his son-in-law, Philip L. Moen, under the title of the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Co.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 19, pp. 501, 502.

238. *Minutes of the General Association*, report of May, 1869, on Washburn college, p. 18.

The President read letters from Professor Butterfield containing the proposition of Deacon Ichabod Washburne, of Worcester Massachusetts, to donate to the College the sum of \$25,000, and suggesting the propriety of changing the name of the College to *Washburne College*.

On motion of Mr. Farnsworth, Messrs. Cordley, Liggett and Cooper were appointed a Committee to draw up resolutions, expressive of the views of the Trustees. . . . 239

After proper consideration, the following report was adopted:

Whereas, There are several literary Institutions in the United States, bearing the name of Lincoln thus creating confusion and embarrassing us in our movements,²⁴⁰ and

Whereas, Dea. I. Washburne of Worcester, Mass. proposes to make to our College a donation of Twenty five thousand dollars towards the endowment we are seeking— Therefore

Resolved That we, the Trustees of Lincoln College, in a meeting legally called, and assembling at Topeka this nineteenth day of November One Thousand Eight hundred and Sixty eight do hereby Change the name of said Institution to *Washburne College*.

Resolved— That we express our hearty thanks to Dea. Washburne, for his generous gift, coming as it does in the infancy of our enterprise and assuring its success— And we trust we may be able so to use the means thus placed at our disposal, that our College may be an honor to its donors and a blessing to our State.²⁴¹

The Washburn donation was in the form of five notes for \$5,000 each, drawn on the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company and bearing interest at seven per cent, with a maturity date of 1870, and was deposited at the Central National Bank of Worcester, Mass. It alone almost doubled the assets of the college and gave substance to the fond hopes of earlier years.²⁴² Only a few months after he made this gift, Ichabod Washburn died at his home in Worcester.²⁴³ When the general association met some months thereafter,

239. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 45-47.

240. These institutions were Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa.; Lincoln Institute, Missouri; and Lincoln College, Lincoln, Ill.

241. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 46, 47; also *Minutes of the General Association*, report of May, 1869, pp. 17-21. In v. 3 of "Corporations (official charter copybooks from the office of the Secretary of State, in Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society)," pp. 296, 297, is the following record, under date of January 1, 1869:

"I Lewis Bodwell, President of the board of Trustees of Lincoln College, do hereby certify and affirm that at a meeting duly and legally called for that purpose, and held in the city of Topeka on the 13th [?] day of November A. D. 1868. There were present ten of the thirteen members who constituted the full Board; and that at said meeting it was unanimously resolved that the corporate name of the Institution be changed to Washburn College."—Filed June 5, 1869.

Bodwell's own diary as well as the minutes of the trustees agree that the change of name took place on November 19, 1868. At the time neither of the two Topeka papers took notice of this action, but on December 23 the *Record* first used the name of Washburn: "The students of Washburn are canvassing our city for *The Advance*, for the purpose of getting an organ for their chapel. . . ." The *Atchison Champion* had previously alluded to "Washburn College."

242. The annual report to the general association, May, 1869, listed the total assets of Washburn College as \$59,939. Liabilities were then \$3,140, to meet which there was on hand or due a total of \$3,020, of which \$1,820 was promised by the College society.

243. Feeling handicapped by a lack of formal education, Washburn appreciated its value, and hence gave to colleges across the country, and to other benevolent causes, a total of \$424,000—the greater part of his estate. Among the educational institutions he thus aided

it mourned the death of Washburn, a "large-hearted and wise benefactor," who had set an example of great liberality and intelligence by thus placing "the institutions of religion and science upon a stable foundation in a new and growing commonwealth."²⁴⁴ Writing in retrospect many years later, Richard Cordley termed the gift a very important milestone in the history of the college, which assured it a brighter future:

It came at a critical time and marked an era in our history. . . . A building had been erected, a school had been opened and some good academic work was being done. But the work had gone about as far as it could without larger resources. . . .

Mr. Washburn gave his magnificent gift at the beginning when most men shrink. Mr. Washburn had the rare faith to see the promise in an enterprise not yet assured to mortal sight. . . . The college had an endowment, and its perpetuity was assured.²⁴⁵

The Kansas Congregationalists had founded their college in Topeka as a monument to the victory of freedom and its leading champion, Abraham Lincoln, but even more significant in their minds had been the promotion of religion and its handmaid, education. With the passage of time the issue of freedom receded into the historic past, but the problem of adequate finance became a sword of Damocles, threatening the future of their beloved College. What a profound sense of relief the trustees must have experienced when the Washburn gift was finally announced—little wonder they were willing to consent to a change of name to Washburn College.

When Lincoln College assumed the name of Washburn, the years of foundation ended. What had been virtually an academy near the frontier could now become in larger measure a college for the great West. A pioneer dream had materialized on the Kansas prairies, leaving to the future the hope of growth and development.

were: the School of Technology at Worcester; the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine; Oberlin College, Ohio; Berea College, Ky.; Hampton Institute, Va., and Lincoln College, Kansas. In an "Obituary" published on the day of his death (December 30, 1868), the Worcester *Evening Gazette* concluded that "the poor and the struggling of other days will rise up and call him blessed," a "noble illustration" of what young men can accomplish, with no wealth but "brain and muscle . . . allied with industry, sobriety, energy, and enterprise."

244. *Minutes of the General Association*, report of May, 1869, pp. 23, 24.

"Resolved, That among all those who have contributed to the welfare of our beloved State of Kansas, none will deserve more grateful remembrance [*sic*] than Deacon Washburn, and may the college which he so generously assisted with timely aid, bear his name down to future generations forever linked with the cause of pure christianity and sound learning."

245. *The Kansas Telephone*, Manhattan, July, 1890, a paper on the "Quarter Centennial of Washburn College," June 17, 1890.

The final account of Butterfield as financial agent from April 1, 1867, to January 15, 1870, was incorporated in the minutes of the trustees, January 6, 1870 ("First Secretary's Book," pp. 56, 57). The total secured for the college was \$41,961.79 (including \$918 for the Bowker library). Money subscriptions amounted to \$38,703.15. Butterfield's salary was \$3,743.15; the auditing committee found the college indebted to him in the sum of 89¢. From this it is clear that his activities as financial agent continued long after the college was renamed. In fact, in later years as secretary of the College society, he made a very important contribution to the financial well-being of Washburn College.

Bypaths of Kansas History

OPTIMISM IN DOUGLAS COUNTY IN 1856

The following letter was among other papers generously donated to the Kansas State Historical Society by Mrs. Sidney Milbauer of West Hollywood, Cal.

DOUGLASS CNT K T JAN/23/1856

To I J Oakley

Dear Sir

I take up my pen to write you a few lines & let you know how we are & how we fare we are all well excepting myself & I have had a cold & it has fell in my head & causes me a great deal of pain but I am on the mend & hope I shall soon be able to get about again I arrived in this country the 25th of July last all well after a travil of 33 days averageing about 30 miles per day with two hor[s]e teams & two waggons there was nine of us all told the two oldest boys having gone on a head and taken up claims to prepare for our coming they had broken up near forty acres of prary & got in corn planted by dropping in the furrow & turning the sod of the next furrow righ[t] on it which we call here sod corn it was late in June before they got it in & when I arrived on the 25 of July I didnot believe we should get anything but stawks but the soil is so strong that we had 7 or 8 hundred bushels & the greater part good ripe corn

The country here is very different from your land you can make your fields here as large as you pleas & it lays most beautifull the land lies rooling on the prary but along on the river it is somewhat hilly there is plenty of timber on the streams & in the ravines & some pretty heavey but not of as good a quality as in our western states but there is plenty of lime stone & coal & the climate is a little more mild than in your state since the 20th of December we have had good steady winter weather with about 6 inches of snow & when the wind blowes it is piercing cold but the weather now looks fine & we anticipate an early spring you must not expect me to tell you how wheat & many other things do here for you must recolect that last year this time there was not an acre broke in all this vast land and all that has been done is since last April there has been nearly corn enough raised to s[u]pply the wants of the settlers potatoes squashes mellons and every thing we put in the ground turned out well the sod could not be disturbed after it was laid over & every thing had to do the best it could after planting with out stiring the ground. this year we will have a better chance on ground that was broken as for hay you could get any quantity of it you pleased & I think as good for stock or horses as our best timothy

I never saw or tasted better beef any where which you could get a plenty of at from 5 to 7 cents per lb. sheep we have very few of as yet hogs plenty & you can b[u]y fresh pork at 7 cents now flour is 6 dollars per hundred corn meal 12.50, corn 75 cents p[er] bushel potatoes, 1 dollar Beans 3 dols per bush[e]l sugar 12½ c per lb molases 75c per gallon dry goods & groceries in proportion but enough of them

Lawrence is quite a place in one years groweth containing 7 or 8 stoers about 50 houses 3 saw mills & a bout 1000 inhabitants the country is setting fast yet there is good chances yet & a young man with from 500 to 1000 thousand dollars can make himself indipendant in a short time wages is good for any kind of mechanick or labour & a single man without any money but willing to work could do well here I think the climate is healthy the land lies high & rooling & the watter is good we are very well satisfied not withstanding all the political troubles you hear of in the public prints you must not believe one half to be true there has been but 3 men Killed since we have been here one in a fight & 2 mured but there has been great ex[c]litement but the free state men is by far the most numerous & cannot finally help prevailing

The 3 oldest boy's have each a claim besides my s[e]lf the town lines are run in this part & the section lines will be run early in the spring & then we shall know how our farms lie & hope to go on with our improvements in better order a great many will build concrete or stone houses as we have the material for doing so in abundance there has been two lime Kilns burnt on my place very good I am 8 miles west of Lawrence & 2 miles East of Lecompton which is at present the capital of the Territory & when you write direct to Lecompton K. T. I should like to hear from you as soon as possible our post office has been managed so bad we have had no news for a long time but it now [is] getting on a better footing . . .

I think Kansas is a very good country for farming & easey to start in on small means if a man is able to get a good breaking up teme[team] which is 3 yoak of good cattle worth here 80 dollars per yoak it costs nothing to keep them for the grass is plenty & of so good quality as to need no grain for cattle will work every day & keep fat he has the main point & can do well breaking up for those that has no team it is worth from 3 to 4 dollars per acre & you can break $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres per day you can settle on a quarter section & when the lines is run enter it for preemption & you have one year allowed after it is advertised for sale by government to pay for it in which may not come around until you can raise enough to make up the sum which is 1.25, per acre & you will bear in mind that after the first breaking up you have an old farm with new soil for it ploughs as easey as an ash heap the soil is a black rich mould a mixture of clay sand & dead vegetable matter & just as rich as a garden

I might tell you it is cheapest for a man to get his family here by having good teams & waggons it will not cost more than half as much as to come by rail road & steamboat but then he must not put up at taverns but sleep in his waggons or tents the journey is far from being fatigueing we found it quite pleasant & was as fresh when we arrived as when we started I furnished myself with a pocket map of the states I wanted to cross & then enquired the best road from point to point & found no difficul[t]y whatever in getting along we crossed 4 states & traveld about 1000 miles, but I must draw to a close write me soon for I want to hear from father & all of you.

I remain yours truly

JOSEPH OAKLEY

WHEN FORT RILEY HAD AN INDIAN SCARE

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, August 13, 1857.

LAWRENCE, AUGUST 8, 1857.

Official evidence has reached Governor Walker, through the commanding officer at Fort Riley, that the Cheyenne Indians, *in force*, have reached that station, where there is no fortification, and only half a company of infantry. The commanding officer at the Fort asks for immediate assistance, "*an attack being hourly expected*," and the garrison filled with wives and children of absent officers and men. The official report represents that "the Indians had driven in all the settlers and committed several murders in sight of the post."

Under these circumstances, Governor Walker has sent Colonel Cooke with the whole force under his command, to the point of danger. Colonel Cooke started with the advance at 8 A. M., to-day, and by forced marches hopes to reach Fort Riley to-morrow evening, accompanied by the Governor. The rest of the troops follow immediately, and will proceed with all possible expedition. It seems to be wisely ordered by Providence that the troops who are now here so much nearer Fort Riley, should thus be enabled to reach that point in so brief a period, to give speedy protection to the garrison and settlers, and, it is hoped, inflict summary chastisement upon this hostile and war-like tribe.

Gov. R. J. Walker reported to the Secretary of State, August 18, 1857 (*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 5, pp. 372-374), that Lt. Col. P. St. George Cooke, who was in camp near Lawrence, started for Fort Riley within half an hour after the information reached him, "and arrived at the fort in about 28 hours, including the delay in crossing the Kansas river." This, the governor said, "was a march rarely equaled, with so large a body of troops, in the history of military movements."

On arrival at Fort Riley Governor Walker and Colonel Cooke found nearby settlers and friendly Pottawatomie and Delaware Indians gathered for its defense, but the danger proved to be greatly exaggerated. The Cheyennes had indeed been operating farther west, but they were too distant, and their position too uncertain, for Cooke's troops to follow them.

POLISHING OFF OLD BRASS

From the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, February 1, 1866.

A Chastising affair, says the Union came off in town Thursday night.—Mr. Dexter, the popular and gentlemanly Agent of the Kansas Stage Company in this place, came across his former commanding officer in the army, and gave him a severe beating. As the story goes, for the purpose of some personal advantage to himself the Captain took underhanded means to get Dexter

discharged, whereby he was likely to get himself into a bad scrape; to avoid which he ordered out a detachment to shoot Dexter, on some pretext. The detachment all fired in the air except two, one of whom put a ball into him. The matter had a legal investigation afterwards, when the Captain was "broke" and sentenced to two years imprisonment. He turned up here the other day, and the first time Dexter saw him he "went for him."

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE UNFAVORABLE PRESS ENCOUNTERED
BY THE EARLY EXPONENTS OF SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

From the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, September 12, 1867.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE—Last Friday night a large and respectable audience, (Col. Lawrence was large and Ritchie respectable), assembled to hear the two famous advocates of Female Suffrage—Mrs. Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony—Col. Ritchie after consultation with Lawrence and after ascertaining by anxious inquiries that Gov. Crawford was not present, nominated his Excellency for chairman of the meeting. After waiting three seconds for the absent Governor to show that he was present, Col. Lawrence as if by accident discovered that Col. Ritchie was present, and moved that *he* take the chair, which he did. The thing had been "cut" so long that it smelt fishy. Gen. Ritchie upon taking the stand thundered out in a tragic voice, and without giving the audience time to prepare for it, "we're in arnest:" which, so great was the levity and irreverence of the crowd, instead of terrifying them elicited very audible snickers. After the General had delivered himself he introduced Mrs. Stanton to the audience.

She is a buxom, gray haired matron of about fifty. It is not our intention to attempt to give an outline of her speech. It is sufficient to say that it was elegant and eloquent—everything but convincing. Her premises were generally correct but her conclusions we think, were illogical. She had posted herself on the Constitution and laws of Kansas so that her allusions to them, unlike our school girl stumpers, were correct. The great charm of Mrs. Stanton is her manner of speaking. While listening to her one feels, no matter what his feelings on the topic discussed may be, that he is listening to a pure hearted matronly woman; one who understands and conscientiously preforms the duties of wife, and mother. We would that some of the other female speakers now stumping the State, were more like her.

Miss Anthony was the next speaker. In view of the fact that Miss A. is a maiden lady, Col. Ritchie's introduction of her as a "time honored" lady, was, to say the least, unkind. Miss A. seemed only desirous to sell some pamphlet speeches of Parker Pillsbury and other ancient ladies, at the small price of twenty-five cents each. As preliminary thereto, however, she entered into a discursory argument of the right of suffrage for females. She insisted that as men and women were of the same physical formation, (with a slight variation), their political rights were the same. Do we not, said she, suffer as much from hunger, cold, &c? "In the language of shylock, if you prick us do we not bleed?" That depends very much on circumstances we think, but whether true or false, it is certainly a very poor argument in favor of suffrage, for the same can be said of all living things. Miss A. assured the audience that Pomeroy *was* and Ross

and Clarke would *soon be* squarely committed in favor of Female Suffrage. Now we venture this prediction, and are willing to bet an old hat on its correctness, that both Clarke and Ross oppose the "pernicious doctrine," and that Pomeroy's business affairs will be so pressing until the election, that he will neither write a letter nor make a speech in favor of *female* suffrage in Kansas. We had almost forgotten to mention that Miss A. had a hat passed around for lone postals, but with such poor success that she must have felt, as did the old minister under similar circumstances, thankful that she ever got the hat back from such an audience.

ED HOWE ON SARAH BERNHARDT

From *The Globe*, Atchison, March 2, 1881.

At exactly 8:31 last night, Sara Bernhardt made her appearance on the stage of Tootle's Opera House [St. Joseph, Mo.], walking down the centre as though she had but one joint in her body, and no knees. Her first action was to shake hands with the stage company with arms as long and wiry as the tendrils of a devil fish, which wound around them occasionally with the soft grace of a serpent. Perhaps the first thing remarked of her by the average auditor is that she is almost red-headed, and that she wears her hair in light Dutch braids. The second, that she is distressingly ugly, and that her smile is painful, because it displays a big mouth and a prominent row of butter teeth. Her nose is of the pattern referred to as a "hook," and of her figure it is enough to say that it could not possibly be worse. In her ambition to stand straight and erect, she bends backward, but regains perpendicular at the neck and head again. Her dress was of white and costly stuff, and cut so low in front that we expected every moment that she would step one of her legs through it. She talks fast, and takes tremendous strides across the stage. Her arms were encased in white kid to within an inch of her shoulders, and whenever she pointed the villain or other disagreeable person to the door, and said, "Go!!" we saw that the color of the hair under her arms was sandy. This was our first impression of Bernhardt, and the second was that a lady so ugly and ill-shapen should not, in justice to her sex, challenge the criticism and opera glasses of the public.

The smile of which we have heard so much must have distressed every one in the audience, because at no other time was she so hideously ugly. Her mouth is in a continual state of pucker, and it would be impossible for such a face to smile sweetly, or to pleasantly convey an impression of joy.

We waited patiently for the embrace for which she is said to be the champion of two countries. It came in the third act, and Armand was the recipient. He parted with her, and started to go out, but she followed, and finally embraced him by shambling up, breaking in two at the middle, and throwing her tendrils around him. It was neither graceful or natural, and only original in its awkwardness. In these scenes the middle part of her body strikes the recipient first—her arms swing wildly a moment, and then twine two or three times around the person she loves. This is the Bernhardt embrace as we saw it through an opera glass.

The Bernhardt kiss is little better. Perhaps "Camille" does not afford opportunity for this sort of acting, but there are millions of women who can

kiss a man more naturally and acceptably than Sarah Bernhardt. She has no new ideas on the subject, unless kissing on the ear is new.

The only thing Bernhardt does extraordinarily well is to put her arms around a man, and look into his eyes. If her face could be hidden at these moments, she would be sublime.

With reference to "Camille" in French, it is about as interesting to an American as five acts of a Chinese drama running three months.

The opinion will no doubt be laughed at, but we regard Mary Anderson as a better actress than Sarah Bernhardt. The circumstance is in her favor, to begin with, that she is young, pretty and innocent, while Bernhardt is old, ugly and evidently a thoroughbred, who impresses one as being cross and disagreeable off the stage. If Bernhardt was to appear in Atchison to-night, in other words, we would not come down town, but we would go to St. Joe to see Mary Anderson. If this is poor taste, we have a great deal of good company.

At midnight a reception to Governor Crittenden [of Missouri] began in the parlors of the Pacific House. Bernhardt consented to come down and watch the mob if nobody spoke to her. She stood around for an hour, and all St. Joe walked in front of her, stared her in the face, jostled her, eyed her dresses through glasses, and had a good time. At one o'clock she retired, and at nine this morning her maid shook the sheets to find her, as the time had arrived to depart for Leavenworth. . . .

There can be no doubt that she occasionally displays wonderful power in emotional parts, but she is not well balanced in a part requiring her to appear gay and thoughtless in the first two acts, and rebellious and grief-stricken in the last three. Could a play be written introducing her as parting with a lover in one act, contemplating suicide in a second, and dying in a third those persons who go to theatres to cry softly behind their fans would be divinely pleased. Her parting from Armand in the third act was the finest piece of emotional acting we have ever seen, but her dancing in the first act was the worst.

Bernhardt, (whose name is Sarah, by the way, and not Sara,) is an elegant dresser, and continually sparkles with diamonds. No less than half a dozen elegant cloaks and wraps were brought in at different times with no other object than that the ladies in the audience might covet them. All of her dresses have trails as long as the Kansas liquor law.

Her support consisted of three fat women, her rather pretty sister, four or five brigandish looking men of a doleful turn of mind, and a funny man who looked exactly like Doc. Kistler, of Atchison.

After the play, while smoking a cigar in the Pacific House office, the writer had the pleasure of meeting Bernhardt face to face as she came up the steps from the street, on her way to her room. She was a mass of furs and wraps, and looked neither to the right or the left. We were informed by the hotel loafers that she never leaves her room, and sees no one, her meals being sent to her. On Monday evening she missed an article of jewelry, and suspicing her maid of taking it, accused her of it in wild and boisterous language in the dining room, which was full of guests. This was all the hotel gossip obtainable.

In justice to Bernhardt, we cheerfully make the statement that a large proportion of the Atchison delegation were pleased with her, and there was a

great deal of genuine enthusiasm manifested throughout, particularly at the recall after the last act.

Tickets were sold to any part of the house in several instances at seventy-five cents, as the greedy speculators were compelled to unload. Mr. Tootle probably made a little money on the speculation, but not much.

From *The Globe*, March 3, 1881.

The big papers have published the biography of Sara Bernhardt four times—(1) when she contemplated coming to America; (2) when she landed in America; (3) when she played in New York; (4) when she played in the West. The people by this time ought to be pretty familiar with the fact that Bernhardt is a Jewess; that at an early age she went to a convent to be educated, but was so full of mischief that she could not be managed; she finally turned her attention to the drama; in that she became a grand success; that she caused crowned heads to bow at her feet. The rest is well known. She came to America and conquered by virtue of high art, some contend, but really by virtue of her reputation in Europe. The readers of Western newspapers will hear little more of Bernhardt from and after her departure for the East. She will soon sink out of sight, as far as we of the West are concerned, and then we will impatiently await the arrival of another foreign humbug.

Our criticism of Bernhardt is generally admired. One gentleman writes: "The man who wrote it should quit writing and seek employment in a livery stable."

It is probable that Moody, the evangelist, will play in Kansas City this spring. With the exception of Bernhardt, Kansas City has secured every attraction now before the people.

During the trip from Atchison to Leavenworth yesterday, Bernhardt amused herself by playing a French game of cards for money, and won two hundred dollars from two of the business staff.

One of the slender women of Atchison who saw Bernhardt lately, says: "Hasn't she a lovely figure!" One of the fat women of Atchison says her "figure" could not possibly be worse. There is an equal difference of opinion on all other subjects.

One of the detectives employed to travel with the Bernhardt party told a reporter yesterday that his instructions were to keep always near her—in the theatre, on the street, in the hotel; everywhere. A strange Frenchman follows them, and seems infatuated with the actress, who screams at sight of him. It is the belief in the company that the strange man is the miserable scoundrel who once denied his marriage with Bernhardt.

H. C. Danforth, of the Kansas City opera house, had a fight in the Leavenworth theatre last night with Mr. Meyer, the manager of Sara Bernhardt. Meyer was hit across the face with a cane, and his nose broken. Danforth received only a slight scratch on the forehead.

From *The Globe*, March 4, 1881.

Young Muirhead, of Leavenworth, saw the first two acts of "Camille," and

then went out after his club. It was unfortunately in use in another part of the city, an assistant having gone to the depot to wait for Governor St. John, else most of Bernhardt's audience would have been crippled.

From *The Globe*, March 5, 1881.

We mention Bernhardt just once more. A Leavenworth physician who was called to see her flatly told her manager that if she fulfilled her engagement with him, she would die, as her health is terrible. She has an affliction called gastritis.

A citizen called this morning to say that his wife objected to our late reference to Bernhardt, because it had an "inference." We begged of him to tell what the inference was, and he at last explained it as his wife had explained it to him. We then assured him, as we now assure the public, that we had never before thought of it, and no such "inference" was intended. A great many of our exchanges have published the same paragraph, but so far we have seen none which have regarded it as necessary to apologize for quoting the *GLOBE*. People often do us great injustice in matters of this kind. Our position is such that we never have time to think twice. A piece of white paper is no sooner covered by the editor's writing than it is taken by the printer, and when the proof comes it is too late to change it, as the press must be started at a certain hour every afternoon. Our expressions are often blunt and homely, but we never intentionally offend modesty. We do not make this statement because these objectionable paragraphs are not well received, for the people will liberally support a much worse paper than has ever been printed in Atchison, and the surest way to sell large numbers of papers is to write recklessly, and without regard to the proprieties. But we do not care to become famous in this way, and will in the future be more careful, even though it reduces our income.

From *The Globe*, March 7, 1881.

The Boston girls have evidently adopted the Bernhardt smile. A news item states that three of them were sliding down hill the other day when they saw a sleigh and team in front of them, and a collision seemed imminent. Fortunately one of the young ladies had the presence of mind to smile, and the team at once ran away, thus probably avoiding a loss of life.

ROUNDUP TIME ON THE PLAINS

From *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, April 21, 1885.

GATHER ROUND THE MESS WAGON.—This is the season of the year when the cowman in the far west is perhaps most largely interested in his cattle running at large on the plains. Most of the owners of herds reside a long distance from their grazing grounds, which they visit but once a year, generally during the spring or summer months, at which time they will familiarize themselves with the general status of their range stock, as to loss sustained the preceding winter, the condition of stock, tally up the calf brand for the year, and arrange for the shipment of beef cattle from the range during the shipping season,

which usually opens up about August 1st and continues up to the time when cold weather sets in and shuts off the gathering on range and the driving of beef cattle to the nearest shipping point.

But the busiest season of the year with stockmen, as before stated, is the spring roundup. Everybody that has any interest in range stock is on hand at this time, either in person or by a representative. As soon as grass is sufficiently abundant to insure good grazing for stock, the work of rounding up and cutting out of cattle is begun. The work is usually divided up into districts, covering a large scope of country, which is under the charge of a round-up captain, who directs the work in hand, all stock embraced in his district comes under his immediate jurisdiction. His orders are strictly obeyed.

Every stockman that is at all likely to have stray cattle in this scope of country will have a force of men and horses present to assist in the general work, proportionate to the number of cattle he may expect to find in that particular locality. If he is a local ranchman within the district named, his force is usually very large. If on the other hand he simply expects to find a few stray head of cattle, his number of men and horses employed are correspondingly small. The number of horses employed in a general round-up is on an average of eight horses to the man, which of itself makes quite a herd of stock to be cared for where a hundred or more men are employed, which is usually the case in most of the round-up parties. This stock is kept under close herd near the camp or mess wagons, which generally forms the base of operations.

The following is M. S. Culver's version of a round-up, who ought to know, as he has been there on several occasions:

First, general meeting of the hands, captain of the round-up will take charge early in the morning, with mounted men will commence work, by first dividing his men up in different squads and start them out in a circular direction with orders to drive all cattle to a certain place and there stop the cattle. Then will give orders for a certain number of men who know brands best to go in the round-up and cut out such cattle as are wanted by the parties present, first cutting out the cows with calves by their side on account of not separating the cow and calf by running in and through the herd while cutting out the steers and dry stock, then cut out all the steer cattle and dry stock wanted by the parties present, and such as they want to drive for their neighbors.

After the cattle are all cut out the herd that was cut from will be turned back towards where they were driven from when rounded up to cut from, and enough men to drive the cattle that are cut out will take charge of what is commonly called the cut, and drive them on towards where the next round-up will be made the same as the first one was made. The day's work is put in in this manner, and in all cases quit rounding up in time for the men to regulate their horses for the night. Some hobble their horses, others will turn loose, others will herd their horses as they do the cattle.

The men in charge of the cattle on hand have their foreman, and he will give orders where he wants the cattle bedded for the night, and how many men he wants to herd at a time. You will bear in mind that at this stage of the general round-up there is a surplus of hands for the rounding in of the cattle, and as the number of cattle increases that are cut out and turned over

to the foreman of the herd he will draw on the captain of the round-up for more men to help handle the cattle in his charge, and they move on in this manner through the country up and down the different streams of water where cattle can be found until the entire country is worked over, and if the herd gathered gets too large to handle to an advantage it will be sent to some renter place by a sufficient number of men to be held until the balance of the hands will go around through the country and gather cattle and drive in to where they are then. Probably the captain will determine to send that herd in and distribute it on the different ranches where they belong and return to some set place by the captain to meet the round-up again. Now each ranch has a fixed number of hands and horses, about ten head of horses to the man, and each ranch has a foreman for his hands, who has control of his own hands, and he is subject to the orders of the captain of the round-up.

Sometimes the general round-up is divided in two or more divisions, and each division has a captain. The spring round-up generally commences in April and comes to a close in July. There is generally about 150 men on the spring round-up. Then again the fall round-up for beef to ship commences in August and will continue until Nov. In the fall or beef round-up there are not so many men used as in the spring round-up. 150 men with ten head of horses to the man will give you about 1,500 cow horses on the round-up. The most of the ranchmen have a reserve at their ranches from 20 to 30 head of horses for late and special work in the fall of the year.

A "MR. DOOLEY" WRITES ON KANSAS FISHING MATTERS

The following letter, written in the humorous and satiric style of "Mr. Dooley," the mythical Irishman of fifty years ago created by the writer Finley Peter Dunne, was received by Gov. George H. Hodges from his friend and business associate, D. R. Hale of Edgerton, in 1914. The letter is in the correspondence file of the executive department in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

EDGERTON, KANSAS Mch. 9, 1914

My Dear Guvinor;—

I know ye're a buisny man but I hope Ye'll give me neough iv ye're toime t' file a mild phrotist agin some iv ye're proposed ligislachun. Whin ye took up th' reins iv govermint there was a law on th' Stachoo Books rayquirin' ivery wan who wanted t' go huntin' t' get a license. Ivery year since we've wint b'fore th' County Clerk, give him our age, heighth, precise fightin' weight an' a "Plunk" an' he'd give us permission t' hunt annywhere in th' State ixcept on Farms, City Property an' Public Highways. Th' Dimmycrats thin came into power an' xtinded our lib'rties. They gave us permission t' shoot anny kind of game exciept bur-rds with fithers an' animals with fur. Th' poor Bunnies were onproticted. We rayspicted th' party an' th' law, laid away our arms an' amnition, sacrificed th' friendship iv our neighbors, frinds, relatives an' our own household an' bought a Kennel iv Runin' Dogs an' th' sport wint on.

But our pleasure was t' be short lived. Th' great Edycationl Instichoons

must b' maintained. Th' little onforchnit childrin that ar-re rayquired b' law t' attind school must be edycated. Again th' Dimmycratic ligislachure came t' the rescoc b' puttin' a tax on Dogs. We protisted but it did no good an' we've made peace with th' Dog Tax collector an' feel that th' our Schools ar-re well supported.

But ye propose t' give us further lib'rties. By payin' a fee ye intind to give us permission t' fish annywhere excipt in th' Streams, Lakes an' Ponds iv th' State an' here's where we're goin' t' b' agin th' Parthy an' th' Govermint. Whiniver ye pass a law that th' "Barefoot Boy with his cheek iv Tan", such as ye was whin ye herded th' Town Cows out on th' Cedar Creek Hills, has t' pay a license t' th' State t' tie a sthring and a Pin Hook t' a Hickory pole an' go t' th' creek fishin', thin we're goin' t' be' agin ye if ye sign it. Th' Profissor Double L Dyche may need money but I've got me first wan t' see yit who dont. There was Fish in BULL Creek before he was born an' will b' afther he's gone an' th' City iv Pratt wiped off th' map. If there's no other way t' maintain th' fish incubator, let's leave it perish. 'Tis th' sintimint iv manny iv ye're friends.

Yours Trooly.

"Dooley"

/s/ D. R. HALE

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," has continued to appear in *The High Plains Journal*, Dodge City. Among subjects discussed in recent issues were: Ravanna, Finney county; the holy man of the trails, Jedediah Strong Smith, and the passing of the rural schools.

"Neosho Valley Facts and Legends," a historical series by Audrey Z. McGrew, has continued to be published regularly in the *Humboldt Union*.

"The Legacy of Populism in the Western Middle West," by John D. Hicks, an article "primarily concerned with the contributions that nineteenth-century agrarians made to the later radicalism of what is sometimes called the western Middle West . . .," was published in *Agricultural History*, Baltimore, October, 1949.

A debate on "Wyatt Earp—Frontier Peace Officer," with William D. McVey extolling the merits of Earp and R. N. Mullin taking the opposite view, was published in *The Westerners Brand Book*, Chicago, November, 1949.

Several articles of historical nature have been published in the *Oakley Graphic* in recent months. On November 4, 1949, notes on a number of historical items appeared under the title, "Have You Looked at Kansas, Lately," "Christmas in a Sod Mansion," by Myrtle Emms Sim, and "Only Grazing Land," by Mrs. Floy Finley Smith, were printed December 2. "Memories of Oakley Pioneer Days," by Clarence Mershon, and the history of the Oakley Masonic lodge appeared December 9. On January 13, 1950, "Pioneer Graves," by Mrs. E. S. Holmberg was printed.

Brief biographical sketches of Samuel D. Lecompte, for whom Lecompton was named, John S. Halderman and Dr. Charles R. Jenison, early residents of Leavenworth and Civil War leaders, appeared in Harry Seckler's column, "Early Leavenworth," in the *Leavenworth Times*, November 27, 1949. Other prominent men were briefly sketched in the issue of February 26, 1950.

A history of Centralia, prepared by Mrs. Maude Armstrong and H. L. Wait, was printed in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, December 4, 1949. The town was organized in 1859 and several buildings erected,

but about ten years later it was moved to a site on the railroad. The *Globe*, December 25, published a history of St. Nicholas, dead Atchison county town, by George Remsburg. St. Nicholas was marked out and the plat was filed in 1858.

Many of the early residents of Jackson county were mentioned by Dr. J. C. Shaw in "Early Memories of Jackson County," printed in two installments in the *Holton Recorder*, December 8, 12, 1949. The Shaw family arrived in Kansas in February, 1878, and settled on a farm near Larkin, now Larkenburg. Also mentioned in Dr. Shaw's reminiscences were Campbell College and early schools and churches.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Territorial Governors of Kansas Had Varied Careers in Many Other Fields," by J. M. Dow, December 9, 1949; "History and Sentiment Behind the Name of Marais Des Cygnes River in Kansas," by Mary M. Hobbs, December 10; "Kansas Authorship Proved for 'Home on the Range,'" by Cecil Howes and John Alexander, December 11; "Rattling Through Ozarks, Stagecoaches Carried the First Overland Mail West," by Raymond W. Derr, December 16; "Senate Friend [Charles Sumner] of Free Kansas, Far From Border War, Suffered Disabling Wounds," by J. M. Dow, January 26, 1950; "Nicknames Tell Much of the Story of Kansas From Rough Territorial Days," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, January 28; "'Papa' Preyer's Long Career at K. U. as Teacher and Musician Memorialized," a review of Dr. Howard F. Gloyne's book, *Carl A. Preyer, the Story of a Kansas Musician*, by Clyde B. Neibarger, February 22; "Indians Have Left Their Marks on Kansas in Unusual and Musical Names of Towns," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, February 23, and "Singing of Kansan [Dixie Morrow, Lecompton] Dispelled Tension of Washington on a March Night of '61," by L. S. Munsell, March 4. Articles appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Buffalo Provided Livelihood as Well as Sport for Indian and Early Settler," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, January 3, 1950; "Names of Kansas Rivers Reflect Some of the History Made on Their Banks," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, January 17; "'Victor [Murdock] and Henry [J. Allen] and Me [Willim Allen White]' Make History in the Politics and Literature of Kansas," by Cecil Howes, January 21; "Kansas Day, Started in 1892, Has Grown With the Years," by Cecil Howes, January 27, and "Kansas Churches Appraised for Their Contribution to State's

Architecture," by Lowell Bradner, February 4. A history of Kansas City, Mo., entitled "City of the Future—A Centennial History of Kansas City," by Henry C. Haskell, Jr., and Richard B. Fowler, has been appearing in the *Star* each Sunday, beginning January 1, 1950.

The Atchison *Daily Globe*, December 11, 1949, printed a brief historical sketch of the site of Doniphan. Several centuries ago a large Indian village occupied the site, and just prior to the Civil War a frontier town sprang up at that location. The village now has about 50 inhabitants.

A biographical sketch of the William Cottam family by Louis Cottam appeared in the Clyde *Republican*, December 15, 1949. The Cottams homesteaded near Clyde in 1872.

The Parsons *Sun*, December 17, 1949, printed a brief story of the infamous Bender family. The four Benders lived on a farm in Labette county in the early 1870's. After they left the farm, eight bodies were discovered buried near the house—murder victims of the family. Several pictures of the murder scene and weapons accompanied the article. The Pittsburg *Headlight* and *Sun* reprinted the story December 24, 1949. The *Headlight*, December 30, published an article by Harold O. Taylor stating that Lee T. Robison had stopped at the Bender home and had been treated with hospitality.

The early history of Lakin as recalled by Mrs. Lenora Boylan Tate, the town's oldest resident, was published in the Garden City *Telegram*, December 19, 1949. Mrs. Tate's father, A. B. Boylan, first station agent at Lakin for the Santa Fe railroad, brought his family to Lakin in 1874.

A short article by James A. Clay on the first city election and the first police court case in Douglass appeared in the Douglass *Tribune*, December 22, 1949. According to Mr. Clay, the election was held in December, 1879, and the police court case involved a disappointed office seeker.

The reminiscences of Mrs. L. H. Turner, written by Duana Boswell, were published in the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, December 24, 1949. Mrs. Turner arrived in Arkansas City with her father's family in November, 1870. The family settled on a claim about four miles north of town.

"History of Aurora Settlement Demonstrates Pioneer Courage," is the title of an article by Dorethea Smith in the *Salina Journal*, December 25, 1949. The first settlers, a group of French-Canadians, reached the vicinity of Aurora in 1870. However, the town was not established until several years later.

"An Airline Pilot Rides the Wagon Trail," in *Popular Mechanics Magazine*, Chicago, January, 1950, was written by Heath Proctor who sighted the Santa Fe trail from the window of his DC-6 and later explored it by jeep.

The January, 1950, issue of *To the Stars*, published by the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, commemorated the 89 years of progress of Kansas as a state. Some of the phases of Kansas life and history discussed were: Kansas day 1861 and 1950, minerals, farming, education, livestock, government and industry.

A brief article recalling Lane county events and people of 50 years ago appeared in the *Dighton Herald*, January 4, 1950.

A three-installment history of Pennsylvania Avenue, Brown county, by D. W. Spangler, was published in the *Hiawatha Daily World*, January 7, 10, 11, 1950. Pennsylvania Avenue was an 8-mile stretch of road near Morrill along which so many people from Pennsylvania settled in the 1870's and 1880's that it became known by that name.

A letter written by J. M. Elkins which stated that the Chisholm trail was blazed when Black Beaver, a Delaware Indian, led Colonel Emory's command of Union troops to Kansas at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, was printed in the *Caldwell Messenger*, January 9, 1950.

A history of Wilson county, by Charles W. Lafferty, being published in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, began January 10, 1950. The first white settler in Wilson county was John Ross who arrived in 1855. Other settlers had appeared by 1857, and Albert Hagan established a trading post in 1859.

A historical sketch of the Chesterman family as told to Lois Victor by Frank Chesterman appeared in the *Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, and the *Larned Chronoscope*, January 12, 1950. It was printed in the *Daily Tiller and Toiler*, January 13. Mr. Chesterman's father came to Pawnee county in 1875 and took a claim south of Larned. His mother, then Julia Ann Johnson, came to Kansas in 1878.

A five-column history of the Pottawatomie Indians was published in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, February 5, 1950. The Pottawatomies assembled on their 30-mile-square reservation near Topeka in 1846 and 1847. A treaty was made in 1867 under which the government sold a large portion of the reservation for \$1 an acre. In a lawsuit against the government, filed recently by Robert Stone, Topeka attorney, on behalf of the Pottawatomies, it is alleged that the land was worth \$11 an acre and that the Indians were victims of fraud and chicanery under the treaty. The tribe still occupies a part of the reservation in Jackson county. A three-volume work, prepared in connection with this suit, *Valuation Study of the Pottawatomie Reserve Lands*, by W. D. Davis, has been presented to the Historical Society by Mr. Stone.

Articles on Fort Hays by Raymond L. Welty printed recently in the Hays *Daily News* included: "Feed for Horses Was Vital Problem at Old Ft. Hays," February 5, 1950; "Boredom Was Big Enemy of Soldiers at Old Ft. Hays," February 19, and "Privates Looked Forward to \$16 a Month at Ft. Hays," February 26. A short article in the *News*, February 10, recalled that in 1869 the worst prairie fire ever known in the state swept across a large portion of western Kansas.

Some of the early experiences of the R. L. Hall family in Kansas were related by Clayton Hall, a son, in the Minneola *Record*, February 9, 16, 1950. R. L. Hall first came to Kansas, stopping in Sumner county, in 1881. In 1883 he brought his wife to Sumner county, and a year later they moved to Clark county.

The Winfield *Daily Courier*, February 27, 1950, published a 140-page, 1950 achievement edition. Included in the edition were articles on Winfield athletic teams, farming in Cowley county, Winfield organizations, Winfield colleges and schools, industries of Winfield and the neighboring communities of Douglass, Belle Plaine, Cedar Vale, Howard, Burden, Oxford, Cambridge, Grenola, Latham, Moline, Atlanta, Dexter, Udall and Rose Hill.

Kansas Historical Notes

"Kansans always make a name for themselves wherever they go," said Mrs. Dolly Curtis Gann, featured speaker at the annual dinner meeting of the Shawnee County Historical Society in Topeka, December 13, 1949. A resolution was adopted at the meeting paying tribute to the late George Root, and Sen. Arthur Capper spoke briefly in tribute to J. C. Mohler who retired recently as secretary of the board of agriculture. Slides showing various views and tracing the history of Topeka were shown. Directors elected for three-year terms were: Milton Tabor, Robert Stone, Paul Sweet, Robert Billard, Otis S. Allen, William A. Biby, Frank Gibbs, Frank Ripley, J. C. Mohler and Mrs. Alf Landon. Ethel A. Chapman was elected to fill the unexpired term of George Root. H. B. Fink, president of the society, presided.

The Doniphan County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Troy, December 30, 1949. C. C. Calnan was elected president, Mrs. Margaret L. Rice, secretary, and a constitution was adopted. At a meeting January 3, 1950, A. O. Delaney, Jr., was elected vice-president, and Dr. A. E. Cordonier, treasurer. A board of directors, composed of one or two persons from each township and each town of the county, was also chosen.

The Russell County Old Settlers' Association was revived and organized into the Russell County Historical Society at a meeting in Russell, January 11, 1950. Clarence Peck was re-elected for his 18th year as president. Other officers elected were: John G. Deines and Luther D. Landon, vice-presidents; Merlin Morphy, secretary, and A. J. Olson, treasurer. New directors are: Mrs. H. A. Opdycke, Dora H. Morrison and William H. Ochs.

The great drouth of 1860 in Kansas was discussed by F. W. Brinkerhoff at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, January 26, 1950. Dr. H. M. Grandle, Pittsburg, was re-elected president, and Ralph Shideler, Girard, was re-elected vice-president. Other officers chosen were: Mrs. J. W. Nixon, Pittsburg, secretary; Mrs. Mae Stroud, Pittsburg, corresponding secretary, and Eleanor Danner, treasurer. Mrs. C. M. Cooper, Edgar Richards, Mrs. M. F. Sears and Frank Clayton were named directors.

"The Darker Side of Pioneer Life," was the subject of a talk by Dr. John Ise, of the University of Kansas, at a dinner meeting of the Riley County Historical Association in Manhattan, January 27, 1950. Dr. George A. Filinger, president of the association, presided at the meeting.

All officers of the Osawatomie Historical Society were re-elected at the annual meeting February 2, 1950. They are: Alden O. Weber, president; Mrs. Pauline Gudger, vice-president, and Mrs. Ruby M. McIntosh, secretary-treasurer.

The annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas was held in Topeka, January 27, 1950. The principal speaker at the dinner meeting was W. M. Ostenberg, superintendent of schools at Coffeyville. Kathryn Johnson, Kansas Wesleyan College student, was given the Arthur Capper award in the college and university students' speech contest. Gladys E. McArdle, Lebanon, was named sweepstakes winner for the best adult factual story about pioneer Kansas, and Herb Lee, Bonner Springs, was the sweepstakes winner of the high school essay contest. Guy Jossierand, Dodge City, was elected president of the Native Sons. Other officers elected by the Native Sons were: Edwin R. Jones, Topeka, vice-president; C. W. Porterfield, Holton, secretary; and Maurice Fager, Topeka, treasurer. Officers elected by the Native Daughters were: Mrs. P. A. Pettit, Paola, president; Mrs. Thomas H. Norton, Topeka, vice-president; Mrs. Ray S. Pierson, Burlington, secretary, and Mrs. David McCreath, Lawrence, treasurer. William Ljungdahl, Menlo and Topeka, and Mrs. Ella Ruehmann, Wamego, were the retiring presidents.

F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg publisher, was the speaker at a meeting of the Wichita Historical Museum Association, February 9, 1950. Brinkerhoff recounted the career and downfall of Samuel C. Pomeroy, U. S. senator from Kansas from 1861 to 1873. Dr. G. G. Anderson, president of the association, presided at the meeting.

Dan Hopkins, Garden City attorney, was the speaker at the annual dinner meeting of the Finney County Historical Society, February 14, 1950. It was announced that the society hopes to publish the first volume of the Finney County history this year. Directors elected for two-year terms were: Harry G. Carl, Garfield township; John Wampler, Terry township; Clay Weldon, Pierceville township, and Mrs. P. A. Burtis, Mrs. Josephine Cowgill, A. J. Kefman, Mrs.

Eva B. Sharer, Helen M. Stowell and Mrs. Emma White, Garden City.

The Beeson Museum, Dodge City, is to have new and larger quarters in the near future. The museum, operated by Mr. and Mrs. Merritt L. Beeson and daughter, Irene, grew out of the private collection of the Beesons' and was opened to the public in 1932.

Records and Maps of the Old Santa Fe Trail, a 104-page book by Kenyon Riddle, was published recently in Raton, N. M. Mr. Riddle has been gathering information on the Santa Fe trail for several years and has endeavored to locate it accurately in relation to present-day towns and highways.



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THE COVER

"A Barber's Shop at Standing Rock, Dakota Territory—An Indian Chief Having His Hair Dressed," sketched by William A. Rogers in *Harper's Weekly*, New York, March 15, 1879. (See p. 229.)

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Pictorial Record of the Old West

XII. WILLIAM ALLEN ROGERS AND MARY HALLOCK FOOTE

ROBERT TAFT

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WILLIAM Allen Rogers joined the art staff of Harper & Brothers in 1877, at practically the same time as Charles Graham, and the two were associated for many years. In 1877, the head of the Harper's art department was that wise, farsighted and insistent taskmaster, Charles Parsons, about whom no less an authority than Joseph Pennell wrote, "his name will never be forgotten as one who helped greatly to develop American Art."¹

In 1877 all hands in the art department had a very active share in transferring original sketches, drawings or photographs to the wood block—more exactly wood blocks—preparatory to the making of the engraving from which a final illustration was to be printed. Edwin Austin Abbey, drew in the foreground figures, for example; Rogers the middle distance figures and background, and T. R. Davis the architectural features; all drawings being reversed, as compared

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, May and August, 1948, and in each issue since May, 1949. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. Joseph Pennell, *Modern Illustration* (London and New York, 1895), p. 114. So frail, however, are human memories that no adequate account of Parson's life and work has ever been made. His name isn't even listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. It is not surprising, of course, that art historians have overlooked Parsons for they are notoriously deficient in any labor involving the drudgery of genuine research.

Accounts of the art department of Harper's by various members of its staff when Parsons was in charge all refer to the esteem and affection in which Parsons was held; see the Rogers autobiography and Abbey biography cited in Footnote 2 and *Howard Pyle* (Charles D. Abbott, New York, 1925), pp. 50 and 77. J. Wesley Harper in *The House of Harper* (New York and London, 1912), pp. 204, 205, also pays real tribute to Parsons.

Parsons, born in England in 1821, was in the United States by 1851, as he is listed in the *Exhibition Records* of the National Academy of Design (to which he was elected an associate in 1862) as an exhibitor in the latter year with a New York address. According to Henry Mills Alden (*Harper's Weekly*, v. 54 [1910], November 19, p. 21), Parsons joined Harper's staff in 1861 and left it in 1889. After his retirement in 1889 and until his death in 1910 Parsons lived the life of a free-lance artist in oil and water color. His death occurred at his home in Brooklyn on November 9, 1910.—See death notice in the *New York Daily Tribune*, November 10, 1910, p. 7. I am indebted to the secretary of the National Academy of Design (New York) and to Charles Baker of the New York Historical Society for information concerning Parsons.

to the original drawings, from right to left. On a large illustration, to hurry the process along, the wood block was divided into as many as 36 pieces, and after the general outline had been drawn in on the undivided block, separation was made into the individual pieces and they were passed from one artist to another. Team work of a high order was necessary, especially at the edges where the blocks joined. When all 36 were complete they were bolted together in one piece and sent to the engravers, who cut away all but the lines of the drawing. The engraved wood block then went to the electrotpe room where a wax impression of the wood engraving was made. Finally, from the wax mold, the metal printing block carrying the reversed image of the original sketch or drawing, was electrotyped. A far cry from the high-speed optical processes of producing illustrations in the modern magazine! ²

With such extensive individual work needed in the preparation of illustrations, a large staff of artists was constantly employed by a publishing firm such as Harper's, and on their staff in the 1870's and 1880's there appeared many names notable in American art. In that goodly company besides those already mentioned were A. B. Frost, C. S. Reinhart, Howard Pyle, W. P. Snyder, Thomas Nast and others, all of whom were Rogers' associates in his early days at Harper's.

Rogers' claim to fame rests largely on his ability as a cartoonist. He was, in fact, the successor of Nast after Nast broke relations with Harper's in the 1880's. Relatively early in his career, however, Rogers made several Western trips, and the sketches and illustrations resulting from these trips give him a place in this series.

Rogers was born in Springfield, Ohio, in 1854. His father died at an early age leaving the family more books than money. The books fascinated young Rogers and he poured over them by the hour taking special delight in those that were illustrated. At 13 he went to work as a railroad check clerk, keeping a daily record of empty freight cars as they passed through the yards. Here he found Mike Burke, the fireman of the switch engine in the yards, and a friendship was soon struck up between the two. Mike, previous to his railroad days, had been employed as an artist to paint scrolls and small land-

2. For the preparation of the illustration of the 1870's and 1880's see W. A. Rogers' book, *A World Worth While* (New York, 1922), p. 13 *et seq.*, and for information on the subject contemporary to the period under discussion see *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, v. 75 (1887), July, pp. 181-187.

Rogers' book has recollections of many aspects of American illustration from 1874 until the early 1900's. It is to be emphasized that they are recollections, for in detail, the Rogers account does not tally exactly with the information given by an examination of contemporary periodicals to which Rogers refers. Still another account of the art department of Harper's in the 1870's is given in E. V. Lucas' *Edwin Austin Abbey* (London and New York, 1921), v. 1, Chs. 4 and 5.

scapes on the headboards of threshing machines, and it was not long after his friendship with Rogers was formed that he was instructing the youngster in this craft. These impromptu lessons with "red chalk" were all the art training that Rogers received, according to an account in his autobiography. His mother, however, an enthusiastic amateur painter, doubtlessly played an important part in directing his boyhood activities. Under the direction of his mother and Burke, he had made sufficient progress by the time he was 14 that he had published a series of cartoons in a Dayton, Ohio, newspaper, and when 16 his skill had developed sufficiently to secure professional employment in an engraving house in Cincinnati. From this time (1870) until he joined Harper's staff in 1877, he was employed as engraver or artist in several Western cities and toward the end of this period, he was in New York, where for a time he worked on the celebrated but short-lived *Daily Graphic*.³

Rogers' first important out-of-town assignment with Harper's came in the fall of 1878 when he was sent "to cover" the visit of President Hayes to the Minnesota State Fair at St. Paul and the Northwestern Fair in Minneapolis. While in St. Paul he made the acquaintance of a "grizzled old soldier" whom he does not name but who may well have been Gen. John Gibbon, commander of the Department of Dakota, who then had his headquarters in St. Paul.⁴

Gibbon, assuming that he was Rogers' new-found friend, suggested that a trip to the Northwest would reveal a land he had never seen and far different than any he had ever imagined. The trip would not only be valuable to Rogers, Gibbon argued, but its pictorial representation in *Harper's* would be valuable to the new country just opening for settlement. The "Northwest" of Gibbon's day was Dakota territory—present North and South Dakota.

The West had become so much a part of the national consciousness by this time—it was two years after Custer's defeat on the Little Big Horn—that the opportunity gave Rogers "visions of the wild life of the plains" that dazzled his imagination. He had no authorization from Harper's to make any such trip but the temptation became too great and he wired Harper's that he was going.

3. This biographical material will be found in Rogers, *op. cit.*, Chs. 1 and 4, and is supplemented with the Rogers sketch in *Who's Who in America*, v. 10, p. 2322, and a brief biographical sketch in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 38 (1894), December 22, pp. 1210, 1211.

4. *Report of the Secretary of War*, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, pt. 2, 45 Cong., 3 sess. (1878-1879), pp. 65-72. Rogers' illustrations of these fairs will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 22 (1878), September 28, p. 777, and October 5, p. 788. The group of illustrations included in the first reference contained a view of Dr. Carver, the celebrated rifle shot of the West, as he appeared at the Minnesota State Fair. Rogers also had a most interesting group of illustrations in *Harper's Weekly*, October 5, 1878, p. 789, depicting field trial of dogs (pointers and setters) near Sauk Centre, Minn., and held on September 10-12 of that year. The illustration is accompanied by a note from Rogers on p. 788.

Gibbon provided letters to commanders of military posts, to owners of stage routes and to post traders, and went over the map of the region with him in such detail and enthusiasm that Rogers did not wait for a reply to his wire. It came after he had left and said, "come back at once."⁵

The Northern Pacific railroad had advanced by 1878 as far as Bismarck, Dakota territory, and after a stop at Fargo on the Red river, the boundary between Minnesota and the territory, Rogers went on to Bismarck.⁶

Bismarck was then a frontier town, the outfitting point for overland stage and freighting lines going north and west, and particularly for the Black Hills country, to which there had been a mad rush after the discovery of gold three years earlier.

Rogers spent some time in Bismarck taking in the novel sights. He noted the freight trains of as many as ten prairie schooners coupled together and drawn by many yoke of oxen; Indians trading buffalo robes on the streets; and especially the frontier theatre. An acquaintance took him to the evening performance and Rogers described a number of the patrons:

A couple of men came in who seemed to be bosom-friends. One was small and light, the other a tall, burly fellow. The little man is under sentence of hanging, the other was the sheriff. Near by, on the other side, sat "Chang," a noted desperado, who has killed several men about here when he had nothing else to do. As the acting is not remarkably interesting, the audience furnish a part of their own amusement. One of the small lads of the town is pasting a notice of next week's opening of the regular season on the proprietor's back. When performers are scarce, the leading lawyer of the town performs on the trapeze. It is due to his influence that the condemned man has the liberty of the place.⁷

At Bismarck, Rogers was fortunate enough to secure passage on an army ambulance going to the Standing Rock Indian agency some 65 miles south and across the Bad Lands. The agency (Sioux) was located near the site of present Fort Yates, N. D., and Rogers spent three weeks here viewing the activities of the army post and those of the tribesmen. Some of his best Western illustrations resulted from this visit: "Shooting Cattle at Standing Rock Agency," "In-

5. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 51 (1907), January 5, pp. 21-23. The account given in the *Weekly* is reprinted in part in Rogers' book, pp. 66-69.

6. The first Northern Pacific locomotive crossed the Missouri river at Bismarck on February 12, 1879, and the rails were being laid on the first 100 miles west of Bismarck at that time—*Harper's Weekly*, v. 23 (1879), March 15, pp. 205 and 207.

7. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 22 (1878), December 14, p. 990. Rogers also described some of his experiences at Bismarck in his book, p. 69, in a letter he wrote to Parsons at the time. Illustrations of Bismarck appeared in the above issue of the *Weekly*, p. 988, and included: "Selling Buffalo Robes," "The Telegraph Repair Car," "The Opera House," "Bottled Groceries," and "Black Hills Freight Train."

dian Dance, Standing Rock Agency, After Distribution of Rations," "An Indian Village, Near Standing Rock" (a group of seven illustrations on one page), and best of all, "A Barber's Shop at Standing Rock, Dakota Territory—An Indian Chief Having His Hair Dressed," the dressing being done in the white man's barber shop (see cover of this issue).⁸

Rogers undoubtedly made many other sketches at this time which were never reproduced. The only original drawing of this period which I have located is in the Library of Congress. It is a portrait-wash and pencil drawing with the inscription "Kill-Eagle-Wam-ble Kte. Standing Rock. D. T. Oct. 78." It appears to be the same individual depicted in the barbershop illustration.

Rogers returned to Bismarck by stage and if the novelty of the new country was wearing off, his return trip was enlivened by the fact that the only other passenger was an insane man! After considerable difficulty, Rogers and the driver were able to deliver their charge to the railhead at Bismarck where he was being taken for treatment.

But Rogers' Western "leave" was not yet over. Returning by rail to Fargo, he attempted to obtain transportation down the Red river to Fort Garry (present Winnipeg, in the province of Manitoba). He spent some days in Fargo waiting for a river boat and during that time his pen was busy. "Fargo, Dakota-Head of Steamboat Navigation on the Red River" (reproduced *between* pp. 232, 233) published several years after his return, belonged to this period, and the particularly striking "Forest Fire on the Banks of the Red River," were among the results of his stay at this pioneer outpost, "the jumping off point for the Canadian Northwest."⁹

The northern flowing Red river had so little water in it that steamboats could not reach Fargo, and Rogers was forced to take a branch line railroad to Grand Forks where he was able to get passage on a small and dilapidated old craft which eventually made Winnipeg.

The experiences already accumulated by Rogers hadn't prepared him for his Canadian encounter. He was soon in a state of mind

8. In the order listed these appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 23 (1879), February 22, pp. 148, 149; April 19, p. 304; July 19, p. 564, and March 15, p. 205. One other illustration in this group, "Standing Rock, the Sacred Stone of the Sioux," in *Harper's* January 25, p. 73, is of interest only because it shows the "Standing Rock" for which the agency was named. Rogers gave some of the recollections of his visit at Fort Yates in his book, pp. 72-95.

9. The two illustrations will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 25 (1881), August 27, p. 588, and v. 22 (1878), December 7, p. 973. His experiences at Fargo, Rogers records in his book, pp. 96-101. Strictly speaking the last illustration above belongs on the down-river trip to Fort Garry.

like that of Alice in Wonderland. "From the nineteenth century I had dropped as from clouds, into the seventeenth or eighteenth," he wrote.¹⁰

For here at Fort Garry, or Winnipeg, was one of the great depots of the Hudson Bay Company. The turrets and towers of the fort looked down on a motley array of voyageurs, Indians and traders in strange and fantastic garb. In front of a store, in place of barrels of potatoes and cabbages, were heaped a great pile of moose heads with their huge and spreading antlers. Rogers was not long in recording the scenes before him. Much of this material was used in illustrating an article on "The Honorable Hudson Bay Company" in *Harper's Magazine*, although the most interesting of the group appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, "Traders at Fort Garry, Manitoba"¹¹ (reproduced between pp. 232, 233).

By this time winter was rapidly coming on, the telegram from Harper's "come back at once" had finally caught up with him, and Rogers decided that his three-months' vacation had come to an end. Return was made to Fargo by stage, river boat and branch rail, where the reality of Northern Pacific rail lines again assured him that he was back in civilization.

Upon arrival in New York, Rogers went immediately to Harper's where he was met by Parsons who greeted him in a most doleful manner. Fletcher Harper apparently had taken the "leave of absence" in none too kindly a manner. Parsons agreed, when Rogers walked in, to make a last plea for their wandering illustrator. In Parsons' absence, Rogers spread his three-months' accumulation of sketches around the office on tables, chairs and desks, and when Parsons returned with a still more melancholy look upon his face, Rogers' one-man exhibit was ready. Parsons paused on the threshold and his mouth dropped open. The melancholy air disappeared as if by magic as eager and interested examination of the sketches began. The day was saved for Rogers and his position on the Harper's staff was no longer open to question.¹²

The following fall, as the result of this Western trip, Harper's sent Rogers and A. A. Hayes, an illustrator and writer team, on a fully authorized Western excursion, a trip which took them to Colorado and New Mexico. Part of the time they traveled together and part of the time separately. Hayes wrote pleasantly and extensively of

10. Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

11. The *Harper's Magazine* illustrations, 14 in number, will be found in v. 59 (1879), June, pp. 18-32; the *Weekly* illustrations in v. 23 (1879), January 25, p. 73.

12. Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111; *Harper's Weekly*, v. 51 (1907), January 5, p. 23.

their joint trip and Rogers has left an account of some of his own experiences.¹³

The westward journey of the pair was made from Kansas City to Pueblo, Colo., over the newly-constructed Santa Fe railroad which had been completed over this distance only two years at the time of their trip. The railroad lines paralleled in part the old Santa Fe trail and the contrast of these two trails and the rapid development of southern Colorado were factors which caused Harper's to send out their representatives to "New Colorado." Then, too, the booming mining developments around Leadville were matters of public interest in the late 1870's, and before the two returned, Leadville and the mines were visited.

At Pueblo, Rogers ran into so real a Western difficulty that he bought himself a six-shooter for protection, with results that might have been tragic but which actually turned into a comedy of errors. The Denver and Rio Grande railroad that ran from Pueblo to Denver was the center of a struggle between rival factions of trainmen. Rogers was spied at the Rio Grande station by one of the groups who thought they had been ill-treated by the Denver papers. With his sketchbook under his arm, he was mistaken for a reporter on the offending paper. The irate trainmen immediately started for him with the yell: "Here's that damned reporter for the *Denver News*. Let's get him." His notebook was snatched from him as he made a hurried departure on the train; and this experience led him to buy the six-shooter upon his arrival in Colorado Springs, the shopkeeper obligingly loading the weapon for him.

Two days later he returned to Pueblo with the gun in his pocket and ready for any trouble. Sure enough the same gang was out and the man who had stolen his sketchbook recognized him. Rogers had some difficulty getting to his gun as he beat a hasty retreat across the tracks but was followed by only the one man. As he dodged around a freight car the gun was out, and Rogers undoubtedly felt as if he were making "Custer's Last Stand." His pursuer called "Don't shoot" and explained haltingly and brokenly that he

13. Rogers, *op. cit.*, Ch. 13; A. A. Hayes, Jr., *New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1880). Of the 15 chapters in this book, ten are reprinted from articles appearing originally in *Harper's Magazine* and are the chapters that contain Rogers' illustrations as they appeared in the *Magazine*. The *Magazine* articles appeared as follows: v. 59 (1879), November, pp. 877-895 (chapters 2 and 3 of Hayes' book); v. 60 (1880), January, pp. 193-210 (chapters 4 and 5); February, pp. 380-397 (chapters 6 and 7); March, pp. 542-557 (chapters 8 and 9); July, 1880, pp. 185-196 (chapters 10 and 11). (The last chapter contained several additional pages of text not in the *Magazine* version but contained the same Rogers illustrations.) Hayes was a popular writer of his day contributing frequently to both *Harper's Magazine* and *Harper's Weekly*. In addition to *New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail* he wrote a novel, *The Jesuits Ring*. His death was announced in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 36 (1892), April 30, p. 411.

had found out his error and was simply attempting to return the stolen sketchbook. Rogers shakily accepted the book, shuddering at the nearness of his escape from tragedy. The real comedy in the situation was delayed for several days when, on visiting a ranch, Rogers and several of his friends decided to have target practice. His six-shooter was brought out, aimed and the trigger pulled, but the report was only a dull click. The obliging shopkeeper in Colorado Springs had loaded his rim-fire gun with center-fire cartridges!¹⁴

In Hayes' entertaining account of the Colorado experiences of the two, he always referred to Rogers as the "Commodore," and not to be outdone in military titles, referred to himself as the "Colonel," although both admitted with some regret that they had no troops, no regiment, no staff.

From Pueblo, Hayes and Rogers set out, first on burro-back, but later and more thankfully in a buckboard, for a cattle ranch in the foothills of the Front range, a ranch belonging to one "Uncle" Pete Dotson. Here Hayes acquired statistics to show the profit that could be made in the cattle business—for the era of the huge cattle ranches of the early 1880's was based in part on reports such as Hayes made—and Rogers had his first opportunity to sketch cowboys and range cattle. The results are none too good, for Rogers was not adept at drawing animals and his horses and cattle are poorly proportioned in relation to background and are usually clumsy and awkward in appearance. In other life around the ranch, however, there are some quite acceptable illustrations. "Old Antonio," a Mexican foreman on the ranch is most interesting.¹⁵ In several of these and in succeeding illustrations, especially those that depict the activities of the two visitors, the latent talent of Rogers as a caricaturist becomes quite apparent. "Crossing the Huerfano," for example, shows the two clinging to a nearly submerged vehicle in the swollen river, Hayes in cutaway coat, top hat and eyeglasses, and Rogers with his sketchbook under his arm, arrayed in English tweeds and derby.

Somewhat later a sheep ranch on the plains near Colorado Springs was visited, and in the illustration "Supper with the Herder," Hayes and Rogers appear in these same costumes, with Rogers sporting a monocle in the one-room kitchen and living room of the shepherd. "Morning at the Ranch," however, is realism of a high order for it

14. Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-196.

15. The illustrations, 14 in number, will be found in *Harper's Magazine*, v. 59 (1879), November, pp. 877-895.



WILLIAM ALLEN ROGERS
(1854-1931)

Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Betty R. Buckley
of Washington, D. C.



MRS. MARY HALLOCK FOOTE
(1847-1938)

Photograph courtesy of Arthur B. Foote
of Grass Valley, Cal.



ROGERS' "TRADERS AT FORT GARRY, MANITOBA" (1879)

(Note: This illustration and the two that follow are from *Harper's Weekly*.)



ROGERS' 'FARGO, DAKOTA—HEAD OF STEAMBOAT NAVIGATION ON THE RED RIVER' (1881)



ROGERS' "HARVEST HANDS ON THEIR WAY TO THE WHEAT FIELDS OF THE NORTHWEST" (1890)

shows the dilapidated shack of the herder against the bleak and forsaken background of the High Plains.¹⁶

Their journey to the mines and mountains of Colorado took them first to the small town of Rosita, west of Pueblo, on the eastern side of the famed Sangre de Cristo range. Here with considerable misgiving they were lowered by means of a huge iron bucket 500 feet to the bottom of a bonanza silver mine.

After safely making the descent and the ascent from the mine, their path led by other small and curious mining towns. Then they turned north, where by train they eventually reached Red Hill, one end of the Leadville stage line. Here transportation was provided in the form of a spring wagon drawn by four mules which kept in advance of the heavier stage coaches. They went past Fairplay, even in 1879 an old mining camp, to the foot of Mosquito pass. Their ascent to the pass was over a road which even the stage drivers acknowledged to be extra hazardous, "a fact which the passengers were willing to admit as they started the descent toward Leadville."

Leadville itself, following an important silver discovery the year before, in 1878, was found to be "not a city, or a town, or a village, but an overgrown mining camp." Hayes wrote:

Let the reader picture to himself a valley, or gulch, through which runs a stream, its banks rent and torn into distressing unshapeliness by the gulch miners of old days. Close around are hills, once wholly, now partially, covered with trees, which, having been mostly burned into leafless, sometimes branchless, stems, furnish surroundings positively weird in their desolation. Around, at a greater distance, rise lofty mountains, and between the town and one of the ranges flows the Arkansas. Along a part of the length of two streets (six inches deep in horrible dust, which one of the local papers declares will breed disease) are seen rows of the typical far Western buildings, some large, some few of brick, one or two of stone, very many small, very many of wood. Outside of these are mines and smelting-works, smelting-works and mines, stumps and log-cabins, log-cabins and stumps, *ad infinitum*.¹⁷

Unfortunately Hayes did better with his pen in describing Leadville than did Rogers with his pencil, for the four illustrations of the overgrown mining camp are disappointing. In one, Rogers let his puckish humor get away from him as he depicted a story current

16. The second set of illustrations, 14 in number, will be found in *ibid.*, v. 60 (1880), January, pp. 193-210.

17. *Ibid.*, February, pp. 380-397; Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-108; 12 illustrations by Rogers. An extensive account of silver and gold mining in Colorado at a time nearly contemporary with the Hayes-Rogers trip will be found in G. Thomas Ingham's *Digging Gold Among the Rockies* (Edgewood Publishing Company, 1882). A considerable part of this account is based on personal experience in 1881 (and possibly earlier) in the Black Hills as well as in Colorado. The book contains a number of illustrations, most of which are not credited, although three bearing the characteristic signature of Thomas Moran are readily recognizable.

at the time, "A Wall Street Man's Experience in Leadville," and the remaining three only meagerly portray the life of Leadville in 1879.¹⁸

If the illustrations of Leadville are not all that can be desired, Rogers atones for his omissions by his somber and striking view, "Freighting on Mosquito Pass," and by two illustrations appearing later in the Hayes series of articles, "Manitou-Pike's Peak" (a night-view) and "Mountain of the Holy Cross."¹⁹ In fact, it is in this kind of work that Rogers appears to the best advantage—a distant and striking view with foreground detail that lends added interest and value to his illustrations.

In the last of the Hayes' articles return is made to the Santa Fe trail itself, and Hayes reviews various stages in the development of the trail during the early 1800's until the completion of the rail in the late 1870's. Like the four other articles it is illustrated by Rogers.²⁰ All but one of the illustrations, however, are imaginary, most of them having been drawn to represent the episodic development of the trail as given by Hayes. The one exception is "First Store in Lakin," a dugout in the small town of Lakin in southwestern Kansas. Other sketches on the plains were made by Rogers but were not reproduced. For example, Hayes states that the partners stopped at Fort Dodge, and farther west

we went down to the bank of the river [Arkansas] to get a sketch of Bent's Fort—a famed post in the old days. The main structure was one hundred and eighty by one hundred and thirty-five feet, and the walls were fifteen feet high and four feet thick. It is now deserted and in ruins; and the only information which we had to guide us in our search for a fortification (it cannot be seen from the train) which was in its glory when the Army of the West marched to Mexico, was the statement that it was near the 549th mile-post on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.

Although no sketches of Fort Dodge or Bent's Fort appear among the published illustrations of Rogers, his Western illustrations continued to appear several years after his return. "The Settler's First Home in the Far West," while idealized and probably imaginary,

18. Edwin Jump in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* had a number of contemporary Leadville illustrations of considerably greater interest than those of Rogers. They will be found in *Leslie's* for 1879 as follows: February 8, p. 416; April 12, pp. 81, 89; April 26, p. 120; May 3, p. 140; May 17, p. 169 (two illustrations); May 24, pp. 181, 187, 188; May 31, pp. 205, 213; June 7, pp. 217, 235; June 14, p. 255; June 21, p. 261. Not all of these are credited to Jump, several being credited to "our special artist." As they form an obvious series I believe that Jump was responsible for all. Several were redrawn by Albert Berghaus. I have made a number of attempts to secure information on Jump but so far such information has been elusive. He is credited with several illustrations in A. D. Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi* which was published in 1867, and Joseph Becker, for many years head of the art department of the Leslie publications, listed E. Jump as a one-time leading staff artist of *Leslie's—Leslie's Weekly*, v. 101 (1905), December 14, p. 570. Jump also had a California sketch in *Leslie's*, October 10, 1874, p. 77; the last illustration I have found credited to him is a St. Louis scene in *Leslie's Newspaper*, October 14, 1882, p. 117.

19. *Harper's Magazine*, v. 60 (1880), March, pp. 542-557; 11 illustrations.

20. *Ibid.*, v. 61 (1880), July, pp. 185-196; 9 illustrations.

was the result of his Colorado trip, for this illustration shows a settler, his family and his home against a background of mountains in the distance.²¹

"Among the Cow-Boys—Breaking Camp," however, Rogers identified as an actual scene, which took place at a roundup on the Cuchara river in southern Colorado. The note accompanying the illustration read:

Probably few persons who are not immediately interested in the subject have any idea of the enormous proportions to which the cattle trade of our Great West has grown. The tendency to go into business seems to be also growing. The amount of capital represented in some of the herds is sufficient to supply a national bank.²²

Three other cowboy illustrations appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, "Life in a Dug-Out," "Betting on the Bull Fight" and "Lassoing and Branding Calves," with the prefix "The Cowboys of Colorado," and are also to be attributed to Rogers' Western trip of 1879. The note accompanying the second of these illustrations used the term "cow-boy" somewhat uncertainly as if the writer were not quite sure his readers would understand, and the note with the last of these illustrations stated: "The 'cow-boys' of the Rocky Mountain regions are a race or a class peculiar to that country. They have some resemblance to the corresponding class on the southern side of the Rio Grande, but are of a milder and more original type."²³

As Rogers had established himself as a Western artist by 1882, it was but natural that when a cowboy sketch drawn by Frederic Remington came in, the task of redrawing it was assigned to Rogers. As we have pointed out previously in this series, this illustration, "Cow-Boys of Arizona—Roused by a Scout," was captioned to fit events transpiring in Arizona at the time of publication, for neither Remington nor Rogers had been in Arizona by 1882.²⁴

The last of the illustrations resulting from Rogers' Colorado trip were four sketches, "Mining Life in Colorado," which depicted

21. The full-page illustration will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 24 (1880), September 11, p. 581.

22. The full-page illustration will be found in *ibid.*, October 2, p. 636, and the accompanying note on p. 637.

23. The first illustration appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 26 (1882), November 18, p. 729. The note accompanying it does not identify the locality other than "along the railways in the far west and southwest." The second of these full-page illustrations appeared in *Harper's* November 27, 1880, p. 756, with the accompanying note by A. A. Hayes, Rogers' friend, on p. 759; the third illustration in the *Weekly*, October 9, 1883, p. 636, with the note on p. 638. Another Western illustration of Rogers, probably imaginary, had also appeared in *Harper's*, January 20, 1883, p. 44, "Emigrants in Midwinter—Making Camp for the Night," half-page.

24. The redrawn illustration was in *ibid.*, v. 26 (1882), February 25, p. 120. The previous discussion of the illustration will be found in No. 5 of this series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 16 (1948), May, p. 120. Rogers' version of the redrawing of the sketch will be found in his book, p. 245.

prospectors in the spring leaving their winter camp for excursions into the hills.²⁵

After this group of sketches, no further Western illustrations by Rogers appeared for a number of years, but in 1890 one of the best of all Rogers "Westerns" was published. Apparently Rogers made a trip West again, this time on the Northern Pacific, for the illustration, "Harvest Hands on Their Way to the Wheat Fields of the Northwest" was made at Castleton, just west of Fargo, N. D. The illustration (*facing* p. 233) records the fact that the wheat farm was taking over the buffalo range. Since Rogers' visit in 1878 to the same country, many great bonanza wheat farms—some of them containing single fields as large as 13,000 acres—had developed, and the annual migration of workers to the wheat fields had been established.²⁶

Still later, the discovery of gold at Cripple Creek, Colo., led to a series of illustrations. The silver mining sketches in and around Leadville made earlier by Rogers had established him as the mining expert on Harper's staff and he was delegated to cover the latest developments of the 1890's. Of the six resulting illustrations, the most entertaining is "In the Lobby of the Palace Hotel, Cripple Creek," as it shows a wide diversity of types and personalities. Reaching Cripple Creek was still a task in 1893, for the final stretch had to be made by stage, either from Divide, Colo., the nearest point to Cripple Creek some 18 miles away, or from Colorado Springs, where the stage route covered the 25 miles of the magnificent—it is still magnificent—Cheyenne road.²⁷

25. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 27 (1883), November 10, p. 717.

26. The illustration (full page) will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, December 13, 1890, p. 973, with an accompanying note on p. 975, giving a brief review of wheat developments in Dakota in the 15 years preceding.

There is a remote possibility that this illustration of Rogers was based on his 1878 trip and on photographs taken subsequent to 1878. The great Dakota wheat boom occurred between the years 1879-1886, according to Harold E. Briggs (*North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Bismarck, v. 4 [1930], January, pp. 78-108). Land taken by settlers rose from 213,000 acres in 1877 to a record 11,000,000 acres in 1883. The Casselton project, however, was begun in the spring of 1874 (James B. Power, *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Bismarck, v. 3 (1910), pp. 337-349) and the famous Dalrymple wheat farm began its operations in the summer of 1875 although the first wheat crop was not planted until the following year (John Lee Coulter, *ibid.*, pp. 569-582). A letter from a Minnesota correspondent to the *New York Daily Tribune* (November, 16, 1878, p. 2) called attention to the rising tide of wheat farms and estimated the Red River valley wheat crop of that year (1878) at four million bushels. This correspondent further stated that the first furrow for a wheat field in the Red River valley was turned in 1871. Still another contemporary account of the beginnings of the wheat industry in "the Northwest" was written by W. G. Moody who visited Minnesota and Dakota in the summer of 1879, "The Bonanza Farms of the West," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, v. 45 (1880), January, pp. 33-44.

27. The illustrations were: "In the Colorado Gold Fields," five illustrations on one page, *Harper's Weekly*, v. 27 (1893), December 23, p. 1224; the "Lobby of the Palace Hotel," full page, is in the *Weekly*, v. 38 (1894), January 6, p. 127. The note accompanying the full group of illustrations stated that the gold camp at Cripple Creek was "a trifle over a year old," p. 1231. Also made on the same trip was the full-page illustration, "Open-Air Bathing at Glenwood Springs, Colorado, in Mid-Winter," *ibid.*, March 17, p. 253. The note accompanying the illustration, p. 254, called Glenwood Springs "a new rendezvous in the heart of the Rockies" and described the huge swimming pool fed by hot springs.

Several years later Rogers made still another Western excursion. The only illustrations resulting from this trip, as far as I know, were a group of five, "Sketches in Santa Fe, New Mexico," which Rogers, in a brief note accompanying the group, stated were made "one afternoon."²⁸

As the century approached its end, the West—especially the Great Plains West—felt that it had achieved maturity, a feeling that found expression in the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha in the fall of 1898. Fifty years prior to the exposition, the West had been largely a trackless waste; in a half century the new agricultural problems presented to the ingenious settler had been at least partly solved, and a number of new states had been added to the union; states which formerly had been the home of the buffalo and the red man.²⁹

The exposition, however, as far as our story goes, is of interest because Rogers, "the special artist of *Harper's Weekly* for the Exposition" was able to record its activities and especially its contrasts. The most notable of these contrasts appeared in the Rogers' illustration, "Scene at the Indian Congress," where braves in paint and feathers, some of whom undoubtedly not many years prior to the exposition had been on the warpath against the whites, are seen mingling with the crowds of other visitors in conventional dress, all against the background of the elaborate exposition buildings.³⁰

The trip to the exposition, however, was but the beginning of a greatly extended tour of the West made by Rogers in 1898-1899. Continuing on from Omaha, Rogers visited eastern Oregon and the newly-developed mining regions of the Sumpter and John Day country, California, and then returned east by way of Arizona, Texas and Colorado. The resulting illustrations show Rogers at his technical best. Illustrations by this time, 1899, were reproduced in facsimile by halftone and are therefore exact copies, as far as form goes, in black and white. Most of the illustrations of this period were reproductions of water colors. Among the more notable and

28. *Ibid.*, v. 40 (1896), February 29, p. 201; the note is on p. 207.

29. In 1848, the only states west of the Mississippi were Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa. Among the states added by 1898 were: Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota, and Minnesota.—See *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, Charles O. Paullin, (New York and Washington, 1932), plates 64 and 65.

30. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 42 (1898), October 8, p. 992 (full page). Other Rogers illustrations of the exposition will be found in the same issue of the *Weekly*, pp. 985, 988 and 989. A full page of descriptive text by Rogers will be found on p. 987 of this issue.

James Mooney, the Indian expert, stated that the Indian congress at Omaha was "the most successful ever held in this country from the Centennial down, not even excepting the World's Fair [of 1893]."—*American Anthropologist*, New York, N. S. v. 1 (1899), pp. 126-149. Mooney reported that 400 to 550 Indians, representing about 20 tribes, were present during the congress.

interesting of these, the last Rogers Western illustrations, were: "Conquering a Desert in Southern Arizona," "A Faro Game at El Paso," and "A Winter Stage-Route in the Mining Regions of Eastern Oregon."³¹

After 1900, Rogers' work was devoted almost exclusively to cartooning. His activities, friendships and a philosophical consideration of this period will be found in his cheerful, if rambling, autobiography, *A World Worth While*. He died in Washington on October 20, 1931.³²

MARY HALLOCK FOOTE

When Rogers and Hayes were in Leadville in the summer of 1879 they made a "pilgrimage to a long, low cottage that stood on rising ground in the outskirts of the town." The cottage was the home of Mary Hallock Foote whom Rogers called "one of the most accomplished illustrators in America."³³

Mrs. Foote, however, was not at home, for she had accompanied her husband, a mining engineer, on a two-weeks' prospecting trip. The pair of visitors had to leave without paying their respects to the talented lady, who was not only an illustrator but a well-known novelist as well.

As the circumstances described above suggest—her home in a mining camp and her prospecting trip into the mountains with her husband—this feminine artist got her material for both novels and illustrations at first hand; she was known for her Western novels and her Western illustrations. Indeed, in the period which we are considering, she is the only woman who can claim company among the men in the field of Western picture.

Mary Hallock was born in Melton, N. Y., in 1847, and as a young woman received art training at Cooper Institute in New York City. She began a professional career as an illustrator shortly after the close of the Civil War. She did some work for Harper's but the first illustrations I have found credited to her were in A. D. Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi*, published in 1867. Oddly enough her illustrations in this volume were of Western scenes, although she did not go west until she married Arthur De Wint Foote, a young

31. These will be found (all full page) in the order listed above in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 43 (1899), June 17, p. 594; June 24, p. 618; v. 44 (1900), Supplement, March 17, facing p. 258. Identifying notes by Rogers will be found in each of the respective issues on p. 609, and p. 633, 1899. Still other notes that served to verify the outlines of Rogers' extensive Western trip given in the text above will be found in *Harper's*, March 4, 1899, pp. 221 and 225. There were some three or four of his California illustrations in the *Weekly* for 1899 as well. These as well as many other Rogers illustrations and writings will be found listed in *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890-99*, (New York, 1944), v. 2, pp. 860-862.

32. *American Art Annual*, Washington, v. 28 (1932), p. 416.

33. Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 188. Both quoted lines above are from this source.

mining engineer, in 1876.³⁴ After her marriage her life was spent almost completely in the West, moving with her husband from one mining location to another; first to California, then to Colorado, then to Mexico (where on a summer visit she traveled on horseback a distance of 250 miles in six days), then to Idaho, and finally back to California. Here Mrs. Foote spent nearly a third of her long life—she lived to be 91—in the town of Grass Valley. She therefore had a more intimate knowledge of the West and its many aspects than it was the fortune of most women to possess.

Her first Western experiences are reported in two articles appearing in *Scribner's Monthly*, both written and illustrated by Mrs. Foote, which described the life at the California town of New Almaden—a center of mercury mining—and the coast town of Santa Cruz.³⁵

As might be expected, homely incidents of life among the Mexican and Cornish miners, among the “every-day” residents of a California coast town, of picturesque and contrasting scenery and surroundings, were the burden of these articles and illustrations. She wrote:

The East constantly hears of the recklessness, the bad manners, and the immorality of the West, just as England hears of all our disgraces, social, financial and national; but who can tell the tale of those quiet lives which are the life-blood of the country,—its present strength and its hope of the future? The tourist sees the sensational side of California—its scenery and its society; but it is not all included in the *Yo Semite* guidebooks and the literature of Bret Harte.

From California, the Footes moved to the lead and silver mining camp of the rough and boisterous Colorado town of Leadville. Helen Hunt Jackson, the celebrated pleader of the Indian cause, heard that Mrs. Foote was there and she and her husband went from Denver to pay their respects.

From Mrs. Foote's Colorado experiences there followed a number of illustrations and three novels.³⁶ The first of the Colorado illustrations appeared in “The Camp of the Carbonates,” a factual article

34. The biographical facts concerning Mrs. Foote come from *Who's Who in America*, vols. 15 and 21; from Helena DeKay Gilder's “Mary Hallock Foote,” *Bookbuyer*, New York, v. 11 (1894-1895), pp. 338-342; from Arthur B. Foote, a son, and from the public library of Grass Valley, Cal., where Mrs. Foote lived for many years.

35. “A California Mining Camp,” *Scribner's Monthly*, v. 15 (1878), February, pp. 480-493 (14 illustrations); “A Sea-Port on the Pacific,” *ibid.*, v. 16 (1878), August, pp. 449-460 (10 illustrations). In the first of these articles, as Mrs. Foote made mention of personal experiences of the four seasons, her California life undoubtedly began with the spring of 1877. Her experiences in Mexico mentioned above were described in a series of three articles in *The Century Magazine*, N. S. v. 1 (1881-1882), November, pp. 1-14; January, pp. 321-333; March, pp. 643-655.

36. In 1922, Mrs. Foote described her Leadville experiences briefly in two letters to Thomas F. Dawson, curator of the State Historical Society of Colorado. These letters were published by L. J. Davidson, “Letters From Authors,” in *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 19 (1942), July, pp. 122-125.

on Leadville by Ernest Ingersoll published in *Scribner's Monthly*.³⁷ Of the 17 illustrations, six were drawn by Mrs. Foote and the remaining 11 were by J. Harrison Mills, at that time an artist of Denver.³⁸

Mrs. Foote's three novels, all of which appeared serially in *The Century*, used the mining country of central Colorado as a back-

37. *Scribner's Monthly*, v. 18 (1879), October, pp. 801-824.

38. Mills' presence in Leadville in connection with the Ingersoll article is noted in the *Leadville Daily Chronicle*, May 29, 1879, p. 1. Mills probably warrants a more extended discussion as a Western artist than the mere mention we have given him in the text above. He achieved a considerable reputation during his lifetime not only as an artist, but as a poet and sculptor as well. Nowhere have I found an adequate account of his life, but through the courtesy of Mrs. Carl E. Krebs of the reference department of the Buffalo (N. Y.) Public Library, there has been secured a brief autobiographical account of Mills' life which he wrote several years before his death but which was published posthumously in the *Buffalo Express*, November 5, 1916. Since it is not readily accessible and little other biographical information on Mills is available, I have included it in this note. Mills' autobiography reads:

"John Harrison Mills, No. 494 Elmwood avenue, Buffalo, painter, sculptor, engraver, illustrator, writer. Born on a farm near Buffalo, on January 11, 1842.

"Began study of art in that city under John Jamison, banknote engraver, in 1857. In summer of 1858, to relieve eye strain from over-application, changed to modeling and marble work under William Lautz, and continued experiments in color begun at home in childhood.

"Painted first portraits in Buffalo and Lockport in 1859, under influence and encouragement of L. G. Sellstedt and William H. Beard, attempting also landscape and animals in 1860.

"Enlisted in April, 1861, upon Lincoln's first call, in 21st regiment, New York State Volunteer infantry. Portrait of Captain E. L. Hayward, painted in camp at Upton's Hill after first Bull Run, is in hall of Hayward post, G. A. R., in Buffalo.

"Wounded at second Bull Run, returned to Buffalo on crutches in 1863. Morgenroth, a sunrise on a yesterday's battlefield, bought by Dr. Rochester first night of its exhibition at the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, winter of 1864, still in possession of that family.

"Bronze medal of New York State Agricultural society for best animal painting in oil by American artist awarded in 1864 for picture of Hotspur, a Durham short-horn bull, and a heifer, Lucille, owned by Ezra Cornell of Ithaca.

"Bust of Abraham Lincoln from studies before and during the war and while guarding the body during the stay in Buffalo, exhibited at Academy, winter of 1865, and copies in plaster widely published in the following summer.

"While publishing *Chronicles of the 21st Regiment*, a history with illustration of the campaigns of 1861-2 in Virginia, became regular contributor to the columns of *The Buffalo Morning Express*; made the first illustrations for Mark Twain's *Sketches*, engraving them upon wood in 1869.

"Removed to Denver and Middle Park, Col., in 1872, doing portrait, mountain, hunting, animal and figure subjects; also magazine articles with illustrations on wood; among these, 'Hunting the Mule Deer,' in *Scribner's* for October, 1878. Taught in Colorado Academy of Fine Arts; president of same in 1881-2; same year collected and managed first art exhibition in Colorado for the Mining and Industrial exposition, bringing a large number of pictures from New York and Philadelphia.

"Returned east to New York city in 1883. In 1888 elected secretary and manager of the New York Art guild, an association organized in 1865 for the protection of artists in their relations with exhibition throughout America, it having happened that often through financial failure, pictures had to be recovered with trouble and expense. Inaugurated and conducted a system of circuit exhibitions; active in same until 1898, but finding time to continue painting and modelling, being one of the 67 sculptors having work accepted and exhibited at the World's Columbian exhibition, Chicago, 1893.

"Received the award of prize for eight stanzas on the Battle of Gettysburg, published with full page colored illustration in the *New York Sunday Herald*, on July 8, 1902, the judges being Edward Eggleston, Edwin Markham and Daniel E. Sickles, of nearly 1,000 poems submitted.

"Member American Federation of Arts, Washington, D. C., New York Water Color club, Buffalo Society of Artists, Buffalo Guild of Allied Arts and honorary membership of Denver Art club, conferred for services to art in the early days of Denver.

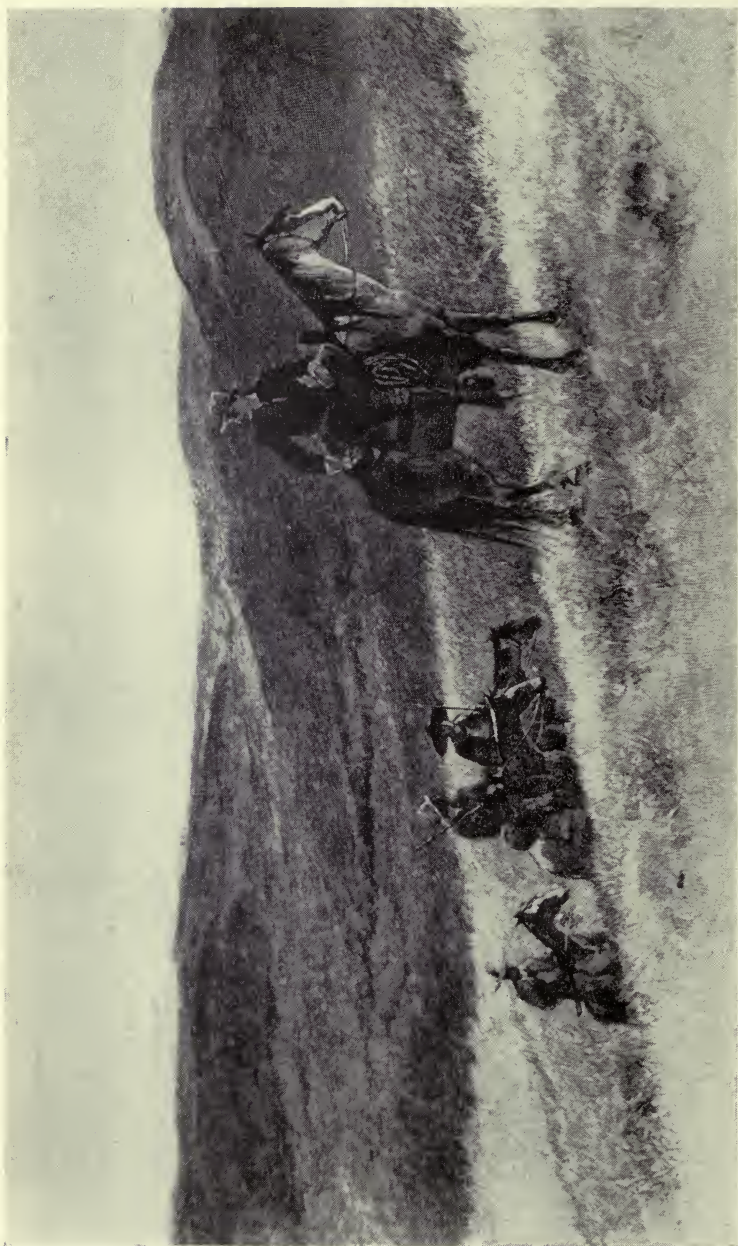
"Works in many private collections, the Albright gallery and Guild of Allied Arts, Buffalo, Panama-Pacific, San Francisco, memorial in bronze to 21st regiment; Hutchinson, memorial in bronze with portraits in medallion, Central High school; portraits in City hall, Historical Museum and Academy of Fine Arts, Buffalo."

A somewhat more detailed account of his Colorado life is available in a 16-page letter written in March, 1916, and now in the State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver (Accession No. 10,184). Mills died in Buffalo on October 23, 1916. Obituaries are given in the *Buffalo Commercial*, October 24, 1916, and *Buffalo Express* and *Buffalo Courier* of the same date.

Additional information bearing on his work as a Western artist will be found in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 25, 1873, p. 101, where a Mills illustration "Buying Outfits for the Mountains and Mines at Denver" is reproduced. Mills also wrote and illustrated the article "Hunting the Mule-Deer in Colorado," *Scribner's Monthly*, v. 16 (1878), September, pp. 610-622. Another article, by Ernest Ingersoll, "The Heart of Colorado," *Cosmopolitan*, v. 5 (1888), September, pp. 417-435, October, pp. 471-488, was also illustrated in part by Mills. Possibly his most important Western painting (his later reputation was achieved largely as a landscape artist) was "A Frontier Justice of the Peace," which is described in some detail in the *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, August 27, 1882, p. 3.



FOOTE'S "THE LAST TRIP IN" (1889)



FOOTE'S "THE SHERIFF'S POSSE" (1889)

(Note. This woodcut and the one on the succeeding page are from *The Century Magazine*.)

ground. Only the first, however, *The Led-Horse Claim*, was illustrated by Mrs. Foote.³⁹ All of these novels were romances and were highly popular in their day. Mrs. Foote, in 1922, correctly estimated their worth when she stated that they were written "from the woman's point of view, the *protected* point of view." Cecil was the heroine of her first novel, but "What a silly sort of heroine she would seem today [1922]. Yet girls were like that, 'lots of them' in my time."⁴⁰

Forced from Colorado by ill health, the Footes returned East for a year or so, but in 1883 they moved to Idaho, where Mr. Foote served as engineer on an irrigation project. The next ten years were spent in the "Gem" state.⁴¹

Here again, as a result of her Idaho life, Mrs. Foote produced illustrations, short stories and novels with a local background. Her most notable novel of this period was *Coeur D'Alene*.⁴²

It was from her Idaho experiences, too, that her most notable contribution to Western illustration arose. During 1888 and 1889, *The Century* published a series of 11 full-page illustrations, "Pictures of the Far West," each accompanied by a brief note, both by Mrs. Foote.

These illustrations were beautifully engraved woodcuts, for this period marks the golden age of American woodcut illustration; a period which produced magazine illustrations which have never been excelled, and *The Century* was the leader of its field. By title, this notable group of Mrs. Foote's illustrations included:

"Looking for Camp."

"The Coming of Winter."

"The Sheriff's Posse." [Reproduced facing this page.]

"The Orchard Wind-Break."

"The Choice of Reuben and Gad."

39. *The Led-Horse Claim*, appeared in five installments in *The Century*, N. S. v. 3 (1882-1883). Her other novels of Colorado were *John Bodewin's Testimony* (*The Century*, N. S. v. 9 [1885-1886], six installments) and *The Last Assembly Ball* (*The Century*, N. S. v. 15 [1888-1889], two installments, and N. S. v. 16 [1889], two installments).

40. See Mrs. Foote's letters referred to in Footnote 36. *Literary History of the United States* (New York, 1948), v. 2, p. 869, mentioned Mrs. Foote in the chapter "Western Record and Romance" and indicated that although there are fine passages and fine single stories by Mrs. Foote, her reputation as a writer is more likely to dwindle with the passage of time than to revive.

For contemporary comment on Mrs. Foote's popularity as a writer, see Charles F. Lummis' "The New League for Literature and the West," *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, v. 8 (1898), April.

41. The movements of the Footes can be followed with some precision by examining the biographical record of Arthur DeWint Foote and Mary Hallock Foote in *Who's Who in America*, v. 15 (1928-1929), p. 788.

42. *Coeur D'Alene*, as the name suggests, had an Idaho background. It appeared serially in *The Century*, N. S. v. 25 (1893-1894), three installments, and N. S. v. 26 (1894), one installment. All of the novels of Mrs. Foote mentioned in the text were published in book form after the serial publication. An extensive list of her novels will be found in the *Who's Who in America* reference given in Footnote 41.

"Cinching Up."

"The Irrigating Ditch."

"The Last Trip In." [Reproduced facing p. 240.]

"Afternoon at a Ranch."

"A Pretty Girl in the West."

"The Winter-Camp—A Day's Ride From the Mail."⁴³

Of these 11 illustrations, the three that have the greatest appeal are "The Coming of Winter," "The Choice of Reuben and Gad," and "The Last Trip In." The first depicted a settler's cabin and the family, father, mother and child; in the second, resorting to the use of Biblical names, Mrs. Foote showed a small group of settlers arriving at the promised land, a mountain valley; and in the third, she portrayed wagons reaching the home camp with the final supplies for the winter's stay; all scenes which Mrs. Foote had ample opportunity to observe.

Those described so far do not constitute Mrs. Foote's sole contributions to Western illustration. There were many others, chiefly illustrations for her novels or short stories, of which there were quite a number.⁴⁴ Some of these illustrations are of considerable interest, however, and one in particular is quite striking, "On the Way to the Dance" which accompanied a short story written by Mrs. Foote.⁴⁵

As far as I have been able to determine, none of Mrs. Foote's original Western sketches are in existence at present. In 1940, Arthur B. Foote, a son, wrote me that

Quite a number of her drawings appear in the two volumes *Proofs from Scribner's Monthly and St. Nicholas*, published by Scribner's & Co., 1880, and *Selected Proofs from Scribner's Monthly and St. Nicholas* published by the Century Co. in 1881. There are very few original sketches in existence. Most of her drawings were made directly on the wooden blocks that were engraved, and the later ones reproduced by photogravure were not returned by the publishers.⁴⁶

Mrs. Foote lived for over 30 years in Grass Valley, Cal., but several years before her death on June 25, 1938, she went to live with a daughter at Boston, Mass.⁴⁷

43. The illustrations appeared in *The Century*, N. S. v. 15 (1888-1889); N. S. v. 16 (1889); N. S. v. 17 (1889-1890).

44. An extensive bibliography of Mrs. Foote's illustrations and writings during the 1890's will be found in *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890-99*, v. 1, p. 962. It should also be pointed out that Mrs. Foote's illustrations were not all confined to the Western scene, for during the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's, illustrations of a considerable number of other subjects by Mrs. Foote appeared in the periodical literature. For example, another group of subjects of which she had first hand knowledge was in John Burroughs' article "Picturesque Aspects of Farm Life in New York," *Scribner's Monthly*, v. 17 (1878), November, pp. 41-54.

45. *The Century*, N. S. v. 21 (1891), December, p. 201.

46. Arthur B. Foote to the writer, September 6, 1940. That Mrs. Foote was an accomplished artist on the wood block is borne out by the comment of that severe critic W. J. Linton who called her "the best of our designers on the wood"; see *American Art*, Walter Montgomery (Boston, 1889), v. 1, p. 464.

47. Information from Jane Whelan, librarian of Grass Valley (Cal.) Free Public Library, in a letter to the writer August 23, 1940.

Götterdämmerung in Topeka: The Downfall of Senator Pomeroy

ALBERT R. KITZHABER

I

ABOUT seven o'clock in the evening of January 27, 1873, four men hurriedly entered room 107 of the Tefft House, Topeka's leading hotel, and carefully locked the door behind them. One of these men was Col. Alexander M. York, lawyer, ex-lieutenant colonel of the Union army, and state senator from Montgomery county in southeastern Kansas. Another was W. A. Johnson, senator from Anderson county, who, with York, was in town for the session of the legislature which would elect a United States senator from Kansas. The other two were B. F. Simpson, attorney, and J. C. Horton, agent for the Kansas Pacific Railroad at Lawrence. All were prominent in the movement to defeat Samuel Clarke Pomeroy for re-election to his senatorial seat in Washington. York, a thin-faced, full-bearded man in his middle 30's, spoke in a low tone for several minutes while the others listened carefully. After some discussion, an agreement was reached. The men then separated.

Somewhere around nine or nine-thirty of the same evening York returned to the Tefft House. He climbed the stairs to the second floor and knocked on the door to Senator Pomeroy's rooms. The door opened slightly. After a short conversation, York went back downstairs. He wandered about the town rather aimlessly for several hours, dropping in at various bars, stopping off at an anti-Pomeroy meeting for a quarter of an hour, mixing with the crowds that jammed Topeka on the eve of the senatorial election. At midnight he again went to the Tefft House and knocked on Pomeroy's door. He could hear subdued voices inside the room. The door was partly opened just long enough for a brief exchange of words, then York went away.

In an hour he was there again and this time was admitted. Pomeroy was now alone. For nearly two hours they talked earnestly. About three o'clock Pomeroy rose from his chair, went to a trunk in the corner of the room, unlocked it and took out a package of bank notes which he handed to York. York noted that the money

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was secured with a paper band just as it had come from the bank; on the band was a cashier's notation indicating that the bundle contained \$1,000. The senator then took out his wallet and counted another \$1,000 in 50 and 100 dollar greenbacks into York's hand. No receipt was asked for or given. After a few more remarks, they separated. York returned to his own hotel and went into W. A. Johnson's room, which adjoined his. He sat by the stove a few minutes, since his own fire had gone out. Johnson, who had been asleep, roused himself and looked up. York pulled out the money he had just got, held it up briefly for Johnson to see, then left. He made his way to the bar of the Tefft House but found it deserted. Climbing onto the bar counter, he stretched himself out and slept there till daylight.

During the next day he unexpectedly moved from his hotel to rooms in a private boarding house. He attended the first balloting for United States senator at the state house and cast his vote for D. P. Lowe. At five minutes to four that afternoon he went to the room of Col. T. B. Eldridge in the Tefft House. The only person there was the colonel's brother, who left immediately after York entered. York, tired after so little sleep the night before, lay down on the bed in his overcoat. Shortly after four, Pomeroy entered from the hall and at once took from his pocket a parcel wrapped in brown paper and tied with twine. He handed it to York, with the remark that it contained \$5,000. Again no receipt was given for the money.

A little before ten o'clock the next morning, Wednesday, Johnson stopped in at York's rooms. After York had shown him the \$7,000 he had got from Pomeroy, Johnson went on to the ten o'clock meeting of the senate. York followed about 11:30. Both houses of the legislature were to meet in joint convention at noon to take the second ballot for United States senator. The floor of the convention was crowded, not only with the members of the legislature but with lobbyists as well, who were admitted to the floor during sessions. These men were busily engaged, moving about among the legislators and talking with them in confidential tones. At 12 sharp the convention was called to order. The members quickly took their seats; the lobbyists jammed the aisles.

The reading of the senate and house journals occupied the first few minutes of the session, then Senator Guerin of Bourbon county made an attempt to have the lobbyists cleared out. Voted down on this, he proceeded to place in nomination John J. Ingalls, candidate of the anti-Pomeroy forces. Guerin was followed on the floor by Judge Nathan Price of Doniphan county, who nominated Pomeroy.

But before a seconding speech could be made, York rose to a question of privilege and was at once given the floor, as if by prearrangement.

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the joint convention," he began, "before I place any gentleman in nomination I desire to make a brief statement."¹ York seemed agitated and had some trouble controlling his voice. The house, sensing something unusual in his manner, quieted down. He continued:

I visited Mr. Pomeroy's room, in the dark and secret recesses of the Tefft House, on Monday night, and at that interview my vote was bargained for, for a consideration of \$8000; two thousand dollars of which were paid to me on that evening, five thousand dollars the next afternoon, and a promise of the additional one thousand when my vote had been cast in his favor. I now, in the presence of this honorable body, hand over the amount of \$7000 just as I received it, and ask that it be counted by the Secretary.

As York strode to the chief clerk's desk where he placed the money, a murmur arose in the room; it was noted that the faces of many men who had been anti-Pomeroy before the election and who had since defected to the senator's side looked distinctly uneasy. As York resumed his speech, complete silence fell again. "I ask, Mr. President, that the money be used to defray the expenses of prosecuting the investigation of S. C. Pomeroy for bribery and corruption."²

York then said he realized he was a disgraced man for having thus betrayed a trust reposed in him by a fellow man; but he had done it, he said, "to save my State from sinking still deeper into the quicksands of corruption in which her once fair fame is already almost swallowed up." Then he placed his dilemma before the convention, asking whether he was now in honor bound to vote for Pomeroy. (Cries of "No!" "No!" "D—n Pomeroy and his money!") "I ask you if I am in your minds a disgraced man?" (Cries of "No!" "No!" "You did right!") Thus encouraged, York concluded his speech with a peroration which came close to starting a riot:

I have an aged parent whose life has been spared to bless me with her love and her approval of the conduct of my life. I have a wife and little ones to whom I hope to bequeath a name which, however obscure, they may have no reason to blush to hear pronounced. Yet this corrupt old man comes to me and makes a bargain for my soul, and makes me a proposition which, if accepted in the faith and spirit in which it is offered, will make my children go through life with hung heads and burning cheeks at even mention of the name of him who begot them. Earth has no infamy more damnable than corruption; . . .

And, he added, no criminal is more despicable than he who corrupts

1. *Senate Report, No. 523*, 42 Cong., 3 Sess. (1872-1873), p. 156.

2. D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1875), p. 606.

the people's representatives for selfish ends. Then, throwing his arms in the air, he swore before "the Almighty Ruler of the Universe" that all he had said was God's truth.³

As soon as he had finished, the uproar broke out. The whole house leaped to its feet and commenced shouting. Some of Pomeroy's men, wearing desperate expressions, were fighting their way through the mob to hold emergency conferences. Others stood on their desks, yelling for the floor; the York forces howled them down. Lobbyists and members were so thoroughly mixed that it was impossible now to distinguish them. It was remarked, however, that the presiding officer of the convention, Lieutenant Governor Stover, an anti-Pomeroy man, sat placidly at his desk wearing a pleased expression and doing nothing to restore order.

Finally Judge Nathan Price, who had nominated Pomeroy, managed to be recognized by the chair and moved for an adjournment till five o'clock to give Pomeroy a chance to defend himself. York bitterly opposed this, saying it would give the Pomeroy forces time to reorganize their strength and pick a candidate who would be Pomeroy's tool. Peculiarly, although Pomeroy's headquarters at the Tefft House were only a ten-minute walk away, none of his friends thought to bring him at once to the state house to defend himself in person. After a good deal of pretty abusive debate, the ballot was finally taken about two o'clock, nearly two hours after York had made his disclosure. Ingalls was elected almost unanimously. Pomeroy, though 50 men had voted for him the day before, got not a single vote.

II

This was the background of one of the most celebrated political scandals of the 1870's—the golden age of political boondoggling. Both sides subsequently agreed on the events just related. Pomeroy admitted that York had called on him, that he had given York \$2,000 Monday night and \$5,000 the next afternoon. And what happened at the joint convention was pretty much beyond dispute. The only thing that was in doubt was the purpose for which the money had been paid. The matter was finally carried to the floor of the United States senate, where a committee of investigation was appointed. The case aroused great interest throughout the country. For weeks it held the front pages of the newspapers. Later in the same year Mark Twain put it in *The Gilded Age*, where it was immediately recognized, and made it the climax of his attack on the

3. *New York Tribune*, February 3, 1873, p. 2.

corruption of the Reconstruction congress. One reason why it gained so much attention was undoubtedly the dramatic—or melodramatic—way the exposure had been made. But more important, the case was a perfect illustration of the workings of politics under the Grant administration.

Dissatisfaction with congress was universal. Newspapers were constantly filled with charges of corruption, with investigations, with impeachments. At the time the Pomeroy story was running in the New York *Tribune*, it shared the front page with the Credit Mobilier investigations and with accounts of the deals of the Tweed Ring. At the same time the Chicago *Tribune* listed by name 12 United States senators whose seats had been bought and added that “these are only those who have been found out.”⁴ In the Forty-first congress a house committee had recommended that Rep. B. F. Whittemore be expelled for selling appointments to West Point and Annapolis. In 1869 a house report had been made on election frauds in New York state in which 50,000 fraudulent votes were said to have been cast—thousands of aliens had been illegally naturalized and allowed to vote, and the sound old device of “repeating” had been widely used. At the time of the Pomeroy investigation, both house and senate were investigating the Credit Mobilier scandal as it affected their respective members. Thirty-seven members of the Missouri legislature had preferred charges of vote buying against Sen. Louis V. Boggy of that state. Sen. Powell Clayton of Arkansas, an old Kansas man, was the subject of a 407-page investigation on charges of election fraud. Sen. Alexander Caldwell, who with Pomeroy represented Kansas, had been investigated for buying votes at his election in 1871.

These are representative instances, by no means a complete catalog. And there were dozens of other deals that were public knowledge but which never reached the stage of formal investigation—for instance, Senator Nye of Nevada accepting \$50,000 from his successor, Jones, and agreeing not to run against him for re-election. The Boston *Post* remarked that “the oaths of Congressmen have sadly depreciated in value,” and “a lapse of memory in regard to all matters involving the transfer of money is so general as to suggest caution in trusting any individual recollection unsupported by a memorandum book.”⁵ When Caldwell of Kansas chose to make his denial of fraud charges on his honor as a senator instead of on his oath, the New York *Tribune* commented, “We regret to say that

4. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1873, p. 5.

5. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1873, p. 7.

the honor of a Senator does not rate high in the market this year.”⁶ When the house of representatives passed at this time a bill denying promotion to army officers guilty of intemperate drinking, the *Tribune* asked: “. . . is the House just now in a fit frame of mind to enact moral obligations for anybody?”⁷

The only version of the Pomeroy case now familiar to most people is that contained in Twain's *The Gilded Age*. Far from being exaggerated, this account, savage though it is, actually does not do full justice to the case.⁸ The senator and his troubles need to be drawn full length to be properly appreciated.

Pomeroy had been in the senate since 1861, immediately after Kansas had been admitted as a state. He had been in the public consciousness like a sandbur from the time he assumed his seat. The press generally regarded him as a smooth old scoundrel and consummate hypocrite. Yet even York, his bitterest enemy, admitted under oath that he had done much good for Kansas in the way of getting things for the state—grants of public lands for schools, for railroads and pork-barrel measures generally. But York deplored his moral influence on Kansas politics. George W. Glick, Pomeroy's attorney for many years, said, after the senator's death, that he was a “good man; honest, kind-hearted, and generous to a fault. He was loyal to his friends and to Kansas, and did more for Kansas in her early days, and for her people in the early '60's, than any other man who lived within her borders.”⁹ But Samuel J. Crawford, an early governor of Kansas (1865-1868), wrote in his reminiscences that whereas Caldwell “regarded the members of the Legislature as so many cattle to be purchased on the open market, branded and yoked up for his personal use,” Pomeroy on the other hand “looked upon them as so many sheep in the shambles, from which he could make his choice, pay his money, and go on his way rejoicing.”¹⁰

A few days before the 1873 election, Senator Harlan of Iowa had written a letter of character for Pomeroy's use in the campaign. “Those who know him intimately and well,” wrote Harlan, “believe him to be one of the truest and purest of our public men, as they know him to be one of the most generous. His benefactions have made hundreds of worthy families rejoice. Those who ought to

6. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1873, p. 4.

7. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1873, p. 4.

8. An article of mine showing in detail the extent to which Twain used the Pomeroy case in *The Gilded Age* will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Modern Language Quarterly*, Seattle.

9. George W. Glick, “The Drought of 1860,” *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 485.

10. Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), p. 348.

know him thoroughly regard him as singularly unselfish, caring only for money as he can use it, not to aggrandize himself, but to accomplish some good." When the New York *Tribune* printed this letter shortly after York's exposure, it added caustically that Pomeroy's ideas of "good" were probably like those of Oakes Ames, when he gave out shares of Credit Mobilier stock to members of congress "where it would do the most good."¹¹ Other uncharitable people recalled that Senator Harlan was, with Pomeroy, Schuyler Colfax and a few others, among the group that were ironically referred to as the "Christian Statesmen." And Harlan's senate seat was one of those mentioned by the Chicago *Tribune* as having been bought.

Both York and Pomeroy were Republicans. But the issue in Kansas in the early 1870's was not one of party membership but of attitude toward Pomeroy. The members of congress from Kansas were opposed to him, and one, S. A. Cobb, testified against him at the senate investigation. During the election campaign in Topeka in 1873 the Pomeroy supporters set up their own caucus, while the opposition as soon as they got to town organized an "anti-Pomeroy caucus." York was secretary of this group.

Unsavory rumors were current in Topeka about Pomeroy's doings, not only about vote buying and stealing of public funds, but about moral lapses that were not becoming to a "Christian Statesman." Handbills were passed out accusing Pomeroy of having had immoral relations with a certain woman of Baltimore named Alice Caton, and of then trying to buy her off by writing letters to the Treasury Department in Washington asking that she be given a sinecure. During the senate investigation, one of the defense witnesses told of going to see Pomeroy about these reports before the election. Pomeroy picked up a piece of paper from the table and said (prophetically, as it turned out), "If I go back to the United States Senate I shall go back as clear as that sheet of paper or I shall not return at all."¹²

Whether these rumors were true or not, Pomeroy had set himself up as a champion of religion and temperance, so that his known political defections sometimes led to a low suspicion that these professions of godliness were perhaps not wholly sincere. He looked godly enough, however. He was of middle height, portly enough to appear dignified, and had a broad beneficent face. His eyes had a bland, kindly look about them, and his mouth was set in a sort of serene half-smile, as though he had just pronounced grace before a seven-

11. New York *Tribune*, February 1, 1873, p. 7.

12. *Senate Report*, No. 523, p. 128.

course dinner. He wore a beard of comfortable dimensions, full but for a shaven upper lip. The hair that ringed the sides and back of his bald head fell to his collar in saintly gray ringlets. He employed as his receptionist one J. D. Liggett, who, before he entered Pomeroy's employ, had been pastor of the First Congregational Church in Leavenworth for 11 years. The senator was a tireless friend of Bible classes, Sunday schools and the benighted heathen. As for liquor, throughout his 12 years in the senate he introduced a continuous stream of temperance bills. During the investigation of his re-election in 1867, D. R. Anthony, a Leavenworth editor, testified that Pomeroy had told him his campaign had cost a great deal of money, and that the chief item was the hotel bill, which ran into many thousands of dollars.

Question. Did he explain how his hotel bill came to cost him so much money?

Answer. I think he said he was paying the bills of his friends who were there at the hotel.

Question. He did not treat any, did he?

Answer. I guess he did. I always thought the Senator played the dodge on that; he got John Martin to furnish the whiskey, and I always supposed that he paid the bills, although I could not swear to that; it was done quietly at one side.

Question [by Mr. Pomeroy]. Mr. Anthony does not mean to say that any was drunk in my presence?

Answer. O, no. I could swear that I was invited by Colonel Martin several times, and very good liquors they were.¹³

The views of Pomeroy's opposition just before the election of 1873 were suggested by a witness at the investigation who quoted B. F. Simpson. When asked what he thought of the senatorial question, Simpson had said "they would beat the old son of a bitch this time."¹⁴

III

Samuel Clarke Pomeroy was born in Southampton, Mass., in 1816, and was descended from Puritan ancestors who had come to America from England in 1630. He entered Amherst College in 1836, but withdrew a short time afterwards. A little later he was in Onondaga county, New York, teaching school and engaging in business on the side. After four years he returned to Southampton and in 1842 joined the Liberty party, holding a number of local offices and serving in the general court in 1852. Also in 1852 he was elected to the Massachusetts legislature on the Liberty party ticket.

13. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess. (1871-1872), p. 611.

14. *Senate Report*, No. 523, p. 160.

It was in 1854, however, that he began to hit his stride. From this year on, he seemed to gravitate toward jobs that afforded peculiar opportunities. In this year he was appointed financial agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company. When the second group of emigrants left in the autumn for Kansas he went with them, settling first in Lawrence and finally in Atchison. Some \$100,000 of the company's funds passed through Pomeroy's hands, and when the company dissolved there seemed to be some uncertainty over where the money had passed to. William H. Carruth, writing some 40 years later of the history of the company, was able to account for all but \$88,000 and suggested that a depression in 1858 shrank the value of the money by some 80 percent. He added, however, that just as Wild Bill Hickock was reckless with firearms, "Mr. Pomeroy was reckless with drafts." The books of the company record drafts in profusion, but there is nothing to show what a great many of them were drawn for.¹⁵

Pomeroy, as befitted a good New Englander of religious persuasion, was an outspoken Free-Soil man. Because of the local eminence he had gained as agent of the Emigrant Aid Company, he was named chairman of a committee to defend Lawrence against the armed incursions from Missouri in the border troubles of 1856. While John Brown and his relief force were still on the way to Lawrence, however, the antiabolitionists moved in 800 strong, mounted brass cannon in a commanding position and proceeded on May 21 to sack the town. The defense committee was not in sight. A member of Brown's party, which arrived the next day, later wrote that the committee had "buried their guns and rifles, and were ready for anything to keep up the speculation in Lawrence town lots."¹⁶

But Pomeroy's eminence continued to grow. He was mayor of Atchison in 1858-1859, and took a leading part in the organization of the Republican party in Kansas in those years. When a prolonged drought resulted in the famine of 1859-1860, Pomeroy was appointed head of the committee to distribute relief supplies that came pouring in from nearly every Free state. When it was first suggested to Pomeroy that he take the post, his friend George W. Glick reports that he said: ". . . I mean to be a candidate for the United States senate. If any money is raised for these people here, and you mix me up in it, it will kill my political prospects. They will accuse me of stealing the relief funds." However, he overcame these selfish

15. William H. Carruth, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company As an Investment Society," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6 (1897-1900), pp. 94, 95.

16. August Bondi, "With John Brown in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), p. 278.

scruples and, according to Glick, "was willing to risk his reputation for the good of the people."¹⁷ For about five months, beginning in November, 1860, Pomeroy headed the territorial relief committee and distributed something like eight million pounds of provisions and seeds, besides clothing and medicine. Large gifts of money were sent the committee, the New York state legislature voting \$50,000 for the drought victims, and numerous other Northern and Eastern states sending smaller sums. Again, at the end of the job there was talk of miscarriage of funds, and of relief supplies being given in largest amounts to those with useful political connections. When Pomeroy finally quit, the other members of the committee found it desirable to issue a resolution commending him for his "ability, integrity, and impartiality" in spite of "the assaults that have been made upon him."¹⁸ An interesting by-product of Pomeroy's efforts that winter was some useful advertising. Relief supplies that were sacked, such as corn and beans, had "S. C. Pomeroy, Atchison," marked in large letters across each sack. Since cloth of any sort was hard to come by, Kansas wives often made these sacks up into men's pants. A considerable part of the male population that winter was wearing pants with Pomeroy's name on the seat or running down the legs.

On January 29, 1861, Buchanan signed the bill admitting Kansas as a state. On April 4 the new legislature elected Pomeroy as one of Kansas' first two United States senators. His election came as a considerable surprise, since it had not been thought he was popular enough to gain the office. There were consequently some rumors of vote buying. David E. Ballard, a member of that first legislature, wrote many years later that there had been a good deal of vote soliciting in the ten days preceding the election. He was himself supporting another candidate, but remarked that "Pomeroy had some awful good men working in his interests." During the distribution of relief Ballard's district had not fared very well until Ballard himself, known to be active in politics, ordered supplies in his own name from Pomeroy. During the pre-election canvass, therefore, he was pressed to show his gratitude by switching to Pomeroy. When he declined, Pomeroy himself sent for Ballard to visit him. While Pomeroy urged Ballard to remember the aid that had been given his people, a fellow ran in "all out of breath, to report that he could not get a certain man for less than ——— dollars. Whether it was supposed I was on the market for money I do not know, but after

17. Glick, *loc. cit.*, p. 482.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 484.

that I could not have been pulled into the Pomeroy camp with oxen and log-chains.”¹⁹ It is interesting also that later in the year a scandal broke involving a fraud in the sale of state bonds. The governor, the secretary of state, and the state auditor were all impeached, and Pomeroy’s name entered rather obscurely into the testimony. In the course of the proceedings, the attorney general said: “The people of the State will gratefully accept, and at the same time earnestly insist upon, a full explanation of Mr. Pomeroy’s connexion with this transaction.”²⁰

During his first term in the senate Pomeroy distinguished himself by his friendly attitude toward subsidies of whatever sort for whatever purpose—he became known as “Subsidy” Pomeroy—and by his opposition to Lincoln’s administration. In the campaign of 1864 he wrote a widely read campaign document known as the “Pomeroy Circular” urging the candidacy of Salmon P. Chase for President and attacking Lincoln. His efforts were hampered not only because he had not consulted Chase about it in advance, but also because the movement lacked any popular support. It soon collapsed.

On January 23, 1867, Pomeroy was triumphantly re-elected to the senate. On February 9 the Kansas legislature voted to investigate the election for fraud and bribery. On February 25 an investigating committee of the legislature reported:

And while this testimony is not sufficient of itself to authorize your Committee to make special recommendation for definite action on the part of the Senate, they here record their convictions that money has been used for the base purposes of influencing members of the Legislature to disregard the wishes of their constituents, and to vote as money dictated, and regret their failure to procure the evidence necessary to demonstrate the facts to the people of the State.²¹

Besides the suspicion of vote buying, there was another deal made during this election that gained public notice. Pomeroy and Sidney Clarke, a candidate for congress, had jointly paid \$1,000 to M. W. Reynolds, publisher of the *Lawrence Journal*, to support them in their campaigns. They gave Reynolds notes for \$2,000 more, and Pomeroy gave him another \$250 in cash. When Clarke and Pomeroy failed to come through with the promised \$2,000, Reynolds was unkind enough to sue. The case at first went against him, but he then prepared to submit it to the state supreme court. Suddenly the suit was dropped without explanation, and shortly thereafter Reynolds

19. David E. Ballard, “The First State Legislature,” *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), pp. 234, 235.

20. Wilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 313, 314, 317-319.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 458, 459.

was unexpectedly appointed receiver of the land office at Neodesha. Mr. Pomeroy headed the senate committee on public lands.²²

On February 24, 1872, the Kansas legislature, while censuring the election of Alexander Caldwell to the senate in 1871, stated again their thorough conviction that Pomeroy in 1867 had used money "in a large amount and in a corrupt and criminal way."²³ As a result of this report, the United States senate was finally forced to do something about the charges. An investigation of Pomeroy's election in 1867 and Caldwell's in 1871 was authorized.²⁴ The investigation, however, came so near the summer recess that only Pomeroy's case was considered, Caldwell's being deferred till the congress should meet again in the fall. On June 3 the investigating committee reported that it found nothing sufficient to justify the charges made against Senator Pomeroy and therefore asked to be discharged from further consideration of the matter.

A last item, before returning to the grand climax of Pomeroy's career, is interesting if only because it reverses what seems by 1867 to have been the natural order of things. Pomeroy, instead of being accused once more of buying votes, was said to have offered to *sell his vote*—to Andrew Johnson in the impeachment trial. Thurlow Weed and Edmund Cooper, Johnson's private secretary, were said to have believed a letter containing this proposal was genuine. Pomeroy declared it was forged by a Mr. Luce.²⁵ It is only fair to add that Johnson's biographers do not seem to have taken note of it. And when it came time during the trial for Pomeroy to state his opinion of Johnson's guilt or innocence, he declared, after some pages of very select rhetoric, that "I cannot shut my eyes to the crimes and misdemeanors charged, and proved also, in this the

22. A man of Mr. Pomeroy's special talents could hardly have asked for representation on more useful committees. Besides being chairman of the committee on public lands (a bonanza in those days), he sat also on the committees for territories, manufactures, post offices and post roads, pensions and claims. The last two of these were doing an enormous business in the years following the Civil War.

23. Wilder, *op cit.*, pp. 570, 571.

24. On March 5, 1872, when both Pomeroy and Caldwell were hourly expecting the arrival of a demand from the Kansas legislature that the senate investigate their elections, Caldwell rose on the floor of the senate and delivered himself of a bit of prose that deserves something better than its forgotten grave in the *Congressional Globe*: "My character has been unjustly, cruelly, outrageously assailed. The foulest scandals of the street have been gathered up and scattered broadcast over the country. I simply desire to say to the Senate now that I shrink from no scrutiny. Sir, I hurl back these charges with scorn and indignation, and I have nothing but contempt for the mean, mercenary, and despicable motives which prompted them. No living man can confront me and say that I have ever done aught to warrant these assaults." (*Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess. [1871-1872], Pt. 2, p. 1410.) On February 17, 1873, the day the Pomeroy investigation opened, the committee which had been investigating Caldwell's election submitted a report declaring that Caldwell had not been legally elected. A month later he resigned his seat in order to avoid being formally expelled.

25. Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

eleventh article of impeachment; and with uplifted hand and heart I declare my belief to be *that the President is guilty!*"²⁶

IV

The tumult York had raised in the joint convention that afternoon continued unbrokenly for more than an hour and a half. As soon as the motions for a recess had been defeated, A. H. Horton, Pomeroy's attorney at that time, went immediately to the Tefft House to break the news to "the old man." Almost at once, Pomeroy left the hotel and removed to a private house where he would enjoy more seclusion. According to Horton's testimony during the senate investigation, many of Pomeroy's friends wanted him to make a public denial of having given York money, "because, they said, nobody would believe York if he [Pomeroy] denied it." But Pomeroy refused. He stood on a principle of the most admirable kind: "I will tell the exact truth; Mr. York has taken the advantage and abused my confidence, but I cannot tell anything but what actually occurred." ²⁷ He admitted, in short, that the money had changed hands, but he did not reveal at that time, at least publicly, the purpose for which he later insisted he had given the \$7,000 to York. That evening he was arrested and charged with bribery under state law.

Right after the election the Topeka *Commonwealth*, which had been vociferously pro-Pomeroy until that moment, printed an editorial that showed the paper, like the 50 men who had voted for Pomeroy on the first ballot, had suffered a sudden change of heart: "During the delivery of this astounding address [York's] . . . the audience was deathly still. Every word fell with a thrill on the senses of the packed and spell-bound throng like the dull and startling thud of clods on a coffin. In that coffin reposed the remains of the corruption that since the organization of the state has sat perched upon its back like the Old Man of the Sea."²⁸ The New York *Tribune* gave the election the lead spot on page 1 with the headline: "Senator Pomeroy's Downfall. His Corruption Overwhelmingly Exposed." The story, datelined Topeka, began: "Light has at last dawned in Kansas!" and went on to say that for two

26. "Opinion of Mr. Senator Pomeroy," *Trial of Andrew Johnson* . . . (published by order of the senate, Washington, D. C., 1868), v. 3, p. 347. The 11th article of impeachment centered around Johnson's disrespect for congress—his arguing that, since it did not represent all the states (members from some of the former Confederate states not having been seated), it was not lawfully constituted and therefore its laws were not binding, specifically the Tenure of Office act.

27. *Senate Report*, No. 523, p. 232.

28. Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 606.

weeks Pomeroy had kept a lobby in Topeka at a cost of "not less than \$1500 a day, and has spent probably \$100,000 in the campaign."²⁹

Perhaps the sprightliest comment on the exposure was a letter to the editor of the *Tribune*, which the paper obligingly made room for on page 1. It was entitled "The Epic of Topeka" and was signed with the pseudonym "J. Hawker."

Sir: I never made a poem before in my life, but on reading in The Tribune this morning the joyful news of the fall of our old friend Pomeroy in Kansas, I found prose utterly inadequate to the expression of my emotions, and burst forth in the following lines, which strike me as evincing great promise:

The subject of this sonnet
Is a Senator called Pom,
Who in the public pudding
Put a long and crooked thumb,
And from the same extracted
A plump and precious plum—
The truth is he had realized
A very tidy sum;—
But while he cried 'Eureka'
He found his hour had come,
They scooped him at Topeka—
This injudicious Pom.

Whatever compensation you may think these verses are worth you may send to Senator York, who by this time probably regrets his \$7,000 and feels forlorn.³⁰

The day after the election a Topeka dispatch to the *Tribune* announced that Pomeroy would make a public statement regarding York's charges when his trial came up. The trial was set for January 31, but, the dispatch continued, it would probably be postponed because of the senator's illness.³¹ The trial was postponed—many, many times, in fact—but on February 1 the *Atchison Champion* in Pomeroy's home town printed a letter which Pomeroy had written the editor:

Dear Sir: When you left Topeka I told you I would employ my first leisure in detailing to you for the public the precise nature of the malicious conspiracy organized for my defeat; but since the parties to this conspiracy have summoned me before the court to answer their charge—that is to say, before the judicial tribunal—I too am desirous and even anxious to appear and have a full investigation and verdict unbiased. I only ask a suspension of public judgment until a fair hearing can be had in the courts. The verdict will decide who has committed crime, and the measure of the guilty.³²

29. New York *Tribune*, January 30, 1873, p. 1.

30. *Ibid.*, January 31, 1873, p. 1.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

32. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1873, p. 2.

The New York *Tribune*, when it reprinted this letter, remarked that it was hard to see what possible defense Pomeroy could make for himself—"the whole transaction is so entirely in keeping with his reputation that the only matter for surprise is that he was caught at last."³³

A few days later the *Tribune* printed a rather long editorial on Pomeroy's character. It is interesting to compare this crude estimate by a layman with the more refined conclusions of the senate investigating committee a few weeks later. Pomeroy, said the *Tribune*,

was always more or less grotesque. He has made money from his youth up. The beans of the charitable paid tribute to him in the famine days. The seed-corn of the founders of his State was grist to him. In Washington he thrived and prospered beyond his kind. His portly form seemed nourished by subsidies and commissions. He thoroughly enjoyed life, and looked with comfortable contempt on rough rascals like Jim Lane³⁴ who drank whiskey and spent all they stole. Everybody . . . knew his thrifty ways and smiled in the indulgent way that honest worldlings have, over the wickedness of the prudent. Probably no one . . . ever regarded seriously the comedy of temperance and religion which was part of his system. So there is more amusement than surprise or regret over his downfall. . . .

Concerning Pomeroy's statement that he could explain everything satisfactorily, the *Tribune* concluded: "He cannot damage himself so much as a better man would do, for he has nothing but his old burlesque character to lose. He still has plenty of money and friends enough of the kind that money buys. . . . we rejoice . . . that no one worse than he can be sent to fill his place."³⁵

Apparently Pomeroy did not stay long in Kansas after the election. Having got his trial postponed, he headed for Washington and purification. On the third of February the *Tribune* reported that he had been heard from at Chicago on his way East, and that, contrary to reports which had been circulating, he apparently had not become insane, nor was he so ill that hope for his life had been abandoned.³⁶ On February 7, a Washington dispatch to the *Tribune* said that Pomeroy had been in the capital about a week³⁷ preparing a statement to read to the senate.³⁸

33. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

34. James H. Lane was elected with Pomeroy in 1861 as one of the state's first two senators.

35. New York *Tribune*, February 7, 1873, p. 4.

36. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1873, p. 1.

37. The train trip from Kansas to Washington in 1873 took three days. More probably, Pomeroy had been in Washington three or four days by February 7.

38. New York *Tribune*, February 8, 1873, p. 1.

Meanwhile the senator was getting some badly needed support from another newspaper, the *Washington Chronicle*—the paper Mark Twain in the *Gilded Age* refers to as the *Washington Daily Love-Feast*, run by "Brother Balaam" (Senator Harlan, of Iowa). The *Chronicle* happily chanced upon a point that was to be made the keystone of Pomeroy's defense in the coming investigation: York had betrayed Mr. Pomeroy, hence he was an "informer, stool-pigeon, and spy."

No honorable man would consent to enter into a conspiracy to tempt, seduce, and betray another. Whatever may be established as to Mr. Pomeroy, with one consent men will avoid Mr. York as a leprous scoundrel, whose touch is contamination. Indeed, the impression will instinctively rise in the mind of every honest man that York was paid a higher price than he claims to have been offered by Pomeroy by some other interested party.³⁹

Finally, on February 10 Senator Pomeroy addressed his brother senators, reading from a carefully prepared manuscript—how carefully was to become apparent a few days later. Having been in Washington only about a week he began: "I embrace the first opportunity, after being able to reach my seat in the Senate. . . ." And then he took note of the malicious charges that had been made against him:

Upon the subject-matter of that act of villainy, unparalleled in wickedness, my lips have heretofore been sealed, for the want of a proper place and opportunity to speak. I now propose to break this silence.

. . . I publicly deny the truth of each and every charge of bribery and corruption made by the chief instigator of this conspiracy, or by whomsoever made. I deny each and every statement imputing to me any act inconsistent with moral rectitude and correct conduct, and declare all such statements to be totally, absolutely, and wickedly false.

He then proposed a resolution to authorize the creation of a committee—containing, to insure fairness to the public, Democrats as well as Republicans—to investigate these charges brought against him by Col. A. M. York.⁴⁰ The resolution was, of course, accepted and a committee of five appointed: F. T. Frelinghuysen, Republican from New Jersey, chairman; William A. Buckingham, Republican from Connecticut; Allen G. Thurman, Democrat from Ohio; James L. Alcorn, Republican from Mississippi, and George Vickers, Democrat from Maryland.

The New York *Tribune* observed in an editorial on the matter that the committee was sufficiently able to insure a thorough investigation "if that be possible"; but it added that most of the

39. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

40. *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 3 Sess. (1872-1873), Pt. 2, pp. 1214, 1215.

committee, regardless of party, were friends of Pomeroy. The *Tribune* was more concerned with the element of time. The congress was to end on March 3, Grant's second inaugural to take place the day following. "There are seventeen working days left to this Congress, allowing Saturdays. Mr. Pomeroy is perfectly safe; his case cannot be reached before March 4; and that day will relegate him to private life. Under the circumstances, his denials and protests of innocence are easy, convenient, and cheap."⁴¹ But six days later the *Tribune* was cheered. An editorial appeared entitled "Pomeroy's Ordeal," and the writer seemed hopeful that there would be time to wash Mr. Pomeroy's linen after all. "It may be that the fortnight which remains of this session is still enough to send him home in a reputation of many colors, measured and fitted to him by sworn testimony. . . . We suppose we shall now see him working for acquittal or the 4th of March—either will be precious to what shreds of character are left him."⁴²

V

Hearings in the 1873 investigation began on February 17 and concluded February 25. On the last day things were pretty hectic, no less than 18 witnesses (including Pomeroy) appearing on the stand. But after this rather breathless finish, the committee proceeded more leisurely. The final report was not made public for almost a week after the hearings ended; it was issued on March 3, oddly enough the last day both of the Forty-second congress and of Pomeroy's term as senator.

As it progressed, the investigation received wide publicity throughout the country, the more so since it was augmented by an interesting side show on the floor of the senate. On the morning of the second day of the hearings the committee suddenly discovered that, now that York's testimony had been completed, they were bound by the terms of the resolution Pomeroy had offered authorizing the investigation—and which the senate had unquestioningly and therefore perhaps unwisely adopted—to investigate only the charges specifically brought by York alone, and not those preferred by four or five other members of the Kansas legislature who said that Pomeroy or his agents had tried to buy their votes. These men were already in Washington, enormously eager to unburden their hearts before the committee. B. F. Simpson, counsel for York, discovered a loophole. He had the privilege of petitioning the senate as a whole

41. New York *Tribune*, February 11, 1873, p. 4.

42. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1873, p. 4.

to amend the resolution so as to broaden the powers of the committee. In the afternoon session of the senate on the same day, Vice-President Schuyler Colfax reported that he had been handed such a petition signed by Simpson, as authorized counsel for York. Thereupon a fight broke out on the floor of the senate that takes up some 16 columns of the *Congressional Globe*. Most bitterly opposed to changing the powers of the committee were Senators Conkling of New York, Sherman of Ohio, and Nye of Nevada. Nye was especially moved, being particularly concerned about York's character. "By whom is this charge made?" he asked. "A man [who], if public rumors are true—for it is so recorded in every column of our newspapers—comes before this committee and unblushingly swears himself all covered over with fraud, wrong, and outrage. So much is he imbued with that, that he does not even dare to petition the Senate in his own name, but gets his attorney to come here and petition that he may be allowed to throw his drag-nets wider, and to rake, if possible, within them the honor of an American Senator." Referring to York then as "this rascal," he cried ". . . this is the true way to pull down the dignity of the Senate. Who would arraign an honorable Senator before the public, before the world, upon the petition of a man who, on his own assertion, is steeped in the very depths of fraud? Senators, you have your own reputations to protect, not only severally, but jointly. I ask the Senators to be careful how they trifle with the reputation of a brother Senator, or how they allow outside rascals to trifle with it." This meddler, he noted, was after all only "a mere outsider," and then apparently forgetting even York's name he suggested that "Mr. Pomeroy and Mr. What's-his-name settle their own difficulties." In a ringing close that throbbed with high-minded indignation he addressed the chair: "Mr. President, away with these investigations. We have had enough of them. . . . Away with such intruders, if you would bear aloft the ancient dignity of this body! . . . I feel that there is nothing that the human mind feeds upon like corrupt investigation. Our ears have been saluted with quite enough of it. The public appetite is gorged with investigation."⁴³ But despite Mr. Nye and his laudable efforts in behalf of the public appetite the senate voted to broaden the powers of the committee.

This outburst of concern for the senate and the reading habits of the public did not go unremarked by the press. The New York *Tribune* a few days later came out with a stinging editorial. "It was a rather mellifluous debate they had in the Senate the other day,"

43. *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 3 Sess. (1872-1873), Pt. 2, p. 1450.

it began, "upon the question of whether the committee appointed to try Col. York of Kansas for having been bribed by Senator Pomeroy should have its powers enlarged so as to try other persons who have been bribed by the same excellent person." After some picturesque but essentially small-caliber remarks by Senators Conkling and Sherman,

into the midst of this debate there came with the snort and plunge of a war-horse the Hon. Mr. Nye of Nevada. Stepping briskly to the front he took his mother tongue by the hair. Some men who have strivings with the language are timid about it, holding it at arm's length in a doubtful wrestle. Not so Nye. In defense of a friend he would not shrink from grappling alone an entire vocabulary. He was equal to the occasion. To use a very reprehensible term, but one which seems to be adapted to this emergency, he fairly "slung" it. He called York a "rascal;" worse than that, an "outside rascal." He then said he was a "mere outsider;" that he was "steeped in the very depths of fraud." . . . Warming up to his work he called him a "*particeps criminis*," and charged him with having a "morbid appetite."

Referring then to Nye's passionate plea in behalf of the dignity of the senate, the editorial continued:

This is the keynote of the character of the great statesman of Nevada. If there is anything he has sat up nights to do for the past eight or ten years it is to "bear aloft the ancient dignity of that body." Very few Senators of the period could bear it so far aloft or so much of it at one time. In all this time, however, he has suffered constant and intense agony from the conviction which he could not dispel that the tendency of the human mind is to "feed upon corrupt investigation." It is not strange that he should cry, "Away with investigation!" The country cannot survive the Republican party, and the Republican party cannot survive investigation. He meant it; and not in this case only. Should anyone set on foot an inquiry into the report that Jones, who shortly comes into the Senate from Nevada, paid Nye \$50,000 not to be a candidate, he would doubtless take the same high ground.

But Nye disposed of York's case. It is settled now that any man who makes a fuss about being corruptly approached by a United States Senator is an "outside rascal," a "Mr. What's-his-name," a villain . . . a man in short who has no rights a Senator is bound to respect; while the man who tempted him is a "brother Senator," an "honorable man," and a gentleman to be tenderly dealt with. . . . Well, it seems too bad that we are to lose Nye. He isn't nearly as funny as he used to be, but he "bears aloft the dignity" of the Senate in a most touching and becoming manner.⁴⁴

Since time was so short, Chairman Frelinghuysen of the investigating committee secured permission to allow the committee to meet during sessions of the senate. The committee met behind closed doors on the morning of the 17th to decide on further procedure. It was decided to have the hearings open to the public and to allow one man from each side to serve as counsel with the right of examination

44. New York Tribune, February 22, 1873, p. 6.

and cross-examination. B. F. Simpson served as counsel for York, and A. H. Horton conducted most of the questioning for Pomeroy. But since Horton was implicated in the charges as an agent of Pomeroy and had to appear as a witness himself, Pomeroy retained the services of Caleb Cushing, then an old man of 73, one of the sharpest lawyers of the day.⁴⁵ Cushing examined Horton and also prepared the summary for Pomeroy's side.

The hearings began at three o'clock February 17 in the room of the senate committee on patents. In the center of the room was a large table with Frelinghuysen at the head. On his right were Senators Thurman and Alcorn, on his left Vickers and Buckingham. At the foot of the table was a chair for witnesses and another for the shorthand reporter. At a small table on the right sat Pomeroy and his counsel, Cushing and Horton. Near the foot of the table were York and his counsel, Simpson. Chairs were provided for about 50 spectators, and standing room for about 50 more. Most of the spectators were Kansas men, many of them having come to Washington to testify at the Caldwell investigation just concluded. During York's testimony, Pomeroy kept his eyes on the floor or on a piece of paper which he occasionally made notes on. Once in a while he passed a note to his counsel, but never during the first day of hearings did he look at the considerable audience. This attitude contrasted strongly with York's, which was confident and open—"brazen-faced," some said.⁴⁶

VI

As the hearings got underway,⁴⁷ it was learned that the plan to trap and expose Pomeroy apparently did not originate with York. James C. Horton, one of the men who with York made the final decision that night in Room 107 of the Tefft House, testified that the first man who suggested the idea was none other than Thomas A. Osborne, governor of Kansas. In a conversation shortly after the November election in the preceding year, Horton had remarked that the legislature seemed then to be largely against Pomeroy. "Yes," replied the governor, but "the old cuss will use money, and buy his way through." Then, according to Horton, Osborne said that the

45. Cushing had had a notable career. He had been attorney general under President Pierce, had served as legal consultant to Lincoln, and had been instrumental in settling the *Alabama* claims. Grant nominated him for chief justice of the supreme court, but because of his former antiabolitionist connections he was not confirmed. He had, incidentally, conducted the unsuccessful defense of Senator Caldwell of Kansas against charges of vote buying; Caldwell's campaign methods had been too much for even Cushing to surmount.

46. New York *Tribune*, February 18, 1873, p. 5.

47. The following summary of the senate investigation is taken from *Senate Report, No. 523*, 42 Cong., 3 Sess. (1872-1873).

only way to beat Pomeroy would be for some man to take his money and then expose him.

York's account of the events that led up to the disclosure in the joint convention was extremely circumstantial. (His testimony runs 33 pages in the printed report, compared to Pomeroy's eight.) He, Simpson, Johnson and J. C. Horton had become convinced that Pomeroy was buying votes, and since York was a strong anti-Pomeroy leader it was expected that Pomeroy would make overtures to him; the testimony of other witnesses on both sides bore out the fact that York was respected as a solid man, and if he voted for Pomeroy others would probably follow because of his example. Late in the afternoon of January 27 York was approached by Asa Hairgrove, former state auditor, who said that Pomeroy wanted him to come to his rooms in the Tefft House for "a business interview." The conference of the four "conspirators" followed at once. York went to see Pomeroy shortly afterwards and was asked to return about midnight. When he returned at this time, Pomeroy asked him to come back in an hour, when he would be alone. When the conversation finally took place, Pomeroy immediately urged York to vote for him and showed him lists of the men who would give him their votes on the first and second ballots. York held off, whereupon Pomeroy said "he was too old a politician to bribe votes, but said that if I would say that I would vote for him I would then be one of his friends and he could then aid me, or that it would be right, perfectly right, to aid me the same as he would any other of his friends." York gave a little ground then and said he was committed to another candidate for Tuesday; he finally agreed that he might be able to vote for Pomeroy on Wednesday. When York refused to say how much he wanted, Pomeroy offered \$5,000 which was indignantly refused as being too little. York demanded \$10,000. Pomeroy agreed to this figure if York would wait 90 days for the last \$5,000. York, however, wanted cash, and the deal was finally made to give York \$2,000 that night, \$4,000 the next afternoon and a final \$2,000 after York had cast his vote for Pomeroy. The \$2,000 was then handed over, and Pomeroy remarked that York had made a good start in politics—he was on the right side now and had a splendid future. He talked of seeing to it that York would be the next member of congress from southern Kansas. He added that he wouldn't think of giving so much for one man's vote if he didn't know that York had a reputation for being a truthful man and that if he rose in the legislature to say he had investigated the charges made against Senator Pomeroy and had found them false, many more votes would

come Pomeroy's way. Before York left Pomeroy got him to agree to take private lodgings the next day; York and Johnson had been sharing rooms in a hotel, and Pomeroy was concerned lest the money he had given York be discovered by someone else. York promised also not to bank the money but to keep it in his trunk till he got home to Independence, when he would lock it in his safe. The next day at four in the afternoon York and Pomeroy met by previous agreement at Col. T. B. Eldridge's rooms and a bundle of \$5,000, instead of the \$4,000 previously agreed on, was handed to York. The senator wanted York to attend the Pomeroy caucus that evening to lend the boys a hand, but York begged off on the plea of needing some sleep so he could give the senator better service on the floor of the joint convention the next day.

The senators of the committee took some pains to establish that York had accepted Pomeroy's money with the specific intention of exposing him. Senator Alcorn asked, "Then you went there in order to win his confidence by what you would say . . .?" "I intended to deceive him," answered York. Alcorn continued: "Did you not hold out the inducement to cause him to place that confidence in you—" York: "I did; most emphatically, I did." Alcorn: "—which a man dealing with a customer of this sort would be disposed to place—" York: "Yes, sir." Alcorn: "—believing he was reposing trust in a man that would not betray him?" York: "Yes, sir." Alcorn: "You state that after that you did betray him?" York: "Yes, sir; I did." Plainly, York was unregenerate. In answer to a question by Senator Vickers, York declared: "It was my purpose, if Mr. Pomeroy would offer me an opportunity of taking money to take it, and then I would expose him; that was my intent; that was my object."

William A. Johnson, York's erstwhile roommate in Topeka, testified that when he arrived in the state capital he found it very difficult to get lodgings. He did not stay in the Tefft House because the landlord had told him Pomeroy had rented almost the whole hotel for "the use of his lobby and his friends." He testified also that between 90 and 100 members of the legislature came to Topeka pledged against Pomeroy; 64, in fact, attended the first meeting of the anti-Pomeroy caucus. But as the days wore on, it was found that "men who had been the fiercest and bitterest against Mr. Pomeroy's reelection" were deserting to the other side, and "we would hear from them in his rooms, and around his headquarters. . . ."

Four other men were brought to Washington to testify that as members of the legislature they had been offered bribes by Pom-

eroy's agents. W. M. Matheny said Milt Reynolds (the newspaper editor who had dropped his suit against Pomeroy some years before and had then been appointed to a land office job) urged him to vote for Pomeroy and assured the incredulous Matheny on Tuesday evening that York "is ours, and he will vote to-morrow for Mr. Pomeroy." A few minutes later a man named Dean S. Kelly offered Matheny a \$1,500 piece of property in Baxter Springs, Matheny's home town, for \$25 if Matheny would vote for Pomeroy. B. O'Driscoll, a member of the lower house, was twice offered \$2,000 by Asa Lowe if he would vote right. He refused. A man named David Paine next approached him and said there was plenty of money in Topeka for those who would vote for Pomeroy. Paine said that "it was Government money, or money that had been stolen from the Government, as he stated it, and that I had just as well have it as anybody else." After O'Driscoll had turned this down too, he was approached by two other men; when he said to the last that if any more of Pomeroy's bummers came to him with offers he would publish the fact to the town, he was finally left alone.

Frank Bacon, also a member of the lower house, was propositioned several times by Christian A. Rohrabacher, who was working for Pomeroy. Finally at Rohrabacher's invitation Bacon went to a room in the Tefft House where A. H. Horton, Pomeroy's attorney, met him. Horton introduced himself as attorney for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and said that this company was very anxious to see Mr. Pomeroy re-elected. If Bacon would vote right, Horton said, Pomeroy would pay his campaign expenses. Bacon suggested that some \$2,000 would be needed for this item, but Horton said Pomeroy couldn't pay more than \$600 to \$1,000. On Wednesday, however, just before the joint convention was called to order, Rohrabacher came up to Bacon on the floor and told him that the \$2,000 was ready for him if he'd give his vote to Pomeroy. Bacon refused.

The case of William H. Bond, an idealistic but needy young man representing Leavenworth county, was especially dramatic. He was persecuted for days, he said, by Pomeroy's agents. Everywhere he went, a Pomeroy man materialized before him and began making lewd offers for his vote. One gathers that the attrition was telling on him, for when the senator's lead-off man, A. H. Horton, cornered him in a hotel room on Wednesday morning, the day of the joint convention, Bond said he fled in desperation to the state house, where he "went into the water-closet, and staid there till the house was called to order."

Christian A. Rohrabacher, the man Bacon said had offered him \$2,000 in Pomeroy's interest, had a rather bad time of it before the committee. In the course of testimony it developed that before the legislature's investigation of the election, he had written a letter to Alfred Ennis of Topeka saying he had just learned he would be summoned to appear before the legislature's committee: "It is not best that I should go there," he wrote, "it is not best that I should be called. I want \$50 for expenses, so that I can go away." On the ninth of February he wrote Pomeroy, however, saying that he had read of the proposed senate investigation, and that he had evidence that would confound the opposition. He suggested that Pomeroy have him summoned to Washington and ended his letter encouragingly with the assurance that "I start to-morrow for Shelby, Mo., to look up York's antecedents." ⁴⁸ When he heard nothing from Pomeroy, he wired him urgently two days later: "You had better have me summoned to Washington." But Pomeroy did not summon him; the other side did. When he was asked before the committee about his making offers to Bacon, he agreed with Bacon's version of the affair. Then, under cross-examination, it became apparent why the defense had not called him for their side. The unfortunate Rohrabacher had a rather picaresque past, it seemed. A. H. Horton not only got him to admit that he had come to Kansas from the state penitentiary in Iowa, where he had served two and a half years for burglary, but even got the entire court records of his trial and conviction read into the committee's minutes. ⁴⁹ Thus the defense was later able to point to "the convict Rohrabacher" as an example of the type of witness the prosecution had relied on.

VII

Pomeroy's attorneys called a swarm of witnesses, all of whom testified with remarkable unanimity that, first, it was a gross insult even to intimate that Mr. Pomeroy would buy a vote or that he would have others do it for him; and second, that Topeka, like the New Jerusalem, was free from taint or blemish. John McDonald's

48. This was the town where York had lived before moving to Kansas after the war.

49. There are a couple of passages in the records of the trial and conviction that, if correct, may force literary critics to reevaluate the dime novels of the period and put them among the early pioneers of realism. Rohrabacher was convicted with a fellow named Knight. "One Yates, of the Chicago detective force, came to Iowa and had reason to suspect the defendants. Unknown to them, he followed Knight and the others to different places. Himself invisible, he pursued Knight like a shadow; noiselessly but certainly, with or after him." After the capture of Knight, a trap was set at the Montour House, Independence, Iowa, for Rohrabacher. He was sharing a room there with a police stooge named Pollard who had been planted with him. A detective moved into the next room and removed a strip from the bottom of a connecting door so that he could overhear their conversation. He reported: "Pollard says to Rohrabacher, 'Knight has blown on us;' Rohrabacher says, 'God d—n Knight, he never could be trusted.' Pollard says, 'We are salted this time.' Rohrabacher says, 'That d—n detective is sharper than a cut rifle.'"

testimony is typical. Mr. Horton: "General McDonald, do you know of any improper influence being used there during that canvass, to your knowledge?" McDonald: "Not at all, sir." Every statement by the other side involving attempts to bribe were categorically denied. And Perry B. Maxson declared that York had told him on Tuesday he was going to vote for Pomeroy, although York and his friends had sworn that only six men including himself were in on the secret until the exposure was made in the convention.

Judge Albert H. Horton, as Pomeroy's intimate friend, was allowed to speak at some length. Only 35 years old at this time, he had already come far. For two years he had served as city attorney of Atchison, then for five years was district judge; in the fall of 1868 he was elected to the legislature, then was appointed United States district attorney, which position he still held at the time of the investigation. He also claimed to be attorney for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, and was in effect Pomeroy's campaign manager. Horton made sweeping denials of all the allegations made by York's side. He had been "distinctly informed by Mr. Pomeroy that he desired his re-election in this instance as a justification before the people of Kansas, on account of the calumnies that had been uttered against him, and that he would not use a dollar or a cent illegitimately or improperly to secure that result. . . ." He denied also that he had himself made offers of bribes to anyone. As for the charge that he had offered Bacon money, the latter had come to Horton and *offered* to sell his vote to Pomeroy for \$2,000. "I indignantly refused it," said Horton. He added that he had been told by Mr. Pomeroy that York had as early as Saturday been telling people he was going to vote for Pomeroy, notwithstanding his role in the anti-Pomeroy caucus.

Pomeroy's main testimony was given in a thoughtfully prepared statement which he was allowed to read. Since no other witness had been given this privilege there were several half-hearted protests from members of the committee, but he was allowed to proceed without hindrance. If Horton's denials were sweeping, Pomeroy's were annihilating. He denied either that he had ever given authority to anyone else to bargain for votes for him, or that he had paid for votes himself. He swore that York had told at least three men (all Pomeroy supporters) on Saturday that he would support Pomeroy's candidacy; this was two days before Pomeroy and York met in the Tefft House at night. He did not deny having given York the \$7,000. But he had a different explanation from that of York for why he had paid the money. Some days before the election, he said, he had

agreed to aid a young man, John Q. Page, in establishing a national bank at Independence. Page was already operating a private bank there. In order to make the conversion, Page had to buy 25 \$1,000 government bonds, which were then selling at a premium of \$12 or \$14 dollars per \$100 of face value. Page could raise \$25,000 himself, but he needed somewhere between seven and ten thousand more in order to get the bonds.⁵⁰ Pomeroy had agreed to lend him this amount, whatever it should prove to be. Page wanted the money before he left Topeka, but Pomeroy said it wasn't convenient then for him to get this sum but that he would get it soon, and Page could count on it.

Shortly after this interview, on Friday or Saturday, Pomeroy met W. P. Boreland of the Leavenworth Second National Bank who asked him solicitously if he wouldn't be needing some cash before he left for Washington. Boreland observed that Pomeroy's hotel bills would probably be quite large. At this time, Pomeroy declined the offer with thanks, but when he happened to meet Boreland again the next day he said he would like to have \$5,000 for 40 or 60 days since he had promised to help a young friend start a national bank in Independence. "He then brought me a package, said to contain \$5,000, which I never opened or counted, or even gave a note or receipt for at the time, and I put the same in my valise." Meanwhile York had been pestering Pomeroy for an interview and finally came to see the senator on Monday night; he told Pomeroy what had been going on in the anti-Pomeroy caucus, and Pomeroy patiently "heard him through." Before he left, he thanked Pomeroy for the favor the latter had done their mutual friend Page, and said that Page had asked him to get the money and convey it to him at Independence, where both lived. Pomeroy was at first rather reluctant, but finally gave \$2,000 to York that night and the next afternoon gave him the package of \$5,000 that he had got from Boreland. Pomeroy took no receipt.

After he had given York the \$5,000, Pomeroy sent two men out to look for Page and tell him that the money had been given to York, but both returned saying they had been unable to find him. ". . . I rested in the belief that the transaction was all right until I heard of the misrepresentation of the facts by Mr. York upon the floor of the joint convention. I then denounced it as a conspiracy, a plot. . . ."

50. Actually \$25,000 worth of bonds selling at a premium of, say, \$14 per hundred of face value, would cost \$28,500. In other words, the premium would amount not to \$7,000 or \$10,000, but to \$3,500. It is strange that no one seems to have mentioned this during the hearings.

Senator Thurman was the only member of the committee who took pains to ask his colleague about certain discrepancies in his testimony. Why hadn't Pomeroy given York the whole \$7,000 on Monday night, since the package of \$5,000 was in his valise in a corner of the room? There were two reasons, said Pomeroy. First, he wanted to check with Page before giving the last \$5,000 to York, and second, "I had not the \$5,000 accessible at that time." But hadn't Thurman understood that the \$5,000 was in a valise in the same room? Yes, but the valise was locked and the senator's clerk, Lemuel Pomeroy, had the key. Then where was Lemuel Pomeroy? "He was in the reception-room, or abed. He was about the hotel." Then Thurman wanted to know if Pomeroy had thought it entirely safe to give that much money to York with no receipt of any kind. Pomeroy admitted that it was perhaps a little irregular, and that it was not his usual way of doing business. Had the banker, Boreland, been summoned to Washington as a witness? Yes, but by the other side, Pomeroy answered. He had had a subpoena made out but tore it up when he learned that Simpson had summoned him. (Boreland, by the way, had vanished shortly before the investigation began; he could not be found and hence the subpoena was not served.) Had Pomeroy ever said anything since to Mr. Page about what had happened to the money that had been promised him? Well, Pomeroy had written him a letter from Washington, but he had since learned that Page had never received it. The money, however, was Page's, and Page had a right to it. Thurman got in one parting shot at the bank deal. Thurman: "Nothing was said about the interest you were to have in the bank or on the money?" Pomeroy: "I was to have no interest in the bank." Thurman: "And nothing was said about the rate of interest on the money?" Pomeroy: "Not at all." Thurman: "Or whether he was to pay interest at all?" Pomeroy: "Nothing at all."

Page's testimony, although it preceded Pomeroy's, I have put last because it was the fullest testimony of any defense witness. He was a young man of 33, originally from Missouri but had lived in Kansas for 20 years. For the last two years he had been in the banking business in Independence. He first met Pomeroy in the fall of 1871 when the senator had come to Independence to make a speech. This meeting consisted of shaking hands with him and of engaging, together with many other people, in a general conversation with him afterwards in the lobby of a hotel. The next time he saw Pomeroy at all was on January 21, 1873, shortly before the senatorial election. They had had no correspondence in the interval.

Page got to Topeka in the afternoon of January 21 and went to see Pomeroy after dinner with a petition from a group of Independence citizens endorsing Pomeroy's candidacy. Some days later Page again called on him to ask for help in converting his bank. "He told me he had helped a great many young men in Kansas, and was willing to help me. . . . I told him I would give him any security he might require. He said he did not require any." Pomeroy said he didn't have the money with him at the time but would probably have it before the election and would give it to Page as soon as he got it. In the event he could not get the money before Page left for Independence after the election, Pomeroy said he would send it to him.

On Saturday, January 25, Page saw Pomeroy and asked him whether the money had come yet. No, Pomeroy said, not yet. On Monday, January 27, Page met York and told him that Pomeroy would probably give him a package of money and asked York if he would bring it to him at Independence when the convention was over. York agreed, said Page. (York and Page were neighbors in Independence and were on friendly terms, though not intimate.) Nothing was said to York, however, about the fact that Page intended to start a national bank at Independence, or that the money he was to convey to Page was to be used for this purpose. Subsequently to seeing York, Page called on Pomeroy to see if the money had come and to tell him that he was leaving for Independence on the five A. M. train the next day, Tuesday. He asked Pomeroy at this meeting to send the money, when it did come, with either York or Mr. Bell, a member of the lower house from Independence. But after leaving Pomeroy's rooms, Page said he ran into Asa Hairgrove, who persuaded him to stay on in Topeka until after the senatorial election had been decided. Page did not finally leave Topeka for Independence till the noon train on Thursday, January 30. During all this time, Page had no further conversation with Pomeroy. He did not inquire either of York or of Bell whether they had the money for him from Pomeroy. After both Page and York were back home in Independence following the election, Page did not speak to York about the money, nor did he mention the matter to Bell. Page even saw York on the train on the way home, but kept silent, though he was conscious of what York had done with the \$7,000 which he knew was intended for him. Page had no correspondence with Pomeroy about the money after the election. He said it was not till he himself got to Washington as a witness for the investigation that Pomeroy told him the money intended for the bank had been

given to York, who had made it exhibit A in the exposure. Page swore further that he had told no one of the true extent of York's duplicity—doublecrossing not only Pomeroy but Page himself—until he made the statement under oath before the senate committee. He had kept this private wrong locked in his own bosom. He declared that he had frequently stated to others that he thought York's betrayal of Pomeroy was "a villainy unparalleled in the history of this country"; but at the same time he admitted that immediately after the exposure in the joint convention he had told S. A. Cobb, member of congress, that he believed what York had just said: "I told him that Mr. York was a man that stood well in my county; that I could not dispute his statements; that if Mr. Pomeroy had positively paid him \$7000 for his vote, that I was no longer for Mr. Pomeroy."

The last item of testimony taken during the investigation was a statement made by York, who was recalled to the stand to say whether he had ever had any conversation with Page regarding money for Page's bank. "I will state most emphatically," he said, "that I never did, directly or indirectly; that he never upon any occasion, either at Topeka or before or since, made the most indirect allusion to establishing a national bank at Independence, and I also state most emphatically that in none of the interviews I had with Mr. Pomeroy was the matter of his paying me money for Mr. Page ever referred to in the most distant manner."

VIII

Simpson's summary of York's case began by pointing out that it was not York who was on trial, but Pomeroy. "It is immaterial," Simpson declared, "whether York is a gentleman of high moral character or not. Did Pomeroy pay him for his vote? If he did, whether York is a saint or a villain is of no consequence. Honest men do not pay bribes to saints, conspirators, villains, or any one else." Pomeroy had every reason to buy York off, Simpson argued. York had been elected state senator on an anti-Pomeroy pledge; he made repeated promises during his campaign to work for Pomeroy's defeat; he attended all the meetings of the anti-Pomeroy caucus and was its secretary; he spoke publicly against Pomeroy from the floor of the legislature before the senatorial election. Then Simpson began picking holes in the defense's testimony. He pointed out that the statements of Pomeroy's friends show that they did not say York was going to vote for Pomeroy till after the time when York had been given the money—that is, these rumors were circulated on

Tuesday. The only one who could have supplied the information to start these rumors was Pomeroy himself, for York's confederates were sworn to silence.

Why, Simpson asked, did Pomeroy arrange to meet York the second time in Colonel Eldridge's room? Why not meet in his own? Or why wasn't the money sent to Page by Colonel Eldridge himself, who was from Page's county? For that matter, why didn't Pomeroy merely mail Page a check or draft? Why was currency used? Then he called the committee's attention to the confidence Pomeroy had in Page. He had seen Page once before, and then in company; he had had no previous business relations with Page; he had had no correspondence with him; yet he agreed to lend Page \$7,000 without interest, without security, without receipt. "Is not this a remarkable business transaction? At the same time, does it not demonstrate the trusting and confiding nature of short friendships formed in the midst of a senatorial strife?" Simpson observed that when Page went to see Pomeroy on Monday evening, January 27, Pomeroy told him the money was not there yet. But Pomeroy testified he got the money the previous Friday or Saturday from Boreland. And although on Tuesday Pomeroy had two men trying without success to find Page, the latter did not leave Topeka until Thursday. Another point of Pomeroy's testimony seemed out of line; Pomeroy had said that when York came to see him on Monday night he thanked him earnestly for helping Page in his efforts to start a national bank. Yet Page testified that he had never told York he planned to convert his bank.

In arguing his contention that it was not York who was on trial Simpson said:

. . . the man who exposes the villainy is denounced as a Judas, while he who attempts to defile is the sympathetic subject of a "conspiracy." What possible motive could York have but an honest one? By silence, he could have procured money and official promotion; by exposure, he meets vituperation in our public press, censure in the council chambers of the nation, and the muttered threats of the pensioned horde of the fallen. When the Post-Office Department suspects a thieving postmaster of larcenous propensities, they send out a decoy letter to detect the scoundrel, and yet the official perfidy of the act of detection has never been so manifest that a joint resolution has passed both Houses denouncing the governmental Judas.

The friends of Mr. Pomeroy, in their holy horror of Colonel York's deception, are never weary of applying to him the name of the disciple who betrayed our Savior. But we beg to remind the committee, and the gentlemen whose susceptibilities have suffered such a shock, that Judas accepted the money *and carried out the contract!*

Old Caleb Cushing summarized for Pomeroy. Amply shrewd to

see that Pomeroy's case was weak on facts, Cushing surmounted this obstacle merely by ignoring the facts. He concentrated all the power of his formidable rhetoric on the characters of the witnesses for the other side, and for sheer virtuosity in the handling of invective, Cushing was hard to beat. He disposed first of the charges brought by Bacon, Bond, Matheny and O'Driscoll. York and Simpson, he said, had brought to Washington "a number of witnesses, trashy persons like Bond and Bacon, to testify to the low gossip of Topeka at the time of the senatorial election. . . . The convict Rohrabacher is a fair type of the set." The lot of them, with York and Simpson, were involved in a deal which combined "private cheating, political fraud, and moral assassination." In the first place, Pomeroy had no reason to try to buy York's vote: "His election was already certain. That is proved incontrovertibly by the testimony of various persons before the committee." But these conspirators, during Mr. Pomeroy's absence in Washington, had been busy in Topeka digging up dirt and wallowing in it: "Mr. Pomeroy was not there to defend himself." Nonetheless, the prosecution, said Cushing, had utterly failed to prove that bribery had been committed, and therefore it would surely be safe to assume that as far as Mr. Pomeroy was concerned the election "was absolutely pure, and without a taint or spot of corruption or bribery." Consequently, Cushing invited the committee "to stigmatize with their censure the flagrant injustice of Mr. Simpson in presenting these false charges to the Senate; in subjecting the United States to so much expense without cause; in abusing the confidence of the committee, to bring forward witnesses incompetent, as he did, or should know; and in thus bearing false witness against his neighbor, in violation of the law of man and of God."

Then Mr. Cushing turned his attention to Colonel York, "a person of credulously jealous temperament," a man cursed with "a mind cankered by constitutional suspiciousness." York had three motives: "1. To cheat Mr. Pomeroy out of an election for Senator. . . . 2. To cheat the legislature itself out of the free choice, either of Mr. Pomeroy or anybody else. 3. To cheat Mr. Pomeroy out of his money." As for York's statement that when he and his three friends met on that Monday evening they decided that whatever money Pomeroy might give him they would contribute to the state school fund, Cushing became classical: "When Vespasian exhibited to Titus the new coin obtained from the tax on *cloacae*, he said, 'My son, *non olet*.' What sort of smell would belong to a

school-fund augmented by money which Mr. York should have obtained from Mr. Pomeroy by conspiracy, falsehood, and fraud?"

Observing then York's "sallow complexion, his sunken eyes, his hollow cheeks, his somber air and manner," Cushing concluded that he was a political fanatic like Clement, who assassinated Henry III, Fenton, who assassinated the Duke of Buckingham, Booth, who assassinated Lincoln, and Payne, who tried to assassinate Seward. These men felt any wrong they performed was justified by the ultimate good they intended to achieve. The whole class were a poor sort of heroes. Moral assassins like York could claim only "The heroism of lying! The heroism of cheating! The heroism of professing friendship in order to betray! Pah! All these persons belong to a vocation which Macaulay characterizes as 'a vocation compared with which the life of a beggar, of a pickpocket, of a pimp, is honorable.' God have mercy on her, if such is the timber of which they construct heroes in the State of Kansas!" Postwar amendments to the constitution forbade selling black men, Cushing declared. "It is to be endured that we are to have distinction of color against white men? An ex-lieutenant-colonel, an actual State senator, . . . sells in Kansas for \$7000, cash on delivery. . . . But how the price of slaves has risen! Seven thousand dollars for Mr. York! Why, a better man could be bought in the bagnio for tenpence! says Anastasius."

But, said Mr. Cushing, York did *not* go to Pomeroy and offer himself for sale at \$7,000, nor did Pomeroy "purchase for \$7,000 a piece of chattels which would have been dear at 7,000 cents." Instead, Pomeroy received assurances from York that he could be trusted to convey the money to Mr. Page. As to why Page did not remonstrate at the joint convention and declare publicly that he knew how York came by the money, "It would have been absurd for Mr. Page, a quiet banker, to plunge into that mad scene, and charge York with thus misapplying his money. . . ."

In conclusion, Cushing declared that Mr. Pomeroy did not choose to oppose his word against the mere word of York, although "He might well do that, seeing that the statement of Mr. York is incredible in itself, contrary to all the probabilities, and even possibilities, of human action, unsupported by a tittle of evidence except his own word, and that word the word of an avowed falsifier, deceiver, and betrayer." Pomeroy, he said, contradicts "peremptorily" York's charges, and "appeals from the calumnies of such a man to the consideration and estimation which he has the right to claim at the

close of an honorable career of twelve years in the Senate of the United States."

IX

The investigating committee concluded its hearings on February 25, yet its final report was not released until March 3, the last day of the Forty-second congress. On March 1 the *New York Tribune* ran an article on the hearings with the headline "Pomeroy to Be Whitewashed. . . . Pomeroy's Defense to Be Accepted, in the Face of General Disbelief in Its Truth."⁵¹ The committee's report was expected that day, but it was not forthcoming. Two days later the *Tribune* ran a dispatch from Washington dated March 2 which reported that the reason for the committee's delay in making its findings public was that Pomeroy's friends had been trying to get the committee to include some recommendation for refusing to seat the newly elected Senator Ingalls, Pomeroy's successor, since the Kansas legislature in putting Ingalls in office had acted on false information—namely, that Pomeroy had tried to bribe Senator York.⁵²

When the report finally appeared, it was found that a majority opinion had been signed by Frelinghuysen, Buckingham and Alcorn, and minority opinions by Vickers and Thurman. The majority report held, first, that the charges of bribery preferred by Bacon, Bond, O'Driscoll and Matheny were not clearly cases of bribery, and even if they were there was no evidence to connect them with Senator Pomeroy. Second, with regard to York's charges, the majority took pains to point out that there were "circumstances that legitimately affect the credibility of Mr. York": specifically, that York had admitted planning the exposure in advance with the express purpose of securing Pomeroy's defeat; that York fought down a motion for recess in the joint convention after the exposure had been made; and that "when a line of deception has been entered upon, no one can say when it is dropped and the golden thread of truth adopted." The majority further noted that all of York's witnesses were flatly contradicted by Mr. Pomeroy's.

But it was mentioned that there were a few unanswered questions, such as why Pomeroy didn't give York the whole \$7,000 the first night; why no one else happened to be present at either of York's two interviews during which he received the money; why Page and Pomeroy didn't manage to meet in Topeka after Monday; why Pomeroy didn't give Page the money when Page called on Monday, and why the money wasn't given in a sealed package, the usual pro-

51. *New York Tribune*, March 1, 1873, p. 1.

52. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1873, p. 5.

cedure in such cases. The majority also admitted there were some discrepancies between the testimony of Page and that of Pomeroy, but added kindly that "perhaps they are not other than such as show the absence of arrangement between them as witnesses." Consequently, the majority took the view that the whole affair was "the result of a concerted plot to defeat Mr. Pomeroy, and remembering that the burden of proof is on the party making the accusation, [the majority] have come to the conclusion that Mr. York has not sustained his charge by sufficient proof, contradicted as it is by the evidence of Mr. Page and Mr. Pomeroy."

Senator Vickers' minority report differed from that of the majority only in that it placed even greater emphasis on York's treachery and the inevitable effect that fact must have on the reliability of his evidence. Hence Vickers could not "decide that the guilt of Mr. Pomeroy is established beyond a reasonable doubt." Senator Thurman, however, came out boldly and said that he believed Pomeroy to be guilty on both counts. Pomeroy's testimony, he stated, contradicted Page's, and besides, Pomeroy's reports of the affair were "so opposed to the usual circumstances attending a business transaction, and are so improbable, . . . that reliance cannot be placed upon them." He added that he would make a fuller statement of his dissent, but this was the last day of the session, and of Pomeroy's term as senator, so that the senate would not have time to consider his objections even were he to give them. He has stated briefly, therefore, "the conclusions to which my mind has, reluctantly and painfully, been brought."

Next day the New York *Tribune*, with an I-told-you-so attitude, ran its story of the report under the headline "Pomeroy White-washed. The Coat Not Considered Very Effective. General Belief in His Guilt. . . ." In the course of the article, which contained the majority and minority reports, the *Tribune* urged its readers to give especial thought to Thurman's opinion because of his reputation for thoroughness and fairness.⁵³ The *Annals of Kansas*, a book containing a day-by-day history of the state from its beginnings until 1875, when the book went to press, gave the verdict of the investigating committee, then referred to Mark Twain's version of it in *The Gilded Age*, which came out shortly before Christmas of 1873. "The book containing this investigation," the author of the *Annals* says, "is a Senate document, Report No. 523, Forty-second Congress, Third session, pp. 270. —Mark Twain's book, published

53. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1873, p. 1.

this year, contains 574 pages. It is a work of fiction. 'Anything but history,' says Robert Walpole, 'for history must be false.'"⁵⁴

Pomeroy's subsequent career, though characteristic to a degree, is not as exciting as that part of it which preceded the exoneration of 1873. Cleared or not, the affair ruined him politically. He stayed on in Washington for a few years, then returned to Massachusetts. But first the state of Kansas had not finished with him. On March 6, 1873, the Kansas legislature's committee of investigation issued its final report and found Pomeroy guilty of bribery. Meanwhile, the ex-senator had a bribery suit pending against him in the courts of Kansas. The trial was originally set for January 31, 1873, immediately after the exposure had been made. At that time, Pomeroy had gained a postponement on the grounds of illness. On June 16 of the same year the trial was due to come up again, but once more it was postponed, this time till the next session of the court. It was set again for the first Monday in January, 1874, but the *Leavenworth Times* had written in December there was a rumor that United States Attorney Scofield had agreed privately not to prosecute Pomeroy. In any event, the trial did not come up in January. On February 10 the Kansas legislature voted to urge a speedy trial, and finally Pomeroy appeared before Judge Morton at Topeka on June 8. Both sides agreed to go to trial on July 27. On July 27 Pomeroy's attorney made application for a change of venue, and the case was sent to Osage county. On the tenth of November the trial was set at Burlingame before Judge Peyton, but a continuance was asked for and granted. The trial then was to be held April 5, 1875, but on March 12 the county attorney agreed to enter a *nolle prosequi*, thus ending the case.

In 1884 Pomeroy ran for President of the United States on the ticket of the American Prohibition party. Grover Cleveland and the Democrats won out, however, and Pomeroy retired to Whitinsville, Mass., where he died in 1891.

The story of the \$7,000 that Pomeroy gave York is worth telling by way of a postscript. At the original conference among York, Simpson, Johnson and James Horton, it was decided to give the expected bribe to the state school fund. When York actually made his disclosure in the joint convention, though, he apparently forgot this agreement and asked that the money be used to defray the costs of investigating Pomeroy on charges of bribery and corruption. York left the money on the desk of the secretary of state (or, some

54. Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 610.

said, on the desk of the chief clerk of the state senate) in the Kansas state house. The money was placed under seal by resolution of the joint convention and made a special deposit with the state treasurer. During the legislature's investigation, Sen. William E. Guerin, chairman of the investigating committee, was briefly given custody of the money to use as evidence. When he was through with it, it was returned to the state treasurer. In the late stages of the senate investigation, the New York *Tribune* remarked that Senator Guerin had arrived in Washington with the \$7,000 to use as an exhibit before the committee. But when Guerin testified on February 24 he denied having the money, and said that it was on its way to Washington by express. When it had not appeared by the next day, Guerin was recalled to the stand to explain. He testified that when he left Topeka the chief clerk of the state treasurer had assured him the money would be sent on the same train to Washington that Guerin himself was taking. At this point, Pomeroy's counsel, A. H. Horton, interrupted to remark that he had just been talking with a Kansas legislator lately arrived from Topeka who informed him that the legislature had recalled the money after it was on its way east. Horton felt sure that the money would be sent at once if the chairman of the senate committee would wire for it. But this was the last day of the hearings and the money could have been of no use then if it had been sent for. In any event, it never seems to have arrived in Washington.

During the last days of the investigation, Page brought suit against York for the \$7,000; but, as the *Tribune* observed, the effort was probably aimed at supporting Pomeroy's and Page's testimony before the committee. The suit, in any event, was unsuccessful.

The final chapter in the history of this elusive bundle of greenbacks is noted in the *Annals of Kansas*:⁵⁵

Topeka, Kansas, March 12, 1875.

Received of A. M. York the sum of seven thousand dollars, less the amount of costs in the case of The State of Kansas against S. C. Pomeroy, now pending in the District Court in and for Osage County, Kansas, in full of amount paid by me to said A. M. York during the session of the Kansas State Legislature, in the year 1873.

S. C. Pomeroy.

By Albert H. Horton, his attorney.

So the wheel comes full circle. The \$7,000 that had got Pomeroy into trouble in the first place, was finally used to expunge nearly the last official traces of corruption from his name; the money remaining after court costs was divided among his lawyers. Artistically, such a conclusion is very satisfying.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 606.

Legal Hangings in Kansas

LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

FOR the crime of murder in the first degree the death penalty has been legal for approximately 68 of the 96 years since the organization of Kansas.¹ Or, to state it otherwise: the penalty has been legal in Kansas except for the 28 years between 1907 and 1935. Execution by *hanging* was not specified by law until 1858, but since that year it has been the state's prescribed method of capital punishment.

Up to 1907, when capital punishment was abolished, only nine persons had been hanged *under state law*. All these executions occurred between 1863 and 1870. During the next 73 years there were no hangings *under state law*, but since 1944, six men have died on the gallows of the Kansas penitentiary at Lansing.

Nine other persons are known to have been legally hanged in Kansas. Records have been found of three such executions under *military* jurisdiction² during the Civil War period. Three persons were hanged under *federal* law, at Wichita, in the late 1880's; and at the U. S. penitentiary, Leavenworth, one man was hanged in 1930, and two others in 1938.

Illegal hangings within the state have been much more numerous. More than 200 men have been lynched in Kansas.³ These outside-the-law executions were largely for the crimes of horse stealing and murder. Although more than half of the lynchings occurred in the first 15 years of Kansas' existence, some 90 persons were illegally hanged in the state between 1870 and 1932.

Legislation relating to capital punishment for murder in the first degree can be summarized as follows:

Among the so-called "bogus laws" passed by the Proslavery territorial legislature of Kansas in 1855 was a statute dealing with crime and criminals, one of its provisions being that "Persons convicted of murder in the first degree shall suffer death."⁴ Until the territorial legislature of 1858 passed a "Code of Criminal Pro-

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1. One other crime—treason against the state—has carried a death penalty in Kansas since 1861. No one has been convicted under this statute.

2. Legal executions of one civilian (Solomon P. Hoy), and of one soldier (John W. Summers), by *military firing squad*, are also noted in this article.

3. Genevieve Yost's "History of Lynchings in Kansas," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2, pp. 182-219, covers the subject comprehensively.

4. *The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas*, 1855, Ch. 48, Sec. 3.

cedure"⁵ there was no law prescribing a specific method—hanging—as the means of execution.

However, in 1859, the territorial legislature repealed all the statutes of 1855, and many of the laws enacted in 1858, including the criminal code.⁶ The 1859 legislature proceeded to pass a new crime and criminals act, and a new code of criminal procedure. The former provided that "Persons convicted of murder in the first degree shall suffer death";⁷ and the latter contained a section stating that "The punishment of death, prescribed by law, must be inflicted by hanging by the neck, at such time as the court may adjudge." Also in the criminal code was a provision that "Sentence of death shall be executed in some private enclosure, as near to the jail as possible," with a specific statement as to the persons who could attend an execution either by invitation of the sheriff, or by request of the prisoner.⁸ (The hanging of William Griffith in 1863 was, nevertheless, a public affair; and the hanging of William Dickson in 1870, was a travesty of this section of the law.)

When Kansas became a state in 1861 these 1859 acts remained in effect because the Wyandotte constitution, under which Kansas was admitted to the Union, provided that all laws in force in the territory at the time of the adoption of the constitution should remain in force until expired or repealed, if they were not inconsistent with the constitution.⁹ They were slightly revised, and codified, in 1868,¹⁰ but remained essentially unchanged.

Several sections of the code of criminal procedure were amended by the legislature of 1872. The most vital change was a provision that "The punishment of death prescribed by law must be inflicted by hanging by the neck at such time as the Governor of the state for the time being may appoint, not less than one year from the time of conviction. . . . *Provided*, That no Governor shall be compelled to issue any order . . . for the execution of any convict. . . ." ¹¹ In effect, this banned capital punishment, for no Kansas governor, during the 35 years this law existed, ever took the responsibility of ordering an execution.

In 1907 a law was enacted which did abolish capital punishment for murder. The law said, in part, "Persons convicted of murder

5. *Laws of the Territory of Kansas*, 1858, Ch. 12, Art. 12, Sec. 11.

6. *General Laws of the Territory of Kansas*, 1859, Ch. 89, Sees. 1, 3.

7. *Ibid.*, Ch. 28, Sec. 3.

8. *Ibid.*, Ch. 27, Sees. 242, 244.

9. *Constitution of the State of Kansas*, Schedule, Sec. 4.

10. *The General Statutes of the State of Kansas*, 1868, p. vi; and Chs. 31, 82.

11. *The Laws of the State of Kansas*, 1872, Ch. 166, Sees. 2, 3.

in the first degree shall be punished by confinement and hard labor in the Penitentiary of the state of Kansas for life. . . ."¹² This statute remained in effect for 28 years.

In 1935, by legislative act, capital punishment for murder again became legal in Kansas. The new law provided that "Persons convicted of murder in the first degree shall be punished by death or by confinement and hard labor in the penitentiary of the state of Kansas for life, and the jury trying the case shall determine which punishment shall be inflicted: *Provided*, that the death penalty shall not be inflicted under this act upon any person under the age of eighteen years. . . ."¹³ The criminal code was amended also, and the new law stated: "The mode of inflicting the punishment of death, in all cases in this state, shall be by hanging by the neck until such convicted person is dead. The warden of the state penitentiary . . . [or] the deputy warden, shall be the executioner. . . ."¹⁴ These 1935 statutes have not been changed and "hanging by the neck" remains the only way of carrying out the death penalty according to Kansas law.

II. LEGAL HANGINGS IN KANSAS

It should be noted that one legal execution, by firing squad, occurred within the boundaries of this state 17 months before Kansas was organized as a territory. On January 18, 1853, a young Indian named John Coon, Jr., was executed under the government of the civilized Wyandotte Indians, in what is today Wyandotte county. Coon was tried, convicted and shot for the killing of Curtis Punch on December 11, 1852. The trial took place on December 17, with William Walker as prosecutor and Silas Armstrong as defense counsel. All of these persons were Wyandotte Indians. Walker considered the penalty much more severe than was justified by the circumstances of the case.¹⁵

Although Carl Horne was the first person to be hanged *under state law*, he was the second to be legally hanged, and the third to be legally executed, after the organization of Kansas. According to the adjutant general's records, Pvt. John Bell, Company I, Second Kansas cavalry, was hanged for rape, on July 11, 1862, at Iola, by sentence of a drum-head court martial approved by Col. W. F. Cloud. To Bell, therefore, goes the distinction of being the first individual legally hanged in Kansas.

12. *Session Laws, 1907*, Ch. 188, Sec. 1.

13. *General Statutes of Kansas, 1935*, Ch. 21, Sec. 403.

14. *Ibid.*, Ch. 62, Sec. 2401.

15. *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker*, edited by W. E. Connelley (Lincoln, Neb., 1899), pp. 369, 371.

LIST OF LEGAL HANGINGS IN KANSAS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Law</i>
1862—July 11	Pvt. John Bell *	Iola	Military
1863—February 12	Carl Horne	Leavenworth	State
1863—May 6	John Shirley *	Fort Leavenworth	Military
1863—May 27	Claudeus C. Frizell	Fort Scott	Military
1863—October 30	William Griffith	Mound City	State
1865—December 29	John Hendley	Lawrence	State
1866—January 19	Ernest Wa-tee-cha †	Lawrence	State
1866—August 10	Ben Lewis †	Paola	State
1867—February 20	Martin W. Bates	Burlingame	State
1867—November 15	Scott Holderman	Lawrence	State
1868—September 18	Melvin E. Baughn	Seneca	State
1870—August 9	William Dickson	Leavenworth	State
1887—November 15	Lee Mosier	Wichita	Federal
1888—November 21	Jake Tobler } Joe Tobler } brothers †	Wichita	Federal
1930—September 5	Carl Panzran	Leavenworth	Federal
1938—August 12	Robert J. Suhay } Glen J. Applegate } same crime	Leavenworth	Federal
1944—March 10	Ernest L. Hoefgen	Lansing	State
1944—April 15	Fred L. Brady	Lansing	State
1944—April 15	Clark B. Knox †	Lansing	State
1947—July 29	Cecil Tate	Lansing	State
1947—July 29	George F. Gumtow	Lansing	State
1950—May 6	George Miller †	Lansing	State

* Pvt. John Bell and John Shirley were hanged, under military law, for rape and robbery, respectively. In all other instances the principal crime was murder.

† Ernest Wa-tee-cha was a Quapaw Indian; Ben Lewis was also an Indian (probably of the Peoria tribe); the Tobler brothers were of mixed blood (part Creek Indian and part Negro); Clark B. Knox and George Miller were Negroes.

Solomon Perry (or Jeremiah) Hoy, a civilian from Johnson county, was tried before a military commission appointed at Fort Leavenworth on May 22, 1862, and found guilty of murder. It was proved that Hoy was a member of Quantrill's guerrillas, and that he was an accessory to and guilty of the murder of a man named Allison (a citizen of Missouri and a soldier in Maj. Charles Banzhaf's command), at Blue Bridge crossing, Jackson county, Missouri. Although Hoy was tried and convicted in May, the findings of the military commission were not acted upon until July 26, when Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt approved them, and set the execution date. Hoy was executed by a military firing squad on July 28, 1862, on the open field south of the barracks at Fort Leavenworth.¹⁶ In reprisal, Quantrill had 14 Union men shot!

16. Source: *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 29, 1862. Banzhaf was a major in the First Missouri cavalry in 1862. The U. S. census, 1860, for Monticello township, Johnson county, Kansas, lists an "S. P. Hoy," aged 23, a native of Virginia. According to the *Conservative*, he was tried as Jeremiah (*alias* Solomon P.) Hoy. In W. E. Connelley's *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910), he is called Perry Hoy.

THE HANGING OF CARL HORNE¹⁷

In a haystack on his farm, about a mile from Easton, neighbors found the body of John Philip Friend (Freund), on September 5, 1861. His head and chest were crushed, and he had been dead for some days. (The murder date was later established as August 30.) Gone from the farm were Friend's wife, Catharine, his son, James (aged about five), and Carl Horne (ex-soldier, aged about 35), a boarder in the Friend household since June. Investigators learned that Horne and Mrs. Friend (using the name Catharine Grossman) had been married at Leavenworth on September 2, and had started for St. Joseph, Mo., with the young boy, several days later. Deputy Marshal Shott set out in pursuit on September 6, and at Elwood the next day he overtook and arrested Horne and Catharine Friend. They were returned to Leavenworth and lodged in jail on September 7.

Both were tried during the next term of the district court in Leavenworth. Carl Horne's trial opened on November 25, 1861, before Judge William C. McDowell, with Thomas P. Fenlon and F. P. Fitzwilliams as prosecutors. The defense lawyers were Adams, Crozier and Ludlum, and W. P. Gambell. On the evening of the third day the case went to the jurors, and after two hours they returned a verdict of "guilty of murder in the first degree." Next day the Leavenworth *Times* reported "This is the first time, in the history of Kansas, that a verdict of murder in the first degree has been given."

A few days later Catharine Friend was tried, found guilty of murder in the second degree, and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

On December 7, 1861, an argument by Carl Horne's attorneys on a motion for a new trial and in arrest of judgment was heard by the court. Ward Burlingame, who was in the room, years later stated that immediately after hearing the defense lawyers, Judge McDowell "pulled out a roll of manuscript and *read* his speech to the prisoner and the final sentence, showing that he had fully decided to overrule the motion before it was argued." The judge then sentenced Horne to be hanged on January 24, 1862, but he was not executed on that day because his case was carried to the Kansas supreme court.

17. References: Leavenworth *Daily Times*, September 7, 8, November 26, 28, December 3, 6, 8, 1861; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, December 8, 1861, December 11-14, 28, 31, 1862, February 12, 14, 1863; *Kansas Reports*, v. 1, pp. 42-74; article by W[ard] B[urlingame] in Atchison *Daily Champion*, February 20, 1879, p. 4.

The supreme court heard the Horne case in February, 1862—this tribunal's first criminal case. Deciding that the lower court had erred in instructing the jury, it reversed the judgment and sent the case back for a new trial.

Ten months later, Carl Horne was tried again for the murder of Philip Friend—this time in the criminal court of Leavenworth which had been established by the legislature in March, 1862. The second trial began on December 10, 1862, with Judge Samuel D. Lecompte presiding, *pro tem*. On the 13th, after a short period of deliberation, the jurors found Horne guilty of murder in the first degree. On December 30, Judge Lecompte overruled a motion for a new trial, and sentenced the prisoner to be hanged on February 13, 1863.

Two days before the execution, the *Daily Conservative* sent a reporter to the jail to see the condemned man. He found Horne cheerful, ready to talk about his situation, and seemingly resigned to his fate. The reporter also noted that among the 30 or so prisoners in the jail was Catharine Friend, although he did not see her.

A gallows "of hickory, neatly put up, and painted a dark drab color," was ready for the hanging, on the north side of the Leavenworth jail, midway between the fence and building. As early as 10 o'clock on the morning of February 13, 1863, a crowd began to gather, although it was known that only a select number of persons invited by the sheriff would witness the hanging. Men and boys climbed to the top of the fence, but a military guard soon came along and ordered them down.

Among the spectators within the jail yard enclosure was a *Daily Conservative* writer. He stated that the invited guests entered the front gate between two rows of bayonets. The proceedings began at 12:30 P. M., the prisoner walking to the gallows with a "firm tread and calm demeanor." After the deputy sheriff read the death warrant, Horne made a short speech in German to his friends, then spoke in English, saying that he was innocent, and sorry that he had ever had anything to do with Mrs. Friend.

At one minute after one o'clock the sheriff gave the signal, and the drop fell. Horne was declared dead 14 minutes later. Thus ended the first execution in Kansas under *state* law; and the second legal hanging within Kansas after its organization.

THE HANGING OF JOHN SHIRLEY¹⁸

Shirley was the second of three *civilians* executed by the military in Kansas;¹⁹ and his was the first of three *public* legal hangings in Kansas;²⁰ but the unique circumstance of his case was that he was legally hanged for *robbery*!²¹

On April 22, 1863, John Shirley, John McBride and Charles Radcliff ("all men well known as rascals capable of committing any crime," said the *Daily Conservative*), got William Keyes, a discharged soldier, drunk at the Cincinnati House in Leavenworth. Then, in broad daylight, they enticed him to a ravine behind the hospital (on the government reserve), knocked him down and robbed him of \$1,100. There were witnesses, and all three criminals were arrested later in the day, but only \$77 of the money was found. On the 23d, military authorities had the prisoners transferred from the Leavenworth jail to the guard house at Fort Leavenworth. This was done not so much because the crime had been committed on government property, but because the city of Leavenworth was then under martial law.²²

A military commission was convened on April 24, with Capt. R. H. Hunt, Second Kansas volunteers, as president, to try the three criminals. Shirley and McBride were convicted and sentenced to be hanged on May 6, 1863; Radcliff was convicted and sentenced to hard labor "during the continuance of the present rebellion."

Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt, who approved the findings of the military commission, commented that the penalties were severe, and greater than would be justified in time of peace, but were considered necessary to preserve peace and restore order under existing conditions. However, McBride was later reprieved, and Special Order No. 193, issued at Fort Leavenworth on May 5, 1863, stated only that John Shirley would be hanged publicly on May 6, 1863.

The *Evening Bulletin* of May 6, 1863, described the execution of John Shirley in detail, from which account the following excerpts are taken:

18. Sources: Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, April 22-24, 29, May 4, 6, 8, 1863; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, April 23, May 3, 6, 7, 1863.

19. The execution of Hoy by firing squad in 1862, and the hanging of Frizell on May 27, 1863, were also military executions of civilians.

20. William Griffith's hanging, October 30, 1863, was conducted publicly, contrary to state law; and William Dickson's hanging in 1870 was a mockery of the law's provision for non-public executions.

21. John W. Summers, deserter from Company E, Second Kansas cavalry, was executed as a deserter, by military firing squad at Fort Scott, on May 13, 1863.—Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, May 17, 1863. Quite possibly there have been other military executions of military personnel at army posts in Kansas, for desertion, and other crimes.

22. Martial law was declared in Leavenworth by General Orders No. 5, issued at Fort Leavenworth on February 10, 1863.—See Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, February 11, 1863.

. . . The largest concourse of people assembled in Kansas turned out today to witness the execution of John Shirley. . . .

At 11 o'clock the road to the Fort was crowded with citizens in carriages and on horseback, all eager with curiosity to witness the unusual proceeding for Kansas of hanging a criminal for highway robbery.

At 12 o'clock some two or three thousand people had gathered around the gallows, which was erected on open ground south of the guard-house. A large number of females were present from the city and Fort, and every one seemed bent on selecting the most advantageous spot to view the dying struggles of a fellow mortal. . . .

At fifteen minutes before one the entire command at the Post, consisting in all of five companies of Infantry, were formed in full uniform, under arms, and commanded by Post Adjutant Hadley. The band and field music formed in front of the Guard House and played a solemn air, when the infantry formed in line, and the carriage in which the prisoner was to be conveyed to the gallows drove up to the steps.

Capt. J. T. Gordon, Co. I, 12th Kansas volunteers, then conducted Shirley to the carriage and the whole cavalcade, preceded by the guard and the criminal, started for the ground. The prisoner maintained a stolid indifference, and did not seem to realize that his time on earth was short.

Arrived at the gallows, the prisoner ascended the steps with firmness, and boldly walked to the drop, accompanied by Rev. Dr. Davis. . . . Captain Graham [Gordon?] then read the death warrant, after which Shirley kissed his two little brothers . . . and after shaking hands and bidding them farewell, the culprit was allowed to address the assembled multitude. . . .

I have but one word to say, and that is this: I hope my friends will lead a different life from what I have. I've led a very indifferent life; and, furthermore, I hope you will not meet the same doom which I have come to—the gallows. . . .

At 1:30 P. M. the signal was given, the drop fell and John Shirley was "ushered into eternity." Some 12 to 15 minutes later he was pronounced dead, and his body was taken down and placed in a wagon. The troops followed behind the six-mule wagon which carried him away, the band "played a lively air," and the crowd dispersed. Thus ended the third legal hanging in Kansas.²³

THE HANGING OF CLAUDEUS C. FRIZELL²⁴

Early in March, 1863, a militia company was organized in Vernon county, Missouri. Augustus Baker, a farmer, was chosen head of the company over Claudeus C. Frizell, who much desired the captaincy. About March 6, Frizell, with a companion named Upton, went to

23. In remarking that "The extreme penalty . . . was executed for the *third* time in Kansas, yesterday," the *Daily Conservative* of May 7, 1863, probably referred to the shooting of Hoy on July 28, 1862, and the hanging of Horne on February 13, 1863, as the two earlier executions. The hanging of Private Bell on July 11, 1862, was evidently unknown, or forgotten, by the Leavenworth journalist.

24. Sources: Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, May 20, 22, 1863; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, May 22, 1863; C. W. Goodlander's *Memoirs and Recollections . . . of the Early Days of Fort Scott* . . . (Fort Scott, 1900), pp. 102, 103; [R. I. Holcombe's] *History of Vernon County, Missouri* . . . (St. Louis, 1887), pp. 311, 312.

Baker's home. They entered in pretended friendliness—then Frizell drew a gun and murdered Baker in the presence of his wife. The men robbed the house and departed.

Troops from Fort Scott were sent into Missouri to track down the criminals. Early in May, at a house in Cedar county, they arrested Frizell; but Upton jumped out of a second-floor window, fled, and was never caught. On May 13, Frizell was placed in the Fort Scott guard house. Next day, before a military commission of which Capt. H. F. Rouse, Third Wisconsin cavalry, was president, he was tried and convicted of murder and robbery. On May 21, at Fort Leavenworth, Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt reviewed and confirmed the military commission's findings, and sentenced Frizell to be hanged on May 27, 1863.²⁵

A Fort Scott resident, many years later, stated that the scaffold was erected "out towards the government corral about where the Presbyterian Church stands [1900], on the prairie. [Frizell] . . . went to the gallows reading a Bible." No contemporaneous account of the hanging has been found.

THE HANGING OF WILLIAM GRIFFITH ²⁶

The Marais des Cygnes massacre was perhaps the most infamous of the many crimes committed by Proslavery men during the bitter struggle over the slavery issue in Kansas. On May 19, 1858, Charles Hamelton and some 30 Missourians came over into Linn county, captured 11 Free-State men, lined them up in a ravine near Trading Post, and shot them down. Five of the Kansas settlers were killed, five were wounded, and one was unharmed. Many of the Proslavery men who took part in this mass murder were known, but the only one to be brought to justice and hanged for the crime was William Griffith, who was arrested, tried, convicted and hanged five years after the event.

In September, 1863, a detachment of troops from Fort Leavenworth arrested Griffith in Platte county, Missouri, on the recognition of William Hairgrove, one of the massacre survivors. Griffith was taken to Mound City and turned over to the Linn county sheriff, E. B. Metz. A few weeks later he was tried during the regular term of the district court, Judge Solon O. Thatcher, of Lawrence, presiding. Two lawyers, D. P. Lowe of Mound City, and A. Wagstaff of

25. Frizell, though a member of the Vernon county, Missouri, militia, could not, strictly speaking, be classed as a soldier. This was the third and apparently the last instance of a civilian being executed by the military in Kansas.

26. Sources: Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal of Commerce*, October 8, November 3, 1863; *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), pp. 1104-1106; W. A. Mitchell's *Linn County, Kansas: a History* (Kansas City, c1928), pp. 211-214.

Paola, were assigned to defend him. The trial opened on October 3. Griffith acknowledged that he had helped to capture the Free-State men and march them to the place of death, and admitted taking two mules belonging to William Hairgrove and a gray mare owned by Judge Nichols of Trading Post, but denied being present when the shooting was done. (Survivors of the massacre testified to the contrary on this latter issue.) The "Amnesty Act" ²⁷ of 1859 was also pleaded in Griffith's defense by his counsel. On the afternoon of the second day of the trial the case went to the jurors. In about three hours they returned a verdict of "guilty of murder in the first degree." Judge Thatcher subsequently denied motion for a new trial, and set the execution date as October 30, 1863. During the intervening weeks, Griffith was held in a house in Mound City (there being no jail), guarded by a detachment of Linn county militia.

A gallows was erected west of town, across Little Sugar creek, in a woods. Shortly after noon on October 30, Griffith was conducted to the place of execution. Acting Sheriff C. S. Wheaton was in charge of the proceedings, with militia companies totaling at least 200 men in attendance. Plainly, no attempt was made to conform with the provision of the law requiring that an execution take place in a private enclosure. The size of the crowd witnessing this hanging is not known, though there were spectators not only from Linn county, but from adjoining Bourbon county, as well; and "dozens of women" were present. William Hairgrove, massacre survivor, was allowed to swing the hatchet severing a rope which dropped a 400-pound weight and jerked Griffith's body into the air. The weight fell at seven minutes after one o'clock, and 25 minutes later Griffith was declared dead. He left a wife and five children, the youngest only four months old.

THE HANGING OF JOHN HENDLEY ²⁸

A Texan named John Hendley came to work on the farm of John T. (Tauby) Jones, in Franklin county, in June, 1865. He became acquainted with the John Sutton family living near by, and engaged Mrs. Sutton to make a hunting shirt. On June 28, Hendley went to the Sutton home in a rage because a quarter-yard remnant

27. *General Laws*, 1859, Ch. 104, "An Act to Establish Peace in Kansas," Section 1 stating "That no criminal offense heretofore committed in the counties of Lykins, Linn, Bourbon, McGee, Allen and Anderson, growing out of any political differences of opinion, or arising, in any way, from such political differences of opinion, shall be subject to any prosecution, on any complaint or indictment, in any court whatsoever in this Territory"; and Section 2 stating "That all criminal actions now commenced, growing out of political differences of opinion, shall be dismissed."

28. Sources: *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, July 2, November 12, December 30, 1865; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, November 30, 1865.

of ribbon used in making the shirt had not been returned to him. For his abusive language to Mrs. Sutton and her sister, John Sutton ordered the man from his house. Hendley said he would leave when he got ready, but retreated outside when Sutton picked up a gun, fired at Hendley, and shot him in the arm. Thereupon, Hendley drew a revolver, rushed in the house and shot Sutton through the chest, mortally wounding him. He died the next day. Hendley fled, but was arrested near Bloomington on June 30, and taken to Ottawa. After a preliminary hearing before Justice Dow, he was taken by Sheriff Robbins to Lawrence and placed in the Douglas county jail.

Hendley was tried at the November, 1865, session of the district court in Lawrence, before Judge Valentine. The case went to the jurors on November 11, and about an hour later they returned a verdict that the prisoner was guilty of murder in the first degree. On November 25, Judge Valentine overruled a motion for a new trial and sentenced the prisoner to be hanged at Lawrence on December 29.

The *Kansas Daily Tribune* of December 30, 1865, stated: "Hendley was executed between 11 and 12 o'clock yesterday. Up to the last moment he manifested a stoicism better becoming a savage than a man reared in Christian society."

THE HANGING OF ERNEST WA-TEE-CHA ²⁹

Just three weeks after the execution of John Hendley, another murderer was hanged on the same gallows in the Douglas county jail yard. This man was Ernest Wa-tee-cha, a Quapaw Indian, who had been educated at the Osage Mission in Neosho county.

On January 31, 1865, Wa-tee-cha, a soldier in Company A, Sixteenth Kansas cavalry, was in Ohio City (a now extinct Franklin county town), on furlough. In a store he happened to see a large sum of money paid to a man named William Hastings. When Hastings, a farmer of Ottumwa, started home with his team and wagon, the Indian followed, caught up with him several miles out on the prairie, and shot him in the back. Although badly wounded, Hastings made some show of resistance and Wa-tee-cha ran off without getting the money. The farmer managed to make his way to the nearest house, where he was cared for until his death some

29. Sources: *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, November 30, 1865, January 25, 1866; *Kansas Patriot*, Burlington, February 10, 1866.

The *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas for 1861-1865*, p. 536, lists "Earnest Wa-ti-tia" as "Absent in confinement by civil authority, Lawrence, no evi[dence] of mus[ter] out on file."

24 hours later. Before he died, Wa-tee-cha had been caught, brought before him and identified.

The Indian's trial took place during the latter part of November, 1865, at the district court in Lawrence, before Judge Valentine. One of Wa-tee-cha's lawyers was Wilson Shannon, a former territorial governor of Kansas. The trial ended on November 23, and the jurors, after being out an hour, found the defendant guilty of murder in the first degree. Some days later he was sentenced to be hanged on January 19, 1866.

S. S. Prouty, publisher of the *Kansas Patriot*, Burlington, happened to be in Lawrence on the day of the execution, and "through the politeness of District Clerk S. A. Stonebraker, Sheriff Ogden and Major E. G. Ross of the *Tribune*," he was permitted to witness the hanging of Wa-tee-cha. He commented that it was the first execution he had ever seen and that it was not "so shocking a sight as it has been represented." "Hanging," he wrote, . . . "is getting to be one of the institutions of Lawrence, and the people seem to regard it as an every day affair, for the morning papers did not esteem the event I witnessed, of sufficient importance to make mention of it previous to its occurrence. . . ."

THE HANGING OF BEN LEWIS³⁰

Ben Lewis, an Indian (probably of the Peoria tribe), killed a man named Jones about six miles north of Paola either in late 1865 or in the fore part of 1866. No account of the killing has been found. (The murder may possibly have occurred while the Civil War was still in progress since the victim is said to have been a soldier of the First Kansas cavalry.)

Lewis was tried, on his own confession, at a special term of the district court at Paola, early in July, 1866, Judge D. M. Valentine presiding. On July 3, the second day of the trial, the case went to the jurors, and they soon returned a verdict that the defendant was guilty of murder in the first degree. Two days later, Judge Valentine sentenced Ben Lewis to be hanged on August 10, 1866, at Paola.

The execution took place on the scheduled day—presumably in the county jail yard at Paola. Lewis was afterwards buried in the Indian cemetery near town.

30. Sources: Fourth judicial district court records of "State of Kansas vs. Ben Lewis," courtesy of Mrs. Ethel J. Hunt, clerk of the district court for Miami county; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 15, August 18, 1866. According to the *Western Spirit*, Paola, May 27, 1910, the public library in Paola has a photograph of Lewis.

The adjutant general's *Report for 1861-1865*, p. 485, lists a Benjamin Lewis, of Paola, in Company F, 14th Kansas cavalry, with the remark that he deserted at Fort Scott on December 19, 1864. Probably this was the Ben Lewis hanged in 1866.

THE HANGING OF MARTIN W. BATES³¹

Deputy Sheriff John Polley of Osage county arrested Martin W. Bates for robbery in late September, 1866. Because there was no jail, he kept the prisoner, legs shackled, in his home. On October 3, he left Bates in the charge of his father, Abel Polley. The prisoner got possession of a loaded shotgun in the house, and during a struggle over the gun, he shot and mortally wounded the elder Polley, who died a few days later. Bates, who had cut off his shackles with an ax, was arrested a week or so later in Johnson county. He was charged with murder, and for safekeeping, was housed in the jail at Lawrence until his trial.

The Bates case was tried at an extra term of the district court in Burlingame, in the latter part of December, 1866, Judge John Watson, of Emporia, presiding. The defendant was found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced to be hanged on February 20, 1867. He was returned to the Douglas county jail to await his execution.

Although the judge had ordered that an enclosure be built in the Osage county jail yard to house the gallows, the county officers decided the expense of lumber for a temporary stockade was not justified. Acting upon the suggestion of County Clerk Marshall M. Murdock, they arranged to have a scaffold erected in the courtroom, on the second floor of the courthouse! There, on the appointed day, 19-year-old Martin W. Bates was hanged, at a few minutes after noon. According to Murdock, who was present, only six persons witnessed the hanging—the deputy who officiated, three county officers, a Methodist preacher and a Catholic priest. A crowd of would-be spectators waited outside the building in a sleet and rainstorm while the proceedings took place. Judge Watson, indignant over the desecration of the courtroom, thereafter held the view that Marshall Murdock was chiefly responsible for the misuse of the hall of justice.³²

31. Sources: *Emporia News*, January 5, February 20, 1867; *Topeka Weekly Leader*, January 3, 1867; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, October 11, 1866; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, February 23, 1867; *Wichita (Weekly) Eagle*, January 7, 1886; *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), p. 1534; *Topeka Mail and Breeze*, March 30, 1900.

32. The Schuyler grade school was later erected on the site of the early-day Osage county courthouse in Burlingame.—*Topeka Daily Capital*, July 19, 1936.

THE HANGING OF SCOTT HOLDERMAN ³³

On September 25, 1865, Scott Holderman, Elias Foster ³⁴ and a man named Ward, plotted and executed the murder of John Carver, a stranger passing through Linn county. The crime was planned at the home of Holderman's father-in-law, a farmer named Williams, living three miles north of Trading Post. The crime was committed several miles away, after Carver left the Williams home, where he had stopped to recover from an attack of ague. Robbery was the only known motive of the murder.

Carver's body was found six or seven weeks after the crime. It was decided at the inquest that he came to his death by violence, but although there were several persons who knew or suspected who the criminals were, no warrants for arrest were issued at the time.

Holderman and Foster were arrested on a robbery charge about two months after the murder. Three weeks after being placed in the Paola jail they escaped and left the state. Foster was captured in Missouri in the spring of 1866 and brought back to Linn county. He told enough about Carver's death to cause warrants to be issued for the arrest of Holderman and Ward on charges of murder. He was himself remanded for trial on the charge and was held in the jail at Lawrence for several months.

Ward was captured near Lawrence, tried, convicted of murder in the second degree, and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Foster, brought back to Mound City for trial in the spring of 1867, was granted a change of venue to Anderson county. Sheriff David Goss and a constable set out on May 5, 1867, to take Foster to Garnett. As they neared Saddler's crossing of Big Sugar creek about nine that evening, a party of 40 to 50 vigilantes rode up, surrounded the wagon and forcibly took the prisoner. Next morning Elias Foster's body was found swinging from a tree near the crossing.

In June, 1867, Sheriff Goss learned that Holderman was living in Polk county, Missouri. On July 2 a sheriff's posse surrounded the house and ordered Holderman to surrender. Instead, he came out firing and halted only when shot down by John Humphrey, a deputy sheriff. After recovering from his wound, Holderman was taken to Mound City and tried in the district court, Judge D. P. Lowe presiding. The trial opened in mid-September and lasted most of a week, but the jurors took only an hour to decide that the prisoner was

33. Sources: *The Border Sentinel*, Mound City, May 10, September 20, 27, November 22, 1867; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, November 16, 1867; W. A. Mitchell's *Linn County, Kansas: a History* (Kansas City, c1928), pp. 327-331.

34. Holderman and Foster had both served in Company D, Sixth Kansas cavalry, under Capt. David Goss, who later, as Linn county sheriff, arrested them. Holderman claimed to have killed 16 men while in the army.

guilty of murder in the first degree. On September 25, Judge Lowe sentenced Holderman to be hanged on November 15, 1867. There being no secure jail at Mound City, he was taken to Lawrence, where from his cell he was led to the gallows in the Douglas county jail yard at 11:30 on the morning of the day set. About 35 persons witnessed the execution, while a large crowd waited outside the walls.

This was the last of three legal hangings in Lawrence. However, Douglas county's crime record was much better than indicated: the crimes paid for on the Douglas county gallows were committed in other counties—Franklin, Miami and Linn, respectively.

THE HANGING OF MELVIN E. BAUGHN ³⁵

Three Doniphan county men arrived in Seneca on November 19, 1866, with warrants for four horse thieves known to be in the vicinity. Sheriff William Boulton and a posse of Nemaha county men joined in the hunt. Jackson and Strange, two of the wanted men, were captured a little east of town. Three posse members (Charles W. Ingram, Henry H. Hillix and Jesse S. Dennis) overtook the other two criminals on the road to Capioma. When they rode up to arrest the men—Melvin E. Baughn and Zach Mooney—they were fired upon. Hillix was wounded severely and Dennis was fatally shot in the back, dying a few minutes later. The horse thieves escaped.

Baughn was arrested in Leavenworth on January 6, 1867, on a robbery charge. When recognized as Dennis' murderer, he was turned over to Nemaha county officers who placed him in the Seneca jail. Four days later an unsuccessful attempt was made to lynch him. On February 6 he and another prisoner escaped.

More than 15 months later Baughn was captured near Sedalia, Mo., after being wounded by officers attempting to arrest him for a robbery. Upon being identified, he was returned to Kansas and to the Seneca jail. He was tried during the next term of the district court, early in August, Judge R. St. Clair Graham presiding. The jury found him guilty of murder in the first degree and on August 7 he was sentenced to be hanged on September 18, 1868.

A gallows was erected on the south side of the Nemaha county jail, and an area of the jail yard was enclosed by a "fence" of canvas. And, on the appointed day, at 3:18 in the afternoon, Baughn was hanged.³⁶

35. Sources: *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, September 24, 1868; Ralph Tennal's *History of Nemaha County, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1916), pp. 212-214; *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), p. 945.

36. During the time in 1860 and 1861, when the Pony Express was in operation, one of the well-known riders on the route between St. Joseph, Mo., and Seneca, was Melvin Baughn. It is said he turned to a life of crime by joining a gang of horse thieves, soon after the Pony Express ended. Mooney is said to have been lynched sometime later.

THE HANGING OF WILLIAM DICKSON ³⁷

The body of Jacob Barnett, a Jewish peddler of Leavenworth, was found on the road to Delaware City, March 10, 1870. He had been shot five times and robbed. On strong circumstantial evidence (including possession of the dead man's watch), William Dickson was arrested and held for the murder. Only two or three days earlier, he had been released from the penitentiary after serving a three-year sentence for horse stealing. Barnett had been killed brutally, he had many friends in the city, and public feeling ran high against Dickson. The courtroom was crowded on March 19 when a preliminary hearing of the case was held in recorder's court. On the evidence presented, Justice Rees ordered the prisoner remanded to the county jail to await trial. There was talk of a lynching, but law and order prevailed.

Dickson was tried at the June session of Leavenworth's criminal court. The trial, which began on June 13, ended on the 17th, and the jurors took just 15 minutes to find the defendant guilty of murder in the first degree. Dickson was sentenced, a few days later, to be hanged on August 9, 1870.

The "old" gallows (evidently left over from 1863), was repaired, and put up in the "northwest angle" of the county jail yard. This site scarcely fulfilled the criminal code's "private enclosure" provision. According to the *Times and Conservative*: "Owing to the prominence of the County Jail grounds the melancholy proceedings were visible from almost all parts of the city, and thousands availed themselves of the opportunity of seeing the law's victim dropped from earth to eternity."

This newspaper's description of the scene on the day of the execution, indicates that a stranger to Leavenworth might well have thought the attraction was a circus and not a legal hanging:

. . . Long before the hour appointed, 12 m., the hills and houses in the vicinity were crowded with people anxious to see the sad spectacle. For an hour before noon the entrances to the Jail were besieged by crowds, with and without admission cards. [Sheriff McFarland had invited a large number of citizens to attend the hanging.] Not only this, but all over the city people on house tops and eminences looked with glasses or the naked eye to see the suspension of the convicted wretch. . . .

About twelve o'clock the excitement of the thousands who failed to get admission was intense. The Sheriff, Deputy Sheriffs and peace officers were besieged with applications for passes, and scores of men and children shouted simultaneously for the open sesame to the judicial slaughter. We regret to be

37. Sources: Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, March 11, 13, 19, June 14, 15, 17, August 5, 9, 10, 1870; Leavenworth *Times and Conservative*, March 11, 13, 19, June 14, 15, 17, August 9, 10, 1870.

compelled to say that at least one half of the vast concourse which viewed the spectacle from outside points was composed of children of both sexes. . . .

About eleven minutes of twelve o'clock the east gates of the jail was opened, and then commenced fierce crowding and pushing for speedy admission to the public spectacle. The crowd pressed desperately towards the entrance where three deputies were engaged in maintaining order and taking entrance cards. . . .

This was the scene—a travesty of the law's intention—shortly after noon on August 9, 1870.

Dickson's was the last execution in Kansas, *under state law*, for 73 years. The publicity it received was almost certainly an important factor in the passage of the law two years later (1872), which, in effect, banned capital punishment in Kansas.

KANSAS AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT SINCE 1870

In February, 1871, a few months after Dickson's hanging, a bill was introduced in the state legislature by Sen. H. C. Whitney, "to regulate the infliction of the death penalty and to amend an act to establish a code of criminal procedure."³⁸ The contents of this bill are not known (since no copy can be found), but it apparently contained the same, or much the same, provisions as the bill which was to become a law in 1872. Of the 1871 measure (which passed both houses, but was not signed by the governor) the *State Record* later wrote: "If we are rightly informed Governor Harvey is opposed to capital punishment, but he did not like this law [*i. e.*, bill] because it threw all the responsibility on the Governor. . . ." ³⁹

Early in June, 1871, in the district court, Topeka, Mrs. Mary Jane Scales and Lewis Ford, Negroes, were tried and convicted for the murder on November 17, 1870, of Burnett Scales. They were sentenced to be hanged on August 17, 1871. Preparations for the execution included the erection of a gallows within a tight board fence (24 by 28 feet, and 14 feet high), on a vacant lot south of the Shawnee county jail, with a covered passageway leading from the jail.

Said the *State Record*: "Hanging by the State is a disgrace to civilization and is only legalized murder. Every precaution will be taken to make this murder respectable. The fact that already over 250 applications for witnesses have been made, is evidence of a demoralized condition of society."⁴⁰ On the night before the scheduled executions, Gov. James M. Harvey commuted the sentences of these two murderers to life imprisonment.

38. *Senate Journal*, 1871, p. 278 (Senate Bill No. 92).

39. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, August 16, 1871.

40. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1871.

The Scales-Ford case is mentioned here for two reasons: first, it was probably the nearest Kansas has come to hanging a woman; second, Governor Harvey's action in commuting the sentences of these criminals served to bring the subject of capital punishment again to the forefront of public attention.

In 1872 Sen. H. C. Whitney again introduced a bill "to regulate the death penalty and to amend an act to establish a code of criminal procedure."⁴¹ Both houses passed the bill and on March 2 Governor Harvey notified the senate that he had signed it.⁴² The measure (said to have been written by Thomas P. Fenlon,⁴³ Leavenworth lawyer, and member of the house in 1871, 1872 and 1874), provided that murderers sentenced to die must be kept in the state penitentiary for one year before being hanged, and then be hanged only if the governor issued a death warrant.

This law remained a Kansas statute for the next 35 years. It was, supposedly, a compromise between forces favoring capital punishment and those opposed. But in effect the measure banned legal executions, for no governor ever assumed the responsibility of ordering a hanging. In the two decades following its passage every governor, except St. John, outspokenly criticized the law, and requested its amendment.

Gov. Thomas A. Osborn, in 1876, told the legislature that the 1872 law was a subterfuge and needed to "be relieved of its ambiguity." In 1877 Gov. George T. Anthony also stressed the need for a change. Gov. George W. Glick, in 1883, asked the legislature to amend the statute, and stated that there were about 25 persons under sentence of death at that time. Gov. John W. Martin, in 1885, discussed the law "which abolishes capital punishment by indirection," and suggested it would be better to abolish the death penalty than to keep the 1872 law on the statute books. He renewed this recommendation in 1887. In the latter part of that year there were, according to the *Kansas City Times*, 54 prisoners under sentence of death in the Kansas penitentiary. The *Times* went on to say: "if Governor Martin chose to exercise the power vested in him . . . any one or all could be hanged in 30 days."⁴⁴ Gov. Lyman U. Humphrey in 1889 and again in 1891, asked the legislature to abolish the death penalty "in express terms," or make it effective. But no change was made in the law.

41. *Senate Journal*, 1872, p. 57.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 815.

43. Henry Shindler's statement in the *Kansas City Times*, May 31, 1910.

44. *Kansas City Times*, November 16, 1887.

With the rise of the Populists to power in the state, the capital punishment issue was forgotten, and not until 1905 was there any revival of interest in the subject. That December a statement by Gov. E. W. Hoch was printed in many of the nation's newspapers. Governor Hoch said, in part, "I would resign my position, however high it might be, before I would be the one to execute a death sentence, whether the condemned person is a man or woman. Why, the hanging of a human being, whether it be legalized or not, is a relic of barbarism. . . ." ⁴⁵

By the last of June, 1906, the penitentiary's death-sentence population had increased to 60 men.⁴⁶ This was the maximum number; two years later there were 57 and by 1915 only 14.⁴⁷

When the 1907 legislature met, bills to abolish capital punishment were introduced in both the house and senate. Sen. R. T. Simons, who introduced the senate bill, said: "The law as it stands is a farce. If a Governor should ever decide to sign the death warrants of all the 'hang' prisoners in the penitentiary it would mean a wholesale slaughter. There is little chance a Governor will ever do this, but farces in state laws are not the right thing. The law ought to say what it means."⁴⁸ It was the house bill (the bills were the same in any case), which passed the house on January 18 by a vote of 67 to 40,⁴⁹ and which, later in the month, was also approved by the senate. Governor Hoch signed the measure on January 30, 1907. In a letter written in December of that year, Hoch stated that it was largely at his instance that the 1907 legislature had repealed the 1872 law and provided life imprisonment instead.⁵⁰

From 1907 to 1935, Kansas had no capital punishment statute, but agitation for the re-enactment of such a law began some years before 1935. In 1927 the senate voted, 26-2, for a bill providing that persons convicted of murder in the first degree (1) should be electrocuted if the murder had been committed in connection with burglary or robbery, (2) should be imprisoned for life if the murder had no such connection.⁵¹ This measure, obviously intended to stem an outbreak of burglary-and-murder crimes in Kansas in the 1920's, did not pass the house.

45. Newspapers of December 9, 1905.

46. *Fifteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary*, 1905-1906, p. 55.

47. *Sixteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary*, 1907-1908, p. 60; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, September 12, 1915.

48. *Topeka Daily Herald*, January 16, 1907.

49. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1907.

50. Letter of Gov. E. W. Hoch, December 19, 1907, to the Rev. A. B. Wolfe (in Hoch papers, Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society).

51. Senate Bill No. 194, 1927 legislature.

In 1931 bills prescribing capital punishment (1) for murder in the first degree, (2) for robbery with firearms and (3) electrocution as the means of carrying out the death penalty, were passed by both the house and senate.⁵² A measure to make kidnaping also punishable by death failed. But Gov. Harry H. Woodring vetoed the bills on March 14, 1931, stating in a message to the legislature that he was voicing his own personal convictions and what he believed to be the "sentiment of a majority of the people of Kansas." His action was generally approved.

But in 1933 attempts were again made to pass bills providing for (1) death, or life imprisonment, for murder in the first degree, and (2) death, or from five to 10 years imprisonment for kidnaping.⁵³ The house passed these bills, but the senate did not.

During a special session of the legislature in November, 1933, both the house and senate passed a measure providing death, or life imprisonment at hard labor, as the jury should decide, for murder in the first degree. Gov. Alfred M. Landon vetoed this because the companion bill providing the means, place, etc., of execution, had failed to pass the house and senate.⁵⁴

In 1935 the legislature passed a similar measure and another which provided hanging as the means of execution. These bills were signed by Governor Landon in March, and since that time have been the laws governing capital punishment in Kansas.⁵⁵

It was nine years before a criminal was hanged under this law. Albert M. Zakoura—the first person to be sentenced—was reprieved and his sentence commuted to life imprisonment by Gov. Walter A. Huxman on September 3, 1937. The second to be sentenced was Fred L. Brady. When, on February 8, 1944, Gov. Andrew F. Schoeppel refused clemency to Brady, M. F. Amrine, warden of the state penitentiary, resigned rather than to take part in a hanging. Amrine, after many years in penal work, had become opposed to capital punishment, though formerly favoring it. But it turned out that Brady was not the first victim of the law. A month before he was hanged, Ernest L. Hoefgen was executed (March 10, 1944) for the murder on September 18, 1943, of Bruce Smoll, an 18-year-old college student. Brady was hanged on April 15, 1944. His crime was the murder on January 9, 1943, of Joe Williams, Arkansas City, during an attempted holdup. On the same day, Clark B. Knox,

52. House Bills Nos. 14, 20, 23, 1931 legislature.

53. House Bills Nos. 416 and 671, 1933 legislature.

54. House Bills Nos. 78 and 87, 1933 legislature, special session.

55. House Bills Nos. 10 and 11, 1935 legislature; *Session Laws, 1935*, pp. 234-238. See page 281 for another statement of the provisions of the 1935 laws.

Negro, was executed for the murder on August 1, 1943, of Edward Nugent, Kansas City policeman. On July 29, 1947, Cecil Tate and George F. Gumtow, out-of-state carnival workers, were hanged for the murders on May 12, 1947, of W. W. McClellan and his son, Arnold, at Calista. George Miller, Negro, was hanged on May 6, 1950, for murdering Mike Churchill, Osawatomie police chief, February 3, 1947.

These six men, hanged at the state penitentiary since 1944, plus the nine who were hanged between 1863 and 1870, make a total of 15 persons who have been legally executed *under state law* in Kansas.

The 15 state hangings, plus three under military law, and six under federal law, make a total of 24 persons who have been legally executed on the gallows in Kansas.

FEDERAL HANGINGS IN KANSAS, 1887-1938

In the 1880's, while Oklahoma was still Indian territory, criminal cases originating in the territory were tried at Wichita during an annual term of the U. S. district court. Each September, the city of Wichita took on some of its earlier-day frontier aspects as "Indians, cowboys, half-breeds and toughs," arrived for the court sessions. Many, but by no means all, of the murderers, horse thieves and other criminals whose cases crowded the docket each year were Indians.

In 1886, during the federal court term, two Seminole Indians (John Washington and Simmons Wolf) were found guilty of rape. On September 23 they were sentenced by Judge C. G. Foster to be hanged on February 8, 1887. According to the *Wichita Eagle* "this was the first time that ever in the history of the federal court of district of Kansas that the death penalty was imposed."⁵⁶ As it turned out, Washington and Simmons escaped the gallows. There was much local opposition to a death sentence for rape, and petitions were sent to President Cleveland to commute the sentences to life imprisonment. On February 7, 1887, the President granted a respite until March 4 to these two criminals.⁵⁷ Sometime before that date the sentences were apparently commuted—at least the prisoners were not hanged.

In 1887, the first two of a number of murder cases on the federal court's docket ended in hung juries, but the third case—that of Lee Mosier—ended in a death sentence. Mosier, a mentally weak 20-

56. *Wichita (Weekly) Eagle*, September 24, 1886.

57. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1887; *Wichita Daily Beacon*, February 7, 1887.

year-old, was tried and convicted of the murder of Hugh B. Lawler, south of the Kansas border, on October 27, 1886. Lawler had been driving Mosier from Anthony into the territory. A third passenger in the wagon was a young boy named Robert Arner. Around dusk, Mosier, sitting in the back of the wagon, picked up a double-barreled shotgun, placed it behind Lawler's ear, and pulled the trigger, almost blowing his victim's head off. He raised the gun again to shoot Arner, but the boy persuaded Mosier not to kill him. Having been allowed to depart in safety, he returned home and told what had happened. Mosier was captured in a Harper county cornfield the next day. He was taken to the Sedgwick county jail, where he was held until the federal court term in September, 1887. One story Mosier told was that he had been hired by Mrs. Lawler to do away with her husband. For lack of evidence, this story was not brought out during the trial. The trial began and ended on September 15, 1887. The prisoner having pleaded guilty, the jurors deliberated only a few minutes before returning a verdict that he was guilty as charged. Mosier was sentenced to be hanged on November 15, 1887. A gallows of 16-foot timbers was erected on the west side of the Sedgwick county jail in a stockade 30 feet square. Here, on the morning of the scheduled day, Mosier was led for his execution, fortified by a pint of brandy which he had finished off in the sheriff's office. There were 54 witnesses. A large crowd collected outside, and some of the bolder spirits even loosened boards of the enclosure so as to see the proceedings. The drop fell at 9:32½ A. M. and Mosier was declared dead at 9:53 A. M.⁵⁸ As the newspapers noted, there had been no legal hanging in Kansas during the preceding 17 years.

Among the murder cases originally scheduled for the 1887 term of the federal court at Wichita were those of the Creek Indian-Negro brothers Jake and Joe Tobler. A postponement of their cases was secured by counsel, and these criminals who had murdered two white men in August, 1885, were not tried until September, 1888.

In 1888, the first case on the docket of the U. S. district court, at Wichita, was that of Jake Tobler, the older of the two brothers. The trial opened on September 4 and the most convincing evidence introduced by the prosecution was a confession which had been made by both brothers soon after their arrest. On the night of August 16, 1885, James Cass and John Goodykoontz, two well-known cattle-

58. Sources for the Mosier case: *Wichita Morning Eagle*, September 16, 17, November 16, 1887; *Wichita Daily Beacon*, September 6, 15, 16, November 15, 1887; *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, November 16, 1887.

men of Vinita, Indian territory, on their way to Texas, camped for the night along a small tributary of the Cimarron river. During the night, while asleep, both men were killed (each was shot twice) and robbed. The Tobler brothers, who had camped near by, were immediately suspected. Some articles belonging to the dead men were found in their possession when they were arrested. They were taken to the Sac and Fox agency and held there for some time; later they were removed to Fort Smith, Ark., where they were held for about a year. After it was decided that the military court there had no jurisdiction, they were brought to Wichita in December, 1886. Jake Tobler was found guilty on September 5, 1888, after the jurors had deliberated for 25 minutes. Joe Tobler was tried next, and on September 6, after seven minutes of thought, the jurors found him guilty. Judge C. G. Foster, on September 15, sentenced the criminals to be executed on November 21, 1888. On that date they were hanged simultaneously inside the Sedgwick county jail. The trap was sprung by Deputy U. S. Marshal Jack Stillwell of Fort Reno. Although few witnessed the actual executions, the double doors on the north side of the jail were thrown open before the bodies were cut down and "a crowd of some thousand persons passed along the sidewalk in view of the swinging bodies of the two men."⁵⁹ These were the last legal hangings in Wichita.

The next federal execution in Kansas took place 42 years later. In 1930, Carl Panzran was convicted of murdering R. G. Warnke, Leavenworth federal penitentiary employee, on June 19, 1929. Shortly before sunrise on the morning of September 5, 1930, Panzran was hanged on a gallows erected at the United States prison.⁶⁰

Eight years later—on August 12, 1938—Robert J. Suhay and Glen J. Applegate were also hanged at the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth. Convicted New York bank robbers, they were executed for the murder of W. W. Baker, FBI agent, in the Topeka post office, on June 16, 1937.⁶¹

Since 1938 there have been no hangings under federal law in Kansas.

59. Sources for Tobler brothers: *Wichita Daily Beacon*, September 3-7, 17, November 21, 1888; *Wichita Morning Eagle*, September 5-7, 16, 21, 22, 1888; *Wichita Eagle*, July 5, 1908. According to the *Eagle*, the federal court held its sessions in the old county courthouse which stood on the corner of First and Main, in Wichita. Another convicted murderer, Tom Thurber was scheduled to be hanged on the same day as the Tobler brothers, but President Cleveland commuted his sentence to life imprisonment.

60. *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 5, 6, 1930.

61. *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, August 12, 1938.

Death Notices From Kansas Territorial Newspapers, 1854-1861

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE

I. INTRODUCTION

THE following list of deaths was compiled from the files of territorial newspapers belonging to the Kansas State Historical Society. The year in which the newspaper was published is given only when it differs from the year in which the death occurred. In cases where the same notice appeared in two or more newspapers, the entry from the local newspaper was used if it gave complete information.

Inasmuch as the file of some newspapers is only a scattering of issues, and as many deaths were never recorded in any newspaper, this list is not complete. There are, of course, many other sources for ascertaining the death dates of persons who lived in Kansas territory. Among them are the mortality schedules from the United States census for 1860, cemetery inscriptions, church and family records, and printed histories.

II. THE DEATH NOTICES, A-L

- ABBOTT, JOSHUA, late of Dexter, Me., aged 58 yrs., d. Topeka, June 5, 1855, of dysentery. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 9.)
- ABBOTT, NELLIE MARIA, dau. of James B. & Elizabeth A., aged 5 yrs., d. Coal Creek, Aug. 20, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 2.)
- ADAMS, AMOS G., d. Jan. 31 or Feb. 1, 1856. (Topeka, *Kansas Freeman*, Feb. 2; "Records of Burials in Topeka Cemetery, 1859-1880.")
- ADAMS, HENRY C., son of W. H. & Harriett Ann, aged 4 mos., d. Platte county, Mo., April 5, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 17.)
- ADAMS, JOHN ISAAC IRA, formerly of Holyoke, Mass., aged 31 yrs., d. Oct. 17, 1857, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 22.)
- ALEXANDER, FREDDY, son of D. M. & C. B., aged 10 mos., 27 days, d. Willow Springs, Dec. 30, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 3, 1861.)
- ALLEN, KATIE JANETT, only child of Lyman & Ann Janett, aged 10 mos., 16 days, d. Aug. 1, 1858, of cholera infantum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 7.)
- ALLEN, SAMUEL REYNOLDS, aged 68 yrs., 5 mos., d. Ohio City, Franklin county, Nov. 27, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 8.)
- ALLEN, WILLIAM M., of Tecumseh, aged 22 yrs., drowned in Kaw, June 12 or 14, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 16; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, p. 814.)

ALBERTA PANTLE is a member of the Library staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

- ALMOND, JUDGE WILLIAM B., formerly of Platte county, Mo., aged 52 yrs., d. at Renich House, Mar. 4, 1860, of apoplexy. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 10.)
- ANDERSON, MRS. — —, struck by lightning near crossing of Santa Fe road at Bluff creek, June 28, 1860. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, July 2.)
- ANDERSON, E. H., druggist, aged 28 yrs., d. at Ft. Kearny on way to Denver to open branch store, Aug. 19, 1859, of typhoid. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Aug. 29.)
- ANDREW, MAHALA, Shawnee Indian girl, aged about 16 yrs., d. at Friends Mission, June 18, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 9.)
- ARMS, LEONARD, U. S. marshal, killed by John Ritchie, April 20, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, April 21.)
- ARMSTRONG, SARAH JANE, formerly of Rushford, N. Y., aged 30 yrs., d. Dec. 3, 1856, of typhoid. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 8.)
- ARNY, SAMUEL C., son of W. F. M. & Selina B., aged 21 yrs., d. at Hyatt, Anderson county, Sept. 24, 1860, of typhoid. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 4.)
- ASHLEY, DR. M. B., formerly of Meadville, Crawford county, Pa., aged 25 yrs., d. Oct. 19, 1856. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 22.)
- ASKREN, OLIVE, only dau. of O. H. P., aged 5 yrs., d. Feb. 5, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 6.)
- ATKINSON, WILLIE, son of R. L. & F. P., aged 10 mos., 6 days, d. Feb. 27, 1860, of dropsy. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Mar. 3.)
- BACKUS, B., drowned in Kansas river, Aug. 6, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 13.)
- BACON, ANNA LYDIA, dau. of F. C. & M. J., aged 1 yr., 3 days, d. at Moneka, Oct. 10, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 20.)
- BACON, LIZZIE AUGUSTA, dau. of F. C. & M. J., aged 3 yrs., 11 mos., 10 days, d. at Moneka, July 31, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 9.)
- BAILEY, CHARLES HENRY, son of John & Rebecca, aged 17 mos., 11 days, d. Aug. 5, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Aug. 6.)
- BAINTER, MRS. ELIZABETH, wife of Ephraim, aged 27 yrs., d. at Dayton, Sept. 27, 1855. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Oct. 22.)
- BAINTER, LOSON, son of Ephraim, aged 15 mos., d. Oct. 5, 1855. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Oct. 22.)
- BAKER, D. W. C., of Stanton, killed by storm, June 8, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 15.)
- BAKER, MORRELL, son of D. W. C., of Stanton, killed by storm, June 8, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 15.)
- BAKER, MRS. SARAH E., wife of H. W., formerly of Bingham, Me., aged 25 yrs., 6 mos., d. Mar. 8, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 12.)
- BALDWIN, B. A., formerly of Troy, N. Y., aged about 32 yrs., d. Mar. 31, 1855, of typhoid. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 7.)
- BALDWIN, MILTON, formerly of Berea, Ohio, d. at Grasshopper Falls, Sept. 1, 1858, of congestion of the bowels. (Leavenworth, *Times*, Oct. 4.)
- BALLOU, DR. JONATHAN, of La Porte county, Ind., formerly of Vermont, aged 28 yrs., d. May 13, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Tribune*, May 23.)
- BARBEE, WILLIAM, member of the territorial council, killed by accident some weeks before, at Fort Scott. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 10, 1857.)

- BARBER, THOMAS W., of near Bloomington, formerly of Ohio, aged 42 yrs., murdered by a Proslavery man, Dec. 6, 1855, left a wife. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 15.)
- BARCLAY, MRS. MARY J., widow of Joseph, aged 38 yrs., 11 days, d. at home of brother, Dr. J. E. Bennett, May 29, 1859, of hydrothorax, complicated with pulmonary consumption. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, June 4.)
- BARCUS, G. W., formerly of Delaware, Ohio, killed by accidental discharge of revolver, May 9, 1860. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, May 14.)
- BARNARD, MISS S. A., d. at residence of M. K. Smith, Oct. 15, 1856, of congestive chills. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 8.)
- BARRETT, HELEN OPHELIA, wife of Dr. P. G., aged 21 yrs., d. on West Walnut, Butler county, Sept. 23, 1860, of consumption. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 29.)
- BASSETT, ANNA GERTRUDE, dau. of Owen A. & Josephine E., aged 1 yr., 4 mos., d. Jan. 10, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 12.)
- BASYE, MRS. FRANCES W., relict of Maj. Alfred, d. at Jefferson City, Mo., Dec. 12, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 8, 1859.)
- BATES, MOSES D., aged 66 yrs., d. Aug. 18, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 5.)
- BATES, THOMAS, JR., aged 52 yrs., d. May 8, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 10.)
- BATY, HENRY, son of Mrs. Baty, aged 12 yrs., d. Oct. 31, 1859, of convulsive chills. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Nov. 3.)
- BAY, AMY, wife of Hugh, aged 34 yrs., d. in Shannon township, Oct. 28, 1859, of congestion of lungs. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Nov. 5.)
- BEACH, ASAHIEL, born Wallingford, Conn., 1806, one of proprietors of Beach's ranch (present Rice county) on Santa Fe road, aged 54 yrs., d. Feb. 17, 1860. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Feb. 20.)
- BECK, — —, child of John, a German of Manhattan, accidentally burned to death. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 12, 1859.)
- BECK, JOHN, of Osage City, killed by James Yearsley. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 29, 1860.)
- BECKER, HENRIETTA, dau. of Rheinhart & Catherine, aged 9 mos., 24 days, d. June 25, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 28.)
- BECKER, HENRY, son of Rheinhart & Catherine, aged 9 mos., 19 days, d. June 21, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 28.)
- BEDDOES, MRS. SARAH, wife of Thomas, aged 36 yrs., d. on North fork of Pottawatomie, Sept. 14, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 22.)
- BEDDOES, WILLIAM E., son of Thomas & Sarah, aged 18 mos., d. Oct. 4, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 22.)
- BELT, THOMPSON W., husband of Maria, d. at Weston, Mo., Jan. 23, 1855. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Feb. 20.)
- BENHAM, JANE ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel, dau. of Rev. P. & Asenath Shepherd, aged 28 yrs., d. May 14, 1856. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 16.)
- BERNARD, EDWARD F., formerly of Washington City, D. C., d. June 10, 1855, of congestion of the brain. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 15.)
- BEST, IDA, dau. of J. C. & Annette, aged 4 yrs., 11 mos., 20 days, d. Sept. 10, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 17.)
- BIGGER, JAMES, of Mound City, accidentally killed, Dec., 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Dec. 8.)

- BISHOP, A. F., killed near 110-Mile creek, in Osage county, Dec. 27, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Jan. 7, 1860.)
- BISHOP, HENRY T. E., son of Jonathan & Levina, aged 2 yrs., d. in Lee county, Va., June 24, 1857. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Oct. 8.)
- BLUEJACKET, HENRY, Shawnee Indian chief, d. at lower crossing of the Waka-rusa, May 3, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 26.)
- BLUSH, FRED, son of Daniel V., aged 6 yrs., d. Dec. 21, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 22.)
- BOND, MR. —, of Lecompton, killed by lightning, July 28, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Aug. 6.)
- BOUCHER, SAMUEL LEVI, son of Jacob & Ann, aged 1 yr., 2 mos., 11 days, d. Sept. 10, 1860. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Sept. 19.)
- BOURNE, EDWARD, JR., aged 18 yrs., 7 mos., d. at father's residence near Kickapoo, Jan. 14, 1860. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Feb. 2.)
- BOUSER, GEORGE, formerly of eastern Tennessee, aged 62 yrs., d. in Atchison, May 15, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 9.)
- BOUTWELL, MRS. CARRIE, wife of Daniel W., native of Scotia, N. Y., aged 27 yrs., d. Aug. 14 or 15, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 18; "Records of Burials in Topeka Cemetery, 1859-1880.")
- BOWLUS, WILLIAM, formerly of St. Charles, Mo., d. while held with other Free-State men in Lecompton prison, Oct. 19, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 15.)
- BRADBURY, SAMUEL, aged 53 yrs., d. April 1, 1858. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, April 8.)
- BRAGG, DR. JOHN M., aged 31 yrs., accidentally shot while hunting near Kickapoo, Oct. 21, 1857. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 31.)
- BRAY, MARY ELLEN, dau. of D. D. & Ellen, formerly of Pen Yan, N. Y., aged 4 yrs., 7 mos., 11 days, d. at Tecumseh, Jan. 23, 1861. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 26.)
- BREWSTER, MOSES C., of Lawrence, d. while on a visit to Susquehanna county, Pa., April 8, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 18.)
- BRIGGS, PHILIP, formerly of Clarendon, Rutland county, Vt., aged 57 yrs., d. Dec. 2, 1857. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 5.)
- BROOKE, SARAH MELISSA, dau. of James and Mary, aged 4 yrs., 9 mos., 8 days, d. in Kaw Bottom, Jefferson county, Oct. 12, 1857. (Lecompton, *National Democrat*, Oct. 22.)
- BROOKS, DANIEL H., formerly of York, Me., aged 33 yrs., d. Mar. 16, 1855, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 24.)
- BROOKS, H. R., formerly of Leavenworth, drowned in Ohio river, near Cincinnati, May 4, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, May 12.)
- BROOME, CHARLOTTE, dau. of William, aged 17 yrs., d. April 3, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 6.)
- BROWN, MRS. ABIGAIL H., wife of David, aged 68 yrs., d. in Willow Springs township, Douglas county, Oct. 8, 1859, of erysipelas. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 15.)
- BROWN, ALONZO OSCAR, only child of Alonzo J. & Clara M., aged 10 days, d. near Prairie City, Sept. 27, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 7.)
- BROWN, AMANDA, wife of Abraham, aged 50 yrs., 7 mos., 5 days, d. July 1, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 2.)

- BROWN, ANNA D., dau. of James M. & Mary C., aged 1 yr., 10 mos., d. Aug. 23, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 29.)
- BROWN, ANNE, dau. of Robert A. & Hannah J., aged 2 yrs., 7 mos., 3 days, d. Aug. 27, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Aug. 28.)
- BROWN, REESE P., b. July 3, 1825, son of Moses, of Logan county, Ohio, murdered by Proslavery men at Easton, Jan. 18, 1856, left wife and infant daughter. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 19, Mar. 22.)
- BROXSON, WILLIAM WESLEY, son of William & Rebecca, aged 7 mos., 7 days, d. Sept. 22, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 24.)
- BRUNT, AKEN, Osage Indian, employee of American Fur Company, aged 59 yrs., d. at his lodge on Big creek, Osage Nation, April 30, 1860. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, May 12.)
- BRYAN, ANNIE, dau. of Robert A. & H. J., aged 2 yrs., 7 mos., 3 days, d. Aug. 27, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 2.)
- BUFFUM, JULIA AUGUSTA, dau. of David N. & Maria, aged 6 yrs., 24 days, d. Nov. 16, 1857, of bilious fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 28.)
- BUFFUM, COL. SAMUEL, father of David N., of Topeka, aged 73 yrs., 3 mos., d. at Orono, Me., Aug., 16, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 1.)
- BULLEN, EDDIE A., son of J. A. & Anna M., aged 17 mos., d. July 3, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 4.)
- BULLEN, HELEN G., only child of J. H. & Alma M., aged 10 mos., 6 days, d. July 2, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 3.)
- BULLOCK, WILLIAM P., aged 22 yrs., 2 mos., d. at residence of father near Fort Scott, July 24, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 2.)
- BUNKER, JAMES W., aged 15 yrs., d. on road between Topeka and Leavenworth, Sept. 15 or 16, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Sept. 17; "Records of Burials in Topeka Cemetery, 1859-1880.")
- BUNNER, EMMA M., aged 1 yr., 13 days, d. Sept. 9, 1859. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 15.)
- BURDETT, WILLIAM M., son of Samuel F., aged 19 yrs., 7 mos., d. Jan. 4, 1861, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 5.)
- BURDITT, WILLIE CLARENCE, son of Abidan K. & Jane G., aged 1 yr., 27 days, d. July 5, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 7.)
- BURGESS, ALEXANDER, born Portland, Jefferson county, Wis., aged 17 yrs., 2 mos., d. June 27, 1859, of congestion of the lungs. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 29.)
- BURLEIGH, ELLEN FRANCES dau. of James M. & Harriet, aged 11 yrs., 2 mos., d. Feb. 2, 1855, of inflammation of the larynx. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 10.)
- BURNETT, JOHN, merchant, aged 30 yrs., d. at Oregon, Mo., July 1, 1857. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, July 2.)
- BURRELL, JEREMIAH MURRAY, judge of U. S. district court, Kansas territory, d. in Pennsylvania, Oct. 21, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 15.)
- BURTON, HENRIETTA, wife of J. W., d. at Troy, May 10, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, May 19.)
- BUSHNELL, HARMON, aged 27 yrs., d. at Manhattan, Nov. 9, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 29.)

- BUTTS, ELSIE, dau. of W. C., aged 2 yrs., d. Dec. 13, 1860. (Grasshopper Falls, *Gazette*, Dec. 15.)
- BUTTS, WALTER, formerly of Dutchess county, N. Y., aged 38 yrs., d. Jan. 3, 1859. (Grasshopper Falls, *Jefferson Crescent*, Jan. 8.)
- BUXTON, J. W., aged 30 yrs., d. May 23, 1860. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, May 26.)
- BYWATERS, WILLIAM C., killed at sawmill of Messrs. Bruner & Kuns, Americus, Dec. 19, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 24.)
- CAIN, MRS. MARTHA, born in South Carolina, Dec. 3, 1777, widow of Abijah, aged 82 yrs., 7 mos., 26 days, d. at residence of G. A. McGlothen, Aug. 4, 1860. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Aug. 8.)
- CALHOUN, JOHN, native of Massachusetts, former surveyor-general of Kansas territory, aged about 53 yrs., d. at St. Joseph, Mo., Oct. 13, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 22.)
- CALVERT, MARY H., wife of J. M., d. in Salt Creek valley, Leavenworth county, Feb. 11, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 10.)
- CAMERON, A. D., formerly of Monroe county, N. Y., aged about 40 yrs., d. Mar. 17, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 26.)
- CAMPBELL, A. R., of the firm of Tourvill & Campbell, St. Louis, aged 43 yrs., d. at Planter's Hotel, April 11, 1857, of softening of the brain. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 18.)
- CAMPBELL, CHARLES, aged 75 yrs., d. Oct. 4, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 7.)
- CAMPBELL, CORNELIUS, late of Bellefonte, Pa., aged 56 yrs., d. April 27, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 28.)
- CAMPBELL, JOSEPH EWING, son of Adam E. & Menna, aged 1 yr., 6 mos., d. May 2, 1860, of croup. (Elwood, *Free Press*, May 5.)
- CANTRELL, JACOB, of Jackson, killed by Proslavery men shortly after the Battle of Black Jack, June 6, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 24.)
- CAPLES, MARY WATTS, dau. of William G. & Elizabeth, aged 1 mo., d. at Fayette, Mo., March 2, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 27.)
- CAREY, ELIZABETH, wife of J. A., aged 30 yrs., d. in Hunter county, Aug. 1, 1860, of erysipelas. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- CAREY, ROBERT, of Washington creek, murdered, May 2, 1857. (Lecompton, *Union*, May 9.)
- CARIEL, HENRY, formerly of Illinois, aged 29 yrs., d. July 24, 1858, of bilious fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, July 31.)
- CARLIN, PAUL, d. ———. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 16, 1860.)
- CARNEY, LEROY S., JR., native of Ohio, member of firm of Thos. Carney & Co., aged 34 yrs., 6 mos., 11 days, d. Nov. 19, 1860, of congestion of brain. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 20.)
- CASHIN, THOMAS, an Irishman, killed in altercation with Frederick Brown, one of the proprietors of the Lone Star flouring mill, Oct. 8, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 9.)
- CHAFEE, HIRAM, killed in brawl at Atchison, July 14, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 21.)
- CHAFER, JACOB, formerly of Illinois, aged 38 yrs., d. Sept. 18, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 25.)
- CHASE, ELIZA, dau. of Capt. Joseph & Nancy, formerly of Newburyport, Mass., d. May 14, 1856. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 16.)

- CHASE, JACOB E., formerly of Concord, N. H., d. at El Dorado, Sept. 18, 1859, of inflammation of the brain. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 20.)
- CHASE, WILLIE, son of R. D. & A. R., aged 2 yrs., 3 mos., 14 days, d. near Hyatt, May 21, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 11.)
- CHILDS, MRS. ELIZA C., wife of T. W., aged 32 yrs., d. in Millbury, Mass., June 14, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 7.)
- CHOUTEAU, AMANDA, dau. of Frederic & Nancy, aged 18 yrs., d. at father's residence in Shawnee Indian Reserve, Dec. 28, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 16, 1856.)
- CHUBB, JAMES E., formerly of Chicago, Ill., d. in Tecumseh, Dec. 19, 1859. (Leacompton, *National Democrat*, Dec. 22.)
- CHURCH, ELDER SAMUEL S., d. at St. Louis, Mar. 19, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 29.)
- CLARK, HARRIET, dau. of the late George I., chief of Wyandotte Indians, d. Feb. 6, 1858. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, Feb. 6.)
- CLARK, DR. HIRAM, formerly of Massachusetts, lately of Jackson, Ga., aged about 40 yrs., d. May 29, 1855, of chronic diarrhea. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 2.)
- CLARK, LUCY, wife of Powers, aged 24 yrs., d. on Big creek, Feb. 10, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Feb. 14.)
- CLARK, LYMAN FRANCIS, son of J. F. & Francis M., aged 16 mos., d. Sept. 20, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 18.)
- CLARK, MALCOLM, killed by Cole McCrea, at Leavenworth, April 30, 1855. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, May 28.)
- CLARK, MARY ELLEN, dau. of B. T. & Ellen, aged 20 mos., 5 days, d. in Pike township, July 28, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 4.)
- CLARK, NANCY JANE, wife of Henry, of Oregon, Mo., aged 22 yrs., d. Feb. 15, 1858, of apoplexy. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Feb. 18.)
- CLARK, SCHUYLER COLFAX, son of Edward & Clara E., aged 9 mos., 22 days, d. Nov. 4, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 11.)
- CLARKE, HENRY, brother of D. C., teacher of Burlington school, aged 25 yrs., d. near Attrapahoe, western Kansas (now Colorado), Dec. 13, 1859. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Feb. 14, 1860.)
- CLEARY, MICHAEL, d. Feb. 4, 1859. (Grasshopper Falls, *Jefferson Crescent*, Feb. 5.)
- CLEVELAND, LORING GRANT, of Dubuque, Iowa, settled in Kansas in 1854, d. 1860, of consumption. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 27.)
- COBB, FREEMAN, native of Natick, Mass., aged 23 yrs., d. July 31, 1860, of fever. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 4.)
- COCKERILL, JOSEPH C., d. at residence of mother in Platte county, Mo., June 3, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 7.)
- COHEE, V. D., d. at Kansasopolis, opposite Topeka, Oct. 13, 1857, left family. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 22.)
- COLE, JOHN R., of near Emporia, d. Oct. 27, 1857, left large family. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 5.)
- COLEMAN, FRANK C., son of E. A. & Mary J., formerly of Reading, Mass., aged 9 yrs., 6 mos., drowned in Kansas river, June 12, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 18.)
- COLEMAN, JOHN, murdered by a band of eight robbers, Dec. 13, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 31.)

- COLEMAN, SAMUEL CABBOT, son of E. A. & Mary J., d. Sept. 13, 1857, of whooping cough and dysentery. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 19.)
- COLLINS, MRS. FRANCES C., wife of William C., d. Dec. 3, 1860, of typhoid fever. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 4.)
- COLLINS, SAMUEL, of Doniphan City, killed by Patrick Laughlin, Nov. 1, 1855. (Topeka, *Daily Kansas Freeman*, Nov. 7.)
- COLLINS, WILLIAM, formerly of Illinois, aged 23 yrs., 5 mos., 22 days, d. at Chase House, Dec. 6, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 8.)
- COMBS, WILLIAM L., aged 14 yrs., d. Oct. 8, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 11.)
- CONKLING, HANNAH MARIA, dau. of Mary E. & J. B., d. Feb. 8, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 19.)
- CONNER, ELIZABETH, sister of John, aged 19 yrs., d. near Americus, Aug. 7, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- CONNER, JOHN, accidentally killed by stick of wood thrown from embankment just above fort, Feb. 16, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 18.)
- CONRAD, D. H., of Tuscumbia, Ohio, aged 24 yrs., d. at Massasoit House, July 31, 1860, of bilious fever. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Aug. 4.)
- COOK, MARTHA JANE, dau. of Milton & Cynthia T., aged 1 yr., 7 mos., d. on West Walnut, Butler county, Sept. 7, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 8.)
- COOK, MARY, wife of William S., dau. of the late Col. Miller Horton, Wilkesbarre, Pa., d. at residence of Dr. Davis, June 2, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 7.)
- COOPER, A. A., formerly of Mahoning county, Ohio, d. at Geary City, Oct. 9, 1859. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Oct. 15.)
- COOPER, MARY, member of Society of Friends, aged 70 yrs., d. at residence of Dr. E. G. Macy, one mile east of Bloomington, Dec. 16, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 30.)
- COOPRIDER, ALBERT, aged 2 yrs., 11 days, d. Sept. 18, 1857, of summer complaint. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Sept. 26.)
- COOPRIDER, ISAAC, aged 4 mos., 15 days, d. Sept. 20, 1857. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Sept. 26.)
- COPELAND, GERTRUDE FINNEY, dau. of Rev. J. & C. C., aged 9 mos., 3 days, d. in Clinton, Sept. 30, 1859, of congestive chills. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 6.)
- COPLEY, NAPOLEON E., late of Emporia, aged 24 yrs., d. at Little Prairie Ronde, Mich., Sept. 4, 1858, of consumption. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Oct. 2.)
- CORNELIUS, GILBERT M., formerly of Dutchess county, N. Y., aged 30 yrs., 10 mos., 29 days, d. Oct. 29, 1857, left wife and small child. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 5.)
- CORY, DAVID S., formerly of Sussex county, N. J., aged 21 yrs., d. at Baptist Mission, Oct. 4, 1855, of typhus fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 13.)
- COTTELE, SUSAN A., living at home of Mr. Elbert in South Leavenworth, aged about 20 yrs., committed suicide by drowning in Missouri river, Feb. 16, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 17.)
- COULTER, RODOLPHUS LENUEL, son of J. S. & Cordelia K., aged 10 mos., 8 days, d. Aug. 17, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 23.)

- CRACKLIN, MRS. JULIA A., formerly of Roxbury, Mass., wife of Capt. Joseph, aged 27 yrs., d. July 26, 1857, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 30.)
- CRACKLIN, MARY FRANCES, dau. of Joseph & Emily, aged 2 mos., 10 days, d. Nov. 22, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 29.)
- CRANSTON, MRS. ANNE, formerly of Lancaster county, Pa., aged 36 yrs., d. Sept. 5, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 20.)
- CRAWFORD, MARY A., formerly of Brownsville, Pa., d. Sept. 18, 1858, of bilious fever. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Sept. 25.)
- CREIGHTON, DAVID D., of firm of Creighton & Co., accidentally shot, near Indianola, Sept. 17, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Sept. 22.)
- CRISHOPPER, FREDERIC, found dead near Flag Springs. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Mar. 19, 1860.)
- CROSSMAN, —, murdered by James Shelton, on Wea creek, Mar. 4, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 19.)
- CUENIN, JOSEPH, aged 42 yrs., d. Oct. 24, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 25.)
- CUNDIFF, MRS. M. A., wife of W. H. H., dau. of Larkin Maddox, d. at Pleasant Hill, Mo., Sept. 8, 1855. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Sept. 25.)
- CUNNINGHAM, —, killed by Indians at trading house of Orville Thompson at Ash creek on Santa Fe road, July 10, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 27.)
- CURTIS, JOHN, member of legislature from Franklin county, d. Feb. 15, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 18.)
- CUSTARD, ROBERT WADE, formerly of Crawford county, Pa., aged 29 yrs., d. near Big Springs, Oct. 16, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 25.)
- DAGLEY, HARRISON, of Samuel Ferandis' train, while en route to Ft. Riley, d. near Osawkee, on Grasshopper river, Sept. 9, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 17.)
- DAHS, MRS. JOHN, wife of a German who had been murdered a short time previously, d. Sept. 14, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 15.)
- DAN, LANSING, d. Dec. 16, 1858. (Elwood, *Press*, Dec. 18.)
- DARRAH, DR. JAMES, proprietor of the Pennsylvania Hotel, aged 58 yrs., d. Aug. 10, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Aug. 11.)
- DAVIDSON, J. D., formerly of Cass county, Mo., aged about 55 yrs., d. June 23, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 28.)
- DAVIS, AUGUSTUS C., son of Dr. J. & Mary A., aged 7 yrs., 2 mos., 11 days, d. Nov. 22, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 28.)
- DAVIS, BENJAMIN, member of Capt. Donaldson's company of militia, aged about 50 yrs., d. Nov. 24, 1856. (Lecompton, *Union*, Nov. 27.)
- DAVIS, HENRY, murdered by Lucius Kibbee, Nov. 29, 1854. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Jan. 3, 1855.)
- DAVIS, HORATIO N., late of Batavia, Ill., aged 20 yrs., d. at Cradit's mills, Aug. 12, 1857, of dysentery. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, Aug. 20.)
- DEER, SARAH, late of Bakerstown, Lancaster county, Pa., aged 28 yrs., d. Oct. 13, 1855, of typhoid fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 13.)
- DELAND, MARY, dau. of Elijah A. & Phebe V., aged 11 mos., d. July 25, 1857, of whooping cough. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 30.)

- DELONG, JAMES A., aged 29 yrs., d. near Brownsville, Nov. 26, 1858, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 9.)
- DEMING, EDITH GERTRUDE, dau. of A. E. & O. S., d. Jan. 28, 1861, of pneumonia. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Feb. 2.)
- DEMING, MARY MATISSA, dau. of J. G. & Sarah A., aged 12 yrs., 6 mos., d. in Burlingame, Aug. 31, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 15.)
- DEMOSSE, WILLIAM, late of Logansport, Ind., aged 77 yrs., d. June 5, 1858, of lung fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 12.)
- DEMPSEY, JAMES, d. in Wise county, May 4, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, May 8.)
- DENSMORE, — —, of Osawatomie, driver of the Fort Scott stage line, drowned in Pottawatomie creek, Feb. 12, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 19.)
- DENTON, JOHN, Free-State man of Bourbon county, killed by Proslavery ruffians. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 15, 1860.)
- DICKEY, DAVID, born Jackson county, Mo., 1825, aged 31 years. (Topeka, *Daily Kansas Freeman*, Oct. 25, 1855.)
- DICKEY, WILLIAM, of firm of Holladay & Dickey, born April 8, 1819, Fredericksburg, Va., d. at Weston, Mo. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Feb. 20, 1855.)
- DILLON, BENJAMIN B., aged 56 yrs., d. at Fort Scott Hotel, Nov. 16, 1859. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Nov. 17.)
- DIEFENDORF, SETH BENJAMIN, son of Oliver & Caroline, Weston, Mo., aged 6 yrs., 2 mos., 20 days, d. in St. Louis, Dec. 13, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 5, 1856.)
- DOCKERY, JOHN, of Samuel Ferandis' train, while en route to Ft. Riley, d. near Osawkee, on Grasshopper river, Sept. 9, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 17.)
- DODD, W. F., d. Dec. 15, 1860, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 17.)
- DODGE, REV. JAMES, aged 52 yrs., d. Mar. 8, 1859, of pneumonia. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 12.)
- DONEY, WILLIAM LORENZO, aged 1 yr., 3 mos., d. Sept. 2, 1857, of measles. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 3.)
- DONOHU, ELLEN, dau. of David & Mary E., aged 8 mos., 9 days, d. July 18, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 25.)
- DOUGHMAN, JAMES, formerly of Illinois, aged 21 yrs., d. at residence of L. W. Horne, June 26, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 28.)
- DOW, CHARLES W., murdered near Hickory Point, by F. N. Coleman, Proslavery man, Nov. 21, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 24.)
- DOW, MRS. SALLY, wife of Ladd, of Hickory Point, aged 58 yrs., d. Dec. 7, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 16.)
- DOWELL, SAMUEL F., aged 18 yrs., 27 days, d. Aug. 30, 1859. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 8.)
- DOY, CHARLES, member of horse-stealing fraternity, shot by posse in Linn county. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, July 21, 1860.)
- DOYLE, BRYAN, drowned Mar. 1, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 2.)
- DOYLE, RICHARD, formerly of Leavenworth, killed by Patrick Kelley, formerly of Leavenworth and Lawrence. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 27, 1860.)

- DREW, NAOMI, dau. of John, of Burlingame, drowned in Dragoon creek, July 3, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 24.)
- DRUMMOND, ELIZABETH, aged 19 yrs., 4 mos., 19 days, d. Feb. 21, 1857, of bilious fever. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Feb. 23.)
- DUDLEY, MARY L., dau. of B. W., relative of Major Castleman, aged 22 yrs., d. at St. Charles, Mo., June 5, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 23.)
- DUERINCK, the REV. FATHER JOHN BAPTIST, of the Catholic (St. Mary's) mission, born May 8, 1809, aged 48 yrs., drowned in Missouri river when skiff overturned, Dec. 9. 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 23, 1858.)
- DUNAWAY, ROSANNA, dau. of William & Ann, aged 4 yrs., d. at residence of Mr. Poyner, Sept. 7, 1859. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Sept. 15.)
- DUNCAN, WILLIS, formerly of Virginia, and late of Missouri, aged 69 yrs., d. Jan. 12, 1856, of inflammation of the lungs. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 26.)
- DUNCAN, WILLIS EDWARD, son of W. H. & Elizabeth, aged 10 mos, d. Dec. 20, 1857, of inflammation of the brain. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 26.)
- DUNN, ANDREW, late of Butler county, Pa., aged 46 yrs., d. at Mr. Rinker's, Aug. 14, 1858, of congestive chills. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 21.)
- DUNN, EDWARD, from Rothcoole, Ireland, d. at residence of son on Salt creek, Dec. 31, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 19, 1856.)
- DUNN, FREDDY WARREN, son of B. P. & Abby J., aged 9 mos., 2 days, d. July 9, 1860, of cholera infantum. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 12.)
- DUNN, PATRICK, of Turkey creek, Dickinson county, gored to death by a buffalo. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Sept. 8, 1860.)
- DUNNING, JAMES G., son of Robert G., & Elvira, aged 3 mos., 8 days, d. July 24, 1858. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, July 29.)
- DURNILL, POLLEY, wife of Joseph, aged 55 yrs., d. Nov. 3, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 7.)
- EASTIN, LUCIAN WOOD, son of Lucian J. & Sarah F., aged 10 mos., 6 days, d. July 8, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 10.)
- EASTIN, MARY ELLEN, dau. of Lucian J. & Sarah F., aged 13 mos., 24 days, d. at Palmyra, Mo., Aug. 3, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 16.)
- EASTMAN, M. K., late of North Troy, Vt., aged 45 yrs., d. Nov. 27, 1857. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, Nov. 28.)
- EATON, JOHN, d. Aug. 10, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Times*, Aug. 14.)
- ELDRIDGE, JAMES M., of firm of Eldridge Brothers, aged 39 yrs., d. Nov. 4, 1857, of inflammation of the brain. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 14.)
- ELDRIDGE, SHALER W., aged 1 yr., 10 mos., d. at Eldridge House, Oct. 11, 1860, of inflammation of the bowels. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 18.)
- ELLIOTT, W. C. WORTH, son of I. D. & Nancy, aged 11 yrs., d. Jan. 29, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Feb. 11.)
- ELMORE, ARTHUR, son of Rush & Susan T., aged 3 days, d. Mar. 4, 1858. (Tecumseh, *Kansas Settler*, Mar. 10.)
- ELWELL, CHAS. ROBERTSON, son of Dr. J. B., aged 6 mos., 3 wks., d. at residence of Capt. Kipp, Platte county, Mo., Mar. 30, 1856. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, April 15.)

- EMERSON, LYSANDER B., son of S. M. & S. D., aged 2 days, d. at Wyandotte, July 28, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 23.)
- EMERY, WM., of Samuel Ferandis' train, while en route to Fort Riley, d. near Osawkee, on Grasshopper river, Sept. 9, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 17.)
- EVANS, MARIA C., dau. of James W. & Mary, aged 16 yrs., 11 mos., 16 days, d. Aug. 6, 1860, of congestive fever. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 9.)
- EVINGTON, DR. J. G., struck by lightning, May 25 or 26, 1859. (Atchison, *Union*, June 4; *Freedom's Champion*, May 28.)
- EWELL, CHAS. ROBERTSON, *see* Elwell, Chas. Robertson.
- FARLEY, JOSIAH, formerly of Platte county, Mo., d. July 31, 1857. (Delaware, *Kansas Free State*, Aug. 1.)
- FARNSWORTH, WILLIAM B., native of Washington, N. H., aged 50 yrs., d. in Avon township, Coffey county, Nov. 30, 1859. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Dec. 13.)
- FEATHERGILL, LAURA DALE, dau. of William & Ellen, aged 4 yrs., 10 mos., 4 days, d. in Adams county, Ill., Sept. 26, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 16.)
- FEE, JOHN, d. in this territory, opposite St. Joseph, of cholera. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Sept. 24, 1855.)
- FERGUSON, CARRIE GRAY, twin dau. of P. S. & Margaret, aged 9 mos., d. at Superior, Osage county. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 15, 1859.)
- FERGUSON, FRED IRVING, son of James H. & Ellen M., aged 1 yr., 10 days, d. July 18, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 2.)
- FERRELL, MINNIE, dau. of the Rev. T. J. & Minerva, aged 1 yr., 7 mos., 4 days, d. Jan. 13, 1861. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 17.)
- FINK, JACOB, a German living eight miles from Leavenworth on the Easton road, killed by a fall from a wagon, Nov. 16, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 20.)
- FINKLEA, HUGH G., originally from Germany, drowned from raft of logs near Doniphan, Aug. 27, 1857. (Geary City, *Era*, Sept. 5.)
- FIRTH, THOMAS, formerly of Blackwoodtown, N. J., resident of Ogden, shot through window at house of Mr. Warner between Manhattan and Ogden, Feb. 28, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 12.)
- FISH, MARY JANE, dau. of Charles, of the Shawnee Indian nation, aged about 10 yrs., d. June 21, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 9.)
- FISH, NANCY, dau. of Charles, of the Shawnee Indian nation, aged about 8 yrs., d. June 19, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 9.)
- FISH, MRS. PASCAL, aged about 50 yrs., d. on the Shawnee Indian reservation, April 29, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 5.)
- FISHER, JOSEPHINE A., dau. of Adam & Catharine, aged 2 yrs., d. Dec. 22, 1854, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 29.)
- FLEISCHMAN, MRS. ELIZA K., aged 48 yrs., d. near Des Moines, Iowa, Feb. 1, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 18.)
- FORD, E. N., drowned fording the Wakarusa. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 6, 1858.)
- FOSTER, — —, dau. of Mr. Foster, keeper of Atchison Hotel, aged 14 yrs., d. Nov. 21, 1856. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Nov. 22.)
- FOSTER, BERTHA, aged 43 yrs., d. Jan. 22, 1861, of consumption. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Jan. 26.)

- FOSTER, CHARLES, formerly of Ogdensburg, N. Y., later of Minneola, K. T., d. at Denver City, Sept. 17, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 8.)
- FOSTER, ROBERT PITT, son of F. R. & M. B., aged 3 mos., 10 days, d. Nov. 30, 1858. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 16.)
- FOX, MRS. BETSY ANN, wife of Henry, aged 47 yrs., d. at Auburn, K. T. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 19, 1859.)
- FRANCE, ELIZABETH ANN, aged 23 yrs., d. at home of brother near Delaware, Feb. 20, 1856, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 8.)
- FRANKE, — —, of Illinois, murdered by — — Glover, Aug., 1854. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Jan. 3, 1855.)
- FRAZER, MARY A. JEWETT, wife of Robert L., born at St. Albans, Vt., married Nov. 1859, aged 26 yrs., d. July 29, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 2.)
- FRAZIER, IDA C., aged 3 yrs., 11 mos., 21 days, d. on Rock creek, Jefferson county, Nov. 20, 1860. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Nov. 21.)
- FREEMAN, N. S., committed suicide at Pennsylvania Hotel, April 24, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Times*, May 1.)
- FRENCH, MRS. EMILY, wife of Theodore, dau. of William & Delilah Jaquett, of Cameron, N. Y., aged 23 yrs., 11 mos., d. at Georgetown, May 9, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 19.)
- FRENCH, MARTHA J., dau. of George, formerly of Brunswick, Me., aged 22 yrs., d. at residence of father four miles south of Topeka, Oct. 18, 1856, of fever. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 22.)
- FRIZZLE, RILEY, aged 38 yrs., d. Nov. 7, 1860, of lung fever. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 10.)
- FRY, CHAS. SAMUEL, only child of Samuel & Matilda, aged 1 yr., 5 mos., d. Sept. 2, 1857, of whooping cough and diarrhea. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 5.)
- FRY, FREDERICK CEPHAS, son of Samuel & Matilda, aged 1 yr., 6 mos., 7 days, d. Nov. 5, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 12.)
- FULKINSON, MRS. LYDIA, wife of Dr. Peter P., aged 31 yrs. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 13, 1857.)
- FULLER, JAMES MONROE, formerly of Mansfield, Conn., d. Feb. 10, 1858, of brain fever, left wife and two children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 13.)
- GARDNER, THOMAS M., son of Joseph & Sarah M., d. Jan. 5, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 12.)
- GARRISON, CAROLINE, dau. of Isaac, aged 14 yrs., d. Nov. 28, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Dec. 3.)
- GARVIN, ROBERT, late of Illinois, aged 22 yrs., d. June 27, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 4.)
- GATCHLEY, WILLIAM, aged about 25 yrs., found dead in bed, June 23, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 25.)
- GAUGH, — —, found dead, July 19, 1859, supposed that liquor and heat of sun combined killed him. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 22.)
- GAYLORD, WILLIAM LEWIS, of Buchanan county, Mo., aged 57 yrs., d. Aug. 23, 1859. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Sept. 3.)
- GETMAN, MRS. — —, of Terrapin creek, Brown county, late of Frankfort, N. Y., struck by lightning, June 26, 1859. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, July 7.)

- GILES, CHARLES, of Gallia county, Ohio, aged 60 yrs., d. at the Waverly House, April 10, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, April 12.)
- GILLPATRICK, MRS. JANE M., wife of the Rev. James, missionary to this territory, aged 48 yrs., d. at Brownsville, Jan. 22, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 26.)
- GIST, WM. H., d. at Atchison, Jan. 8, 1861. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 12.)
- GLEASON, MRS. POLLY H., wife of Salem, formerly of Pennsylvania, aged 68 yrs., 4 mos., d. in Willow Springs township, Sept. 1, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 3.)
- GLIDDON, MARY A., aged 2 yrs., 9 mos., d. at Willow Springs, Oct. 19, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 1.)
- GODDARD, GEORGE THATCHER, aged 33 yrs., d. on Rock creek, eight miles from Council Grove, April 18, 1858, of consumption. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 24.)
- GOODIN, HENRY C., son of James & Catherine, brother of John & James of Leavenworth, aged 19 yrs., d. in Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 8, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 18.)
- GOODMAN, ALICE LOUISE, dau. of Charles F. & Emma, aged 4 yrs., 8 mos., 21 days, d. Dec. 11, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 12.)
- GORDON, — —, son of Thomas & Betsey, d. Sept. 7, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 8.)
- GORDON, MRS. MARCIA B., wife of Wilson L., aged 25 yrs., Dec. 16, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Dec. 17.)
- GOSS, SUSAN ALICE, dau. of Geo. W. & Susan C., formerly of W. Randolph, Vt., aged 4 yrs., d. on steamer *Star of the West*, Oct., 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 27.)
- GRAHAM, LOUISA O., dau. of John M. & Martha, d. Feb. 7, 1858, of lung fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 20.)
- GRAHAM, MRS. MARTHA, wife of John M., aged 53 yrs., 6 mos., d. Mar. 11, 1858, of consumption, left husband and four children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 20.)
- GRAY, ANN B., wife of R. D., aged 26 yrs., d. at Turkey creek, Bourbon county, May 22, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, June 9.)
- GRAY, DANIEL, killed at Stanton, by Thadeus Wymans, July 13, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 22.)
- GREEN, JAMES FARQUHAR, formerly of this city, aged 29 yrs., 11 mos., d. at Marseilles, France, Feb. 19, 1859. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, April 2.)
- GREENE, EVANS E., formerly of Delaware county, Pa., aged 23 yrs., d. July 28, 1858, of congestive chills. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 5.)
- GREENE, MARY ALVA, dau. of James W. & Susan A., aged 3 yrs., d. at residence of James Cunningham, Parkville, Mo., Dec. 28, 1855. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Jan. 22, 1856.)
- GREENO, FRANK, son of Harris S. & Sarah E., aged 2 yrs., 2 days, d. Feb. 17, 1860. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Feb. 23.)
- GRIER, GEORGE WILEY, son of S. W. & C. H., d. June 18, 1860, of congestion of the brain. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 19.)
- GRIFFIN, ELVIRA, aged 17 yrs., d. at Agnes City. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 12, 1857.)

- GRIMES, HUGH D., aged 21 yrs., 11 mos., 21 days, d. at El Dorado, Hunter county, Feb. 4, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Feb. 14.)
- GRISWOLD, MRS. LOCKIE A., wife of Sylvester C., aged 21 yrs., 6 mos., 24 days, d. at Marthaville, Warren county, Mo., Sept. 27, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 8.)
- GUTHRIE, JOHN, hanged for stealing a horse. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 17, 1860.)
- HADLEY, DANIEL P., formerly of New Hampshire, aged about 43 years, d. Nov. 6, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 24.)
- HAGAN, JOSEPH, of Shawnee, K. T., drowned, July 15, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 21.)
- HALL, AMANDA A., wife of Isaac, aged 28 yrs., d. April 20, 1857, buried at Philadelphia, Pa. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 25.)
- HALL, DATUS MARTINDALE, son of Edward & Lorinda C., aged 4 yrs., 7 mos., 20 days, d. Mar. 5, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 10.)
- HALL, HELEN M., dau. of Samuel & Julia A., aged 10 yrs., d. Sept. 15, 1858, of typhoid fever. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Sept. 30; "Records of Burials in Topeka Cemetery, 1859-1880.")
- HALL, JOSEPH M., county commissioner of Leavenworth county, d. at Kickapoo, May 31, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 6.)
- HAM, — —, son of J., of Nicholls Grove, aged 1 yr., 3 mos., d. in Holt county, Mo., Sept. 20, 1857, of flux. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 1.)
- HAMBLETON, CHARLES E., of Kentucky, aged 27 yrs., d. April 13, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, April 14.)
- HAMILL, KITTY JANE, dau. of Samuel, aged 6 mos., d. Sept. 4, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 10.)
- HAMILL, MRS. MARY JANE, wife of Samuel, aged 32 yrs., d. near Emporia, Mar. 22, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 26.)
- HAMM, LEWIS STAFFORD, son of George L. & Sarah W., aged 2 mos., 10 days, d. at Holton, June 15, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, June 23.)
- HAMMOND, CHARLES JERRY, son of Chauncey & Clarissa, aged 6 yrs., d. near the Big Mound on the Wakarusa, April 13, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 25.)
- HAMMOND, ELLEN, dau. of Chauncey & Clarissa, aged 10 yrs., d. near the Big Mound on the Wakarusa, April 5, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 25.)
- HANCOCK, — —, dau. of Joseph, d. at Oregon, Mo., Sept. 23, 1857, of croup. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 1.)
- HANDFORD, EDGAR CONKLING, son of Joseph & Narissa, aged 1 yr., 5 days, d. Sept. 12, 1857. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Sept. 26.)
- HANFORD, CATHARINE J., dau. of W. F. & Gusta H., d. Oct. 18, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Oct. 27.)
- HANKS, O. S., formerly of Randolph, Vt., member of Oread guards, aged about 25 yrs., d. of bilious fever. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 25, 1857.)
- HARDER, WILLIS S., formerly of Richmond, Mo., aged 32 yrs., d. Mar. 3, 1855, of pneumonia. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 24.)
- HARDESTY, ISAAC, formerly of Illinois, aged 29 yrs., d. July 27, 1860. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, July 28.)

- HARLOW, MRS. MARY P., wife of Oscar, of Lawrence, late of W. Randolph, Vt., aged 29 yrs., d. on steamer *Star of the West*, Oct. 8, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 27.)
- HARLOW, OSCAR, late of W. Randolph, Vt., aged 26 yrs., d. Mar. 24, 1856, (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 5.)
- HARNED, FRANK, son of Hiram & Caroline E., aged 6 yrs., d. Sept. 8, 1859. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Sept. 10.)
- HARNESS, MARY E., aged 5 yrs., burned to death, Nov. 24, 1860. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Dec. 1.)
- HARNSBERGER, JOHN J., late of Rockingham county, Va., d. at residence of Gen. Lewis, Saline county, Mo., July 13, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 18.)
- HARRIS, CHAPIN A., of Georgetown, Ky., d. at Chapin House, Jan. 29, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 1.)
- HART, MARY A., dau. of Orvis Y. & Mary U., aged 5 mos., d. June 7, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 9.)
- HARVEY, ANN, wife of Henry, came to Kansas in 1840 as matron of Friends mission, aged 62 yrs., d. near Wilmington, July 8, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 21.)
- HARVEY, COL. JAMES A., aged 29 yrs., d. at Hyatt, Dec. 22, 1857, of heart disease. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 7, 1858.)
- HARWOOD, MARIA, sister of Mrs. Weymouth and Charles F. Harwood, aged 18 yrs. 6 mos., d. in Boston, Mass., Aug. 15, 1860, of inflammation of the bowels. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Aug. 25.)
- HASELTINE, DAVID P., formerly of Hamilton, Ohio, aged 53 yrs., 11 days, d. near Clinton, Douglas county, Jan. 23, 1861, of inflammation of the lungs. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 31.)
- HASELTINE, LEWIS M., son of William & Martha Jane, aged 6 yrs., 11 mos., d. in Kanwaca, Douglas county, July 16, 1860, of inflammation. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 19.)
- HASKELL, FRANKLIN, late of N. Brookfield, Mass., aged 50 yrs., d. Jan. 26, 1857, of inflammation of the bowels. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 31.)
- HASKELL, HATTIE FRANCES, only child of Charles A. & Lucy A., aged 18 mos., d. Jan. 24, 1859, of inflammation of the brain. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 27.)
- HASTINGS, FRANK DAVIS, only child of Alonzo & Grace E., aged 11 mos., d. July 25, 1859, of congestion of the brain. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 28.)
- HATHAWAY, MRS. WEALTHY S., wife of George W., aged 30 yrs., 3 mos., d. at Forest Hill, Dec. 8, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Dec. 17.)
- HAYDEN, ELIZA JANE, wife of William B., aged 19 yrs., d. at Prairie City, Nov. 19, 1859. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Jan. 24, 1860.)
- HAYMAN, PETER G., proprietor of Burnett House on Shawnee street, committed suicide, July 20, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, July 24.)
- HEDDING, MRS. ELIZABETH, wife of Charles B., aged 26 yrs., d. at Padonia, Brown county, Jan. 6, 1861. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Jan. 17.)
- HELLING, ELIZA, formerly of Cleveland, Ohio, aged 22 yrs., d. July 25, 1859, of congestion of brain. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 27.)
- HELVIG, MRS. RACHEL, wife of John, aged 28 yrs., d. at Monrovia, May 24, 1859. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, May 28.)

- HEMENWAY, EDWARD S., aged 21 yrs., d. at Lecompton, May 23, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 27.)
- HERNDON, CATHARINE, wife of Dr. Richard W., formerly of Scott county, Ky., aged 74 yrs., d. in Platte county, Mo., Aug. 14, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 23.)
- HERRICK, ELMA, formerly of E. Corinth, Me., aged 43 yrs., d. in Sumner township, Dec. 14, 1856, of dropsy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 3, 1857.)
- HERRICK, MRS. LOIS, wife of Nathan, formerly of E. Corinth, Me., aged 73 yrs., d. Mar. 28, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 7.)
- HERRICK, NATHAN, native of New Hampshire, recently from Maine, d. Oct. 10, 1855, of heart disease. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 27.)
- HERVEY, EVELINE, aged 25 yrs., 9 mos., 17 days, d. Mar. 15, 1860. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Mar. 15.)
- HESS, NICHOLAS, a German, found frozen to death 10 miles west of Topeka on Mission creek road. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Feb. 2, 1861.)
- HIATT, MRS. FARMY ELIZABETH, wife of Henry, aged 38 yrs., 6 mos., d. at Twin Mound, Douglas county, April 19, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 30.)
- HIATT, JONATHAN D., son of Curtis, aged 11 yrs., 1 mo., 10 days, d. Nov. 9, 1859, of typhoid fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Nov. 26.)
- HILLMAN, CATHARINE, late of Utica, Wis., aged 27 yrs., d. at Bloomington, Nov. 5, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 21.)
- HILLYER, CHARLES SUMNER, only son of E. D. & Ellen, aged 4 yrs., d. at Grasshopper Falls, Mar. 24, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 29.)
- HISCOCK, MAGGIE, resided in Topeka in 1856, burned while fighting prairie fire near Lawrence, Nov. 3, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Nov. 5.)
- HODSON, JOHN, aged 54 yrs., d. Dec. 1, 1858, of consumption. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 4.)
- HOLLIDAY, MRS. ABRAHAM, of Osawatomie, killed by storm, June 8, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 15.)
- HOLLINGSWORTH, MRS. G. M., wife of L. F., aged 29 yrs., 2 mos., 8 days, d. near Delaware City, Aug. 30, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 13.)
- HOOKE, WILLIAM, shot while attempting to burn out neighbors in Chase county. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Nov. 14, 1859.)
- HOOVER, JOHN, late of Crestline, Ohio, killed by falling on circular saw in one of the mills on the south levee, Feb. 27, 1858. (Sumner, *Gazette*, Feb. 27.)
- HOOVER, REBECCA, dau. of David & Mary, aged 1 yr., 9 mos., d. in Burlingame, July 7, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 15.)
- HORNBERGER, JOHN J., late of Rockingham county, Va., d. in Saline county, Mo., at residence of General Lewis, July 13, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 18.)
- HORNSBY, MRS. MARY VIRGINIA, wife of Columbus, aged 23 yrs., 8 mos., 19 days, d. Sept. 8, 1859, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 1.)
- HORNSBY, WM. B., of firm of C. & Wm. B., d. at residence of his father in Johnson county, Mo., May 16, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 28.)
- HOTCHKISS, HOMER, of Auburn, one of Green's exploring expedition, killed by Indians. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 8, 1860.)

- HOWE, ELIZA, dau. of Ira, aged 14 yrs., d. at Ottumwa, Nov. 20, 1859, of consumption. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 29.)
- HOWE, MARY E., dau. of Richard & Sarah, aged 1 yr., 6 mos., d. Sept. 9, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 10.)
- HOWSLEY, LUCINDA J., wife of R. H., aged 24 yrs., d. Feb. 16, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 18.)
- HOYT, — —, orphan dau. of David S., aged about 6 yrs. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 27, 1857.)
- HOYT, DAVID STARR, of Deerfield, Mass., aged 35 yrs., killed by Proslavery men, Aug. 12, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 27, 1857.)
- HUBBARD, D. L., formerly of Rushford, N. Y., aged 31 yrs., d. on Washington creek, May 14, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 26.)
- HUGH, WILLIAM, killed by a party of settlers at his cabin on the Cottonwood, 16 miles west of Emporia, Oct. 20, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 28.)
- HUGHES, RICHARD C., d. at Palmyra, Mo., Oct. 20, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 1.)
- HUNT, CARL CLARENCE, son of David R. & Harriett A., aged 10 mos., 18 days, d. Aug. 21, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Aug. 25.)
- HUNT, JUDGE MORRIS, d. Nov. 14, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 23.)
- HUNTER, ARCHIBALD, native of Scotland, aged 45 yrs., d. Aug. 20, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 1.)
- HUTCHINSON, ALMA V., dau. of Wm. & Helen M., aged 5 yrs., 10 mos., d. at Woodstock, Ohio, while en route to Randolph, Vt., former residence, Jan. 6, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 17.)
- HUTCHINSON, JOHN F., formerly of Philadelphia, Pa., d. at residence of Capt. Henry Learned, of Sumner township, of malignant tumor. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 22, 1858.)
- HYDE, DR. EDWARD, formerly of Corning, N. Y., aged 41 yrs. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 1, 1859.)
- INGLES, SAMUEL, d. as a result of injury from bursting of an anvil. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 28, 1859.)
- INSLEY, DON CARLOS, only child of M. H. & Eliza P., aged 4 yrs., d. June 2, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 19.)
- INSLEY, MARY BELLE, dau. of M. H. & Eliza P., aged 9 mos., d. May 26, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 19.)
- IRVINE, FANNY H., wife of Judge William L., d. in Buchanan county, Mo., May 5, 1859, of consumption. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, May 7.)
- JENKINS, GAUIS, killed by James H. Lane, June 3, 1858, left wife and several children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 5.)
- JENKINS, WILLIAM H., of Marshall county, formerly of St. John's, Colleton, S. C., d. Nov. 18, 1857, of congestion of the brain. (Lecompton, *National Democrat*, Nov. 19.)
- JESSEE, NANCY REBECCA, dau. of William & Nancy, aged 18 yrs., 7 mos., d. near Bloomington, Sept. 14, 1858, of bilious fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 25.)
- JOHNSON, MRS. — —, and child, drowned crossing Dragoon creek, June 2, 1858, lived near Burlingame. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 19.)

- JOHNSON, ERIC MONROE, only son of Benjamin & Mary, aged 8 yrs., 14 days, d. Sept. 4, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 15.)
- JOHNSON, HARVEY, aged 56 yrs., d. at Elmendaro, Madison county, Jan. 5, 1860, of lung fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 28.)
- JOHNSON, HENRY, aged about 35 yrs., murdered at camp on branch of Big Arkansas. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Mar. 24, 1860.)
- JOHNSON, WALTER, formerly of Connecticut, aged 52 yrs., d. at his residence near Big Springs, Sept. 13, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 24.)
- JOHNSTON, EDWARD HENRY, only child of Philip & Mary Ann, aged 3 yrs., d. Sept. 27, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 6.)
- JOHNSTON, MRS. MALVINA H., wife of S. W., aged 37 yrs., d. Mar. 3, 1860, of consumption. (Leocompton, *National Democrat*, April 5.)
- JONES, FRANKLIN, son of Jacob & Mary, aged 3 yrs., 4 mos., 17 days, d. Sept. 3, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Sept. 8.)
- JONES, JOHN, formerly of Illinois, lived near Wakarusa, 6 miles south of Lawrence, killed by outlaws. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 6, 1856.)
- JONES, TEGIDON PHILIPS, son of Edward & Sarah, aged 4 yrs., d. Oct. 25, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 29.)
- JONES, WILSON SUMNER, son of A. R. & S. J., aged 11 mos., d. on Dow creek, Sept. 11, 1858, of cholera infantum. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 13.)
- JOSLIN, THERON A., late postmaster of Sumner, native of Waitsfield, Vt., aged 23 yrs., drowned in Grasshopper river, near Kennekuk, May 16, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 4.)
- JUDSON, MRS. ELIZABETH, wife of Col. Wm. R., formerly of Elmira, N. Y., aged 45 yrs., 11 mos., d. at residence of E. S. Lowman, Mar. 1, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 5.)
- JUMPS, MRS. HENRIETTA A., wife of Edward, aged 23 yrs., d. Jan. 30, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Leavenworth Journal*, Feb. 2.)
- KAUCHER, ELLEN DOROTHY, dau. of William & Sarah, aged 9 mos., 14 days, d. at Oregon, Mo., Sept. 9, 1860, of inflammation of the bowels. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 13.)
- KELLEY, MRS. — —, aged 26 yrs., d. near Ottumwa, Nov. 17, 1859. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 29.)
- KELLEY, JOHN, early settler of the county, killed in accident while making a fence, May 23, 1860, left a large family. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, May 25.)
- KELLOGG, RANDALL F., only son of Randall F. & Olive, aged 3 yrs., d. May 29, 1858. (Grasshopper Falls, *Grasshopper*, June 5.)
- KELLY, MRS. LEANOR, wife of Caleb, aged 40 yrs., d. Nov. 23, 1857, of typhoid fever, left husband and several children. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 3.)
- KELLY, REBECCA JANE, dau. of Thomas A. & Selvira R., aged 14 mos., d. Aug. 18, 1858, of fits. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 21.)
- KEMPTON, ELIAS W., son of Alfred & Matilda, aged 2 yrs., 4 mos., d. Dec. 9, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Dec. 17.)
- KENT, ADRIAL, aged 48 yrs., 2 mos., d. Oct. 24, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley News*, Oct. 24.)
- KERR, DR. J. W., elected member of state legislature under Wyandotte constitution, aged 37 yrs., d. Mar. 13, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 5.)
- KERR, THADDEUS S., son of John & Susan E., aged 1 yr., 23 days, d. June 19, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 23.)

- KETTLAS, LOUIS, Charles creek, Davis county, committed suicide, Sept. 11, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 25.)
- KEYSER, BEN H., d. at Junction City, Dec. 2, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 10.)
- KIBBY, MRS. —, Leavenworth, burned while taking bread from oven, Sept. 3, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 5.)
- KILGORE, LIZZIE M., aged 18 yrs., d. in Salt creek valley, Nov. 3, 1860, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 6.)
- KILLAM, FRANCIS, formerly of Concord, N. H., d. May 25, 1857, left wife and son. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 30.)
- KIMBALL, MARY ABBY, dau. of Franklin & Elizabeth, aged 6 mos., 27 days, d. July 4, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 12.)
- KIMSEY, JOHN, ferryman, formerly of Missouri, aged 47 yrs., fell in his boat while crossing the river, July 23, 1857. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, July 25.)
- KING, JOHN F., special correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, and Cincinnati *Daily* and *Weekly Times*, Lawrence, d. at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Feb. 14, 1859, by suicide. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 24.)
- KING, WILLIAM R., formerly of Kalamazoo, Mich., aged 27 yrs., d. at Commercial House, Dec. 29, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 3, 1861.)
- KINISON, JOHN, native of Ohio, drowned near White Cloud, May 27, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 16.)
- KINKEAD, —, of Stanton, killed by storm, June 8, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 15.)
- KLINFELTER, JOSEPH, late of Morrow county, Ohio, aged 47 yrs., 11 mos., 16 days, d. in Brown county, July 17, 1858, of erysipelas. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, July 22.)
- KNAPP, MRS. NANCY A., wife of Lemuel, aged 39 yrs., d. at Ogden, Feb. 24, 1858, left husband and six children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 27.)
- KNIGHT, MRS. MARIANNE, wife of the Rev. Richard, late of Holyoke, Mass., aged 40 yrs., 8 mos., d. Feb. 12, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 23.)
- KNIGHT, ROBERT CHARLES, son of the Rev. Richard, late of Holyoke, Mass., aged 13 yrs., 2 mos., d. Feb. 12, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 16.)
- KNOWLES, MARY JANE, late of Dorchester, Mass., aged 25 yrs., d. at residence of Samuel Smith, Aug. 10, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 14.)
- KNOWLTON, CHARLES, d. in hunting accident. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 17, 1860.)
- KONZ, —, living south of Wakarusa, shot by a company of Free-State men after he had boasted of killing five abolitionists. (Doniphan, *Kansas Crusader of Freedom*, Feb. 5, 1858.)
- KUYKENDALL, JAMES ISRAEL, son of J. M. & S. E., aged 4 mos., 27 days, d. at Calhoun, Shawnee county, Aug. 18, 1860, of congestion of the brain. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 25.)
- LADD, —, son of E. D. & Mary W. T., aged 5 weeks, 5 days, d. Nov. 29, 1856, of congestion of the lungs. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 6.)
- LADD, MRS. MARY W. T., wife of E. D., aged 31 yrs., d. Jan. 22, 1857, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 31.)

- LAIRD, SAMUEL, drowned while scrubbing wheelhouse of steamer *Emma*, June 20, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Times*, June 26.)
- LAMB, JOHN T., late of Kentucky, aged 28 yrs., d. at Indianola, Nov. 10, 1860, of an abscess. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 24.)
- LANE, ANNIE, dau. of James H. & Mary E., d. June 18, 1855. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 2.)
- LANSING, MRS. FANNIE M., wife of William, dau. of Levi Coley, Westport, Conn., aged 34 yrs., d. Mar. 19, 1858, remains were taken to Westport, Conn. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, Mar. 20.)
- LANUM, JOSEPH, aged 20 yrs., d. on Indian creek, Butler county, Mar. 20, 1860, of congestive chills. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 29.)
- LAW, GEORGE, formerly of Massachusetts, but late of Hampden, K. T., aged 37 yrs., d. at Waukegan, Ill., Feb. 13, 1857, of lung disease. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 2.)
- LECOMPTE, — —, dau. of Judge Samuel D., d. at Fort Leavenworth, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 23, 1855.)
- LECOMPTE, SAMUEL, son of Judge, aged 18 yrs., d. near Kansas City, Dec. 4, 1860, of fall from an embankment. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 6.)
- LEE, WILLIAM B., formerly of Pennsylvania, aged 24 yrs., d. June 2, 1855, left wife and children. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, June 18.)
- LEFFRIDGE, MR. — —, d. Feb. 11, 1855, had been shot some time since by — — Moody of Westport. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Feb. 14.)
- LEHMAN, FREDERICK E., aged 32 yrs., d. at Atchison, July 15, 1860, of disease of the heart. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 26.)
- LEMON, E. A., wife of William C., formerly of Auburn, N. Y., d. Aug. 13, 1858, of typhoid. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Aug. 21.)
- LENNEHAM, D., of Elm creek, Morris county, killed May 8, 1860, suspicion rested on a man named McDonald. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, May 18.)
- LEONARD, MRS. MARY ANN, wife of Hartford P., formerly of Franklin, Mass., aged 23 yrs., d. at Wabaunsee, Aug. 25, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 22.)
- LESTER, ROBERT, of Prairie City, formerly of Louisville, Ky., accidentally killed by Mr. Shortel, Nov. 11, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Nov. 19.)
- LETCHWORTH, MARGARET ANN, dau. of Thomas & Mary, aged 12 yrs., d. Sept. 12, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 19.)
- LEWIS, GEORGE H., moved to Kansas two years ago, aged 48 yrs., d. on Allen creek, Dec. 24, 1857. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 9, 1858.)
- LEWIS, HARRIET N., wife of W. L., late of Pittstown, Me., aged 26 yrs., d. Mar. 15, 1858, of overexertion. (Elwood, *Weekly Advertiser*, Mar. 18.)
- LEWIS, MRS. MARY JANE, wife of James M., aged 24 yrs., d. at Greeley, Aug. 8, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 18.)
- LILLY, WM., stabbed to death, Jan. 7, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 16.)
- LINES, — —, only child of E. J., of Wabaunsee, aged 4½ yrs., d. by accident. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, April 14, 1860.)
- LITCHFIELD, MRS. HARRIET S., widow of Lewis L., formerly of Boston, Mass., aged 42 yrs., d. April 7, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 7.)
- LITCHFIELD, LEWIS L., formerly of Cambridge, Mass., aged 40 yrs., 7 mos., d. Feb. 11, 1855, of pleurisy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 17.)

- LITTLE, JOHN H., of Fort Scott, killed by Montgomery's men, Jan. 16, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 22.)
- LLOYD, SUSAN R., wife of Marion, aged 21 yrs., d. June 23, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 25.)
- LOGAN, MARY ELLEN, dau. of Robert & Mary Ann, aged 17 yrs., 9 mos., 10 days, d. Nov. 24, 1859, of typhoid fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Nov. 26.)
- LONG, JESSIE, dau. of John & Martha, aged 18 mos., d. May 7 or 8, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, May 12; "Records of Burials in Topeka Cemetery, 1859-1880.")
- LOOMIS, GAYLEY, son of H. J. & S. A., aged 1 yr., 7 mos., 16 days, d. on Mission creek, Wabaunsee county, Oct. 26, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 3.)
- LOON, S. A., killed in fight, buried at Ft. Riley. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 10, 1860.)
- LOVELACE, MRS. ELEANOR A., formerly of Clearfield county, Pa., aged 34 yrs., d. at Washington creek, Mar. 11, 1855, of heart disease. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 24.)
- LOWMAN, E. J., son of E. S. & C. J., d. Nov. 21, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 25.)
- LUM, ANNIE K., dau. of the Rev. S. Y. & Carrie K., aged 2 yrs., 1 mo., 13 days, d. Mar. 13, 1855, of dropsy of the brain. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 24.)
- LUNSFORD, WILLIAM RILEY, son of William & Rachel L., aged 3 yrs., d. in Holt county, Mo., Aug. 10, 1859, of congestive chills. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Aug. 18.)
- LYFORD, WRIGHT C., aged 28 yrs., d. in Leavenworth city hospital, Oct. 4, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 30.)
- LYLE, JAMES M., native of South Carolina, reared in Madison county, Ky., came to Kansas territory in 1854, clerk of first territorial legislature, killed by W. H. Haller in an election day controversy, June 29, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 4.)
- LYMAN, ALBERT, formerly of S. Deerfield, Mass., d. at Eldridge House, Oct. 15, 1860, of fever. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 18.)
- LYON, ELIZABETH, born in Washington county, Pa., d. at Cottonwood Falls, Feb. 14, 1860. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Mar. 19.)

[The List Will Be Concluded in the
November, 1950, Issue]

Bypaths of Kansas History

COUNCIL GROVE AND THE KAW INDIANS IN 1849

From the New-York *Weekly Tribune*, July 21, 1849.

THE EMIGRANTS BY THE SANTA FE ROUTE.

From the Cincinnati *Dispatch*.

COUNCIL GROVE, 127 miles from Fort Leavenworth THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1849.

Here we are, all safely arrived at one of the principal stopping places on the Santa Fe route. This is where the Government has a blacksmith shop, to do such work in that line of business as the Kansas or Kaw Indians need, and from where the same tribe receive their annual allowance from the U. S. Government of \$8,000. They number about 1,500 in all, and have about 800 warriors. They have had a war dance here very late, and after a deliberate council, they resolved on having revenge on the Pawnee tribe, who, during the buffalo hunting season of 1848, killed seven of the Kaws, who immediately imprisoned a corresponding number, and were about to wreak out their blood-thirsty revenge on the seven, but our Government interfered and caused a release of the seven Pawnees. They have now determined to be satisfied, and have no interference from any human power. The Kaws have just left their village (115 miles from here,) to go and hunt the buffalo. We saw yesterday, for the first time, the genuine savage as he roams the wilds, with moccasins, leggins, girdle, blanket, tomahawk and scalping-knife, and the never-to-be-released pipe. They say here there are no Indians who do not smoke their kinniconick or sumac leaves, and seed mixed with a very small quantity of tobacco.

The Kaws, who are lying lazily about here, have the peculiarity of having their hair shaved in such a manner as to leave a triangular tuft, the apex of the triangle on the top of the brow, spreading regularly back, the base resting on the neck; the side edges stand up, and the central hair is plaited in such a manner as to form a long queue; their ears are gashed, and filled with rings; brass rings around their arms. Every one now has to be on the alert to prevent loss of mules, horses, &c.; in fact anything they can lay hands on. We all have to carry our side arms, and be on guard during the night. From the spirit of the emigrants, it is not to be wondered at that the Indians are hostile and treacherous. It is perfectly outrageous to see how the poor Indians' fences, chickens, pigs, sheep, corn, potatoes, onions, &c. are stripped from them without even saying, "by your leave, if you please;" and as for paying for them, they never expect to do that if they can see the thing and get it; but if out of sight, and they have to inquire for the same, money then becomes the vehicle on which the desired object comes.

We are fully under headway. Since the death of Gen. Worth, Gen. Brooke has been ordered elsewhere, and the entire military control of the dragoons is now in the hands of Capt. Kerr. We now make, on an average, 25 miles daily.

When in camp most of the messes eat three meals a day; while traveling only two. Our mess do most admirably; we have the lightest wagon, a well-

filled load, 1,700 pounds, and the best looking and strongest mules in the entire train. The Government wagons are very heavy, require six mules each, and carry 30 to 35 cwt, and stall nearly every day, which has not happened to us as yet.

Our present sanguine expectation is that 35 days' travel with pack mules from Santa Fe will take us all to San Francisco. All persons familiar with the South Pass route (the one taken by Dr. Levering's Company) anticipate that those who have gone that way will suffer greatly from the want of grass, which, giving out, as it is bound to do, the mules, and especially oxen, will die by thousands, and the men cannot carry enough to support themselves, and that they would get no further than the mountains ere Winter, where they are bound to freeze to death.

They say that no more than 5,000 animals can cross that way and live, and from 15,000 to 20,000 head of cattle are now on it. We are, and have been, for several days on the 'Great American Plains,' gently rolling far as the eye can comprehend, and here and there a thin streak of small timber on the bank of a little rivulet presenting very much the appearance of hedges including vast parks, most beautifully interspersed with Prairie Pinks, Roses, Verbena, Morning Glories, Sensitive Plants, Strawberries, and ripe Gooseberries, Plums, and fifty varieties of flowers I know nothing about, but all in most lavishing profusion. The streams have no sand as a general rule, black earthy bottom, filled with brush, leaves, &c. timber mostly elm, oak, and sycamore.

FAIR AND FRANK

Advertisement in *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, March 14, 1857.

LAW OFFICE.—The undersigned (egregiously and presumptuously, without the consent of any speculator, office-seeker or fanatical politician, of any sect or party whatever) has concluded to practice law under the bogus statutes, by opening a law office in Lawrence, two doors south of the Post Office. All persons entrusting him pertaining to the legal profession can safely rely on his futility of purpose and imbecility of intellect.

W. M. PATTERSON.

SOCIETY NOTE FROM ALMA

From the *Wabaunsee County Herald*, Alma, July 15, 1869.

We have about twenty bachelors in this town. It is a shame, when there are so many good looking young ladies about.

WHEN ELLSWORTH CATERED TO THE TEXAS TRADE

The following excerpt is from a four-column article on Ellsworth, probably written by Col. S. S. Prouty, featured in *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth* of Topeka, July 1, 1873.

One of the most flourishing and best patronized institutions in Ellsworth is the ELLSWORTH THEATRE, which is "open every night" for the amusement and delectation of the Ellsworth sovereigns and the temporary sojourners from the land of Sam Houston. The following programme of a recent performance at this establishment will give the uninitiated some idea of its character:

ELLSWORTH THEATRE!

McClellan, Freeman & Co., . . . Proprietors.
Ned Campbell, . Business and Stage Manager.

Admission \$ 50
Seats in Private Box..... 1.00

THE POPULAR RESORT.

OUR ATTENDANCE INCREASING
NIGHTLY!

The reason why is obvious. We produce nothing old and stale, but every act is a gem, and our talent is the most versatile in the west.

TO-NIGHT, JUNE 25, EVERYTHING
NEW!

Examine the Programme Carefully!

FIRST PART:

OvertureOrchestra.
The Wicklow GirlDan Hart.
Little MaudMiss Hallie Norcross.
Ka-mo-ki ma.....Harry Traynor.
Kiss me good bye.....Ned Campbell.
FinaleCompany.

OVERTURE ORCHESTRA.

Mr. Charles Vincent, in his old man specialty
50 Years Ago.

Popular Songs . MISS HALLIE NORCROSS.

SHAKSPEARE DISLOCATED.

Dramatic AuthorNed Campbell.
Amateur JakeHarry Traynor.

OvertureOrchestra.
La ZingarellaMiss Amelia Dean.
Lively FeetCharles Kelley.

The People's Lawyer.

Lawyer SheepfaceMr. Charles Vincent.
 Judge MuttonNed Campbell.
 Old SnarlDan Hart.
 Sarah Jane Wool.....Harry Traynor.
 Policeman FivestarsCharles Kelley.

Dance of the Thistle, Miss H. Norcross.

Plantation Pastimes.

Mr. Charles Vincent and Miss Amelia Dean.

Go and imbibe with "Mac" while the
 Band Plays.

After which the screaming farce entitled the

BROWN FAMILY!

Mr. BrownNed Campbell.
 Mrs. BrownMiss Amelia Dean.
 JakeDan Hart.

General Admission, 50 cents; seats in private boxes, \$1; admission to wine room, \$1. The bar will be stocked with the choicest ales, wines, liquors. Any inattention or overcharge on the part of ushers or waiters should be immediately reported to the proprietor.

Reader, did you ever visit a frontier theatre? If not, wrap yourself in your "mantle of imagination," for a brief season and follow us. Picture to yourself a low one-story wooden structure, about seventy-five feet in length and twenty in width. We approach about the time of 9 P. M., and are enticed there by the musical strains of the orchestra, consisting of a violin, violoncello, guitar and cornet. What the music lacks in harmony it certainly compensates in volume and spirit. The room is unplastered and no sign of paint is visible save that on the proscenium and drop curtain. The stage is at the end opposite to the entrance, and the "green room" is in the rear of the stage. Plain pine benches, with a seating capacity of one hundred and fifty, are in the auditorium. At the right of the entrance is a bar for dispensation of cholera medicine, and at the left is a monte table. At the left of the stage is the "private box," which consists of a kind of protuberance out of doors like an old-fashioned bake oven, with a seating capacity of about a dozen. The occupants of the "private box" are mostly "ladies," though a long-haired gallant from the sunny land of the south may frequently be seen sandwiched between the gayly decorated and dashing "ladies." The drop curtain of the stage is ornamental as well as suggestive. A gay and chivalric cattle herder, dressed in the style of a Spanish don, with a crimson jacket trimmed with gold lace and a huge plume flowing from his grand Castilian *sombrero*, with ponderous spurs protruding from his boots, is mounted on a furious and awe-inspiring

horse. A fiery untamed member of the long-horned species has just been lassoed by the valorous herder, and is making desperate efforts to get released, but the herder is invincible and holds to the lasso with toper-like tenacity. Between the herder and his victim is a mammoth lone star, illuminated with golden and silver colors. To the valiant Texan, upon whose patronage the proprietors of the theatre mainly rely, the scene is sublime and inspiring.

As we enter the curtain rises and the "trouble" begins. About fifty patrons, mostly young men, are in attendance. Seven or eight "ladies" and three or four "gentlemen" are in the bake oven or "private box." Boys, with waiters in their hands, are circulating about, crying, "Liquors and cigars." Incense from numerous burning Indian weeds is ascending and mingling its fragrance with that from the exudations of the sweltering cattle herders and the extravagant perfumery of the cyprians. "Mac" at the bar, while mixing and shaking drinks, keeps time with the orchestral music and the jig dancer of the stage. The herders guffaw, the "ladies" giggle, the monte players curse, orders for cigars and drinks are unceasing, and the singing, dancing and theatrical performance progress. One of the gentlemanly proprietors invites us into the "green room," to partake of a bottle of Imperial. We accept and enter this sacred realm. Here are a score of herders drinking wine and indulging in familiar pleasantries with the stage girls. It is the acme of a herder's ambition to obtain accession to the "green room" and crack a bottle of wine with the girls. These visits to the "green room" frequently cost a dozen head of steers, but Texas is able to stand the damage and don't care for the expense.

AN INDIAN BALL GAME

From the Junction City *Union*, August 9, 1879.

A game of ball was played between a band of Sacs and Foxes, of Osage county, and a band of Pottawatomies, on the Prairie Band reserve, last Wednesday, with 150 on a side. A game of Indian ball is one of the most exciting imaginable, requiring sometimes five or six hours to determine a game. There is nothing like it among white people. The players strip to the skin, reserving nothing but breechclouts, and each has a scoop, made of twigs, with which the ball is caught and thrown.

A WEEK IN MANHATTAN

From *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, August 22, 1879.

How our town does begin to city, to be sure. We have had a pretty lively week of it. Sunday, we had an accident; horse became unmanageable, and child badly hurt. Monday, three arrests were made: a woman of doubtful character, and a St. Louis runner; C. B. Donaldson, for selling liquor. Tuesday, the trial of the "innocents abroad," and happy exultation over the result; a street row and fist fight, with still happier exultation over the results; evening, devoted to hilarity. Wednesday, devoted to recovering from the same, and reconciliations; evening closing in with a small runaway, only one woman and child thrown out and hurt. Thursday, a wedding party. The contracting

parties were a gentleman from Illinois, upon whose head the suns of seventy summers had laid their garlands lightly. The lady is a resident here, and of suitable age to insure the happiness of all. They departed on the wedding trip on the noon train, and the future will doubtless pass like a blissful dream. No arrests.

And so with a Sabbath school picnic, a two days' hunt, a dog fight or two, with temperate libations of "celsior water," the week has been worried through.

OLD STUFF TO THE STATE FISH AND GAME WARDEN

From the correspondence files of Gov. W. R. Stubbs, in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

OCTOBER 25, 1912.

Prof. L. L. Dyche,

Pratt, Kansas.

My Dear Professor:—

It was reported to this office this afternoon that one of your Fish & Game Deputy Wardens at Auburn whose name I understood was Mattet, has been acting very curiously and some people think he is insane. I do not know anything about it myself but a garage man telephoned me awhile ago, saying that he has gone completely 'daffy'; that he had two or three guns, a few revolvers, bowie-knives and other things, which he was flourishing around near Auburn today. He thought that he might imagine somebody was violating the game law and go out and do a lot of killing especially among boys. I think it would be well for you to look into this right away. . . .

Yours very truly,

[DAVID D. LEAHY]

Secretary to the Governor.

PRATT, KAN., OCTOBER 28, 1912.

Mr. David D. Leahy,

c/o Governor's Office,

Topeka, Kansas.

My Dear David:

Your favor of October 25th duly received. I think I have a Deputy Warden in the neighborhood of Auburn of the name of Mabbitt. You say he has been acting curious and people think he is insane. . . . I receive letters nearly every day indicating to me that Deputy Wardens are all crazy. Little things like that do not disturb me but when a warden actually goes insane and becomes completely "daffy" he should be cared for by the proper officers and not allowed to run up and down the streets shooting the lightning rods off of the chimneys and throwing bowie knives through attic windows, for such actions are very unbecoming, even for a Deputy Fish and Game Warden. . . .

Very truly yours,

[Signed] L. L. DYCHE

State Fish & Game Warden.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

W. W. Graves' "History of Neosho County," has continued to be published regularly in the *St. Paul Journal*. A history of Chanute was included in issues of recent months.

A history of the county-seat fight in Gray county was told by George W. Bolds, one of the few Gray county pioneers still living. His "Story of Battle of Cimarron, Jan. 12, 1889," was published serially in *The Jacksonian*, Cimarron, beginning February 16, 1950. High light of the contest between Cimarron and Ingalls for the county seat was the gun battle in Cimarron when the sheriff and his deputies attempted to move the county records to Ingalls.

"Kansas Weather—1949," by R. A. Garrett, was published in *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, March, 1950. Also of historical interest was the editor's page, devoted to the history of Kansas and the West in 1850 and their development since that time. Robert Taft, University of Kansas, is the editor.

"Interesting Early Day Sketches," by Clayton Hall, Minneola, appeared in the *Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, March 2, 1950. Hall, the son of R. L. Hall, was born April 7, 1886, the second white boy born in Clark county.

Memories of early days in Caldwell were recalled by C. Ross Hume, Anadarko, Okla., in the *Caldwell Messenger*, March 2, 1950. Hume lived in Caldwell, where he attended public school, from 1881 to late in 1890.

A brief history of North Blue Rapids, Marshall county, by C. D. Smith, was printed in the *Blue Rapids Times*, March 2, 1950. Although platted in 1874, little progress was made in the development of North Blue Rapids until 1878 when a foundry and machine shop was built. The community reached its zenith of prosperity in 1891 but soon afterward began to deteriorate. Most of the buildings were destroyed by the floods of 1902 and 1903.

"Wyatt Earp Rides Again," was the title of an article by Ernest Dewey published in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, March 5, 1950. A series of articles by Mr. Dewey, entitled "Legends of Wheat Country," first appeared in the *News-Herald*, April 30, when "Carry Nation Was a Fiction Who Tried Hard to Be a Fact," was published. Later articles in the series included: "Was Madoc's Visit Fact or

Fantasy?", on May 7, a discussion of whether the Welsh prince, Madoc, and his followers were the ancestors of the Mandan Indians, and "Calamity Jane Was a Caution," May 14.

The history of the old Whitley opera house in Emporia and recollections of the attractions presented there, as revealed by a large scrapbook belonging to the Lyon County Historical Society, were printed in the *Emporia Weekly Gazette*, March 9, 1950.

The reminiscences of Irving Buchanan, whose parents settled in Chelsea, Butler county, in 1868, were printed in the *Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado, March 9, 1950.

A brief biographical sketch of Edward Phillips, pioneer farmer of Ellsworth, appeared in the *Ellsworth Reporter*, March 9, 1950. Phillips first arrived in Ellsworth in 1879 and purchased a 240-acre farm, to which he brought his family in 1881.

The history of *The Modern Light*, Columbus, was printed in the issue of March 9, 1950. The *Light*, now owned by C. W. Grant, was established in 1891 by Joe Clawson and C. Len Albin. A column, "Do You Remember When?" composed of local historical items, has appeared in *The Modern Light* regularly in recent months.

Among historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing recently in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "Railroad Men Gave Their Names to Towns Which Grew on Kansas Prairie," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, March 9, 1950; "Centennial Trek With Little Mo Draws Crowds Along Old Trails," Ed Gallinagh and his pack mule, Little Mo, retrace on foot the 750 miles of the Santa Fe trail, by John Alexander, March 26; "Old Cattle Brands Recall the Story of Great Days on Western Grasslands," a review of J. Evetts Haley's *The Heraldry of the Range*, by John Edward Hicks, April 3, and "Nathan Scarritt Found Wilderness Here in Early [late 1840's] Missions to Indians," by Lt. Col. Ralph E. Pearson, April 11. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Jim Bridger Was Long Well Known Here But Little Appreciated in His Time," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, April 11, and "Big Growth of College and Friendships Is Record of Eisenhower at Manhattan," by Roger Swanson, May 10.

Articles on old Fort Hays by Raymond L. Welty have continued to appear in the Hays *Daily News*. Those appearing recently included: "Soldiers at Old Ft. Hays Lived in Crude Buildings," March 12, 1950; "Ft. Hays Soldiers Guarded Wagon Trains on

Smoky Trail," April 2; "Fort Hays Was Concerned Over Slaughter of Buffalo," April 9; "Ft. Hays Was Center Greatest Buffalo Range in America," April 16, and "83 Years Ago at Ft. Hays," April 30, May 7, 14.

"The Southwestern Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, 1806-1807," by Dick Blackburn, student at Kansas Wesleyan University, was published in serial form in the *Courtland Journal*, beginning March 16, 1950. Pike started on his journey in the summer of 1806, traveling across Missouri and much of Kansas to the village of the Pawnee Republic on the Republican river, where he lowered the Spanish flag and raised the stars and stripes for the first time. From there he marched on into the mountains to face a severe winter and discover the peak that now bears his name.

A history of old Runnymede, dead Harper county town about two and one-half miles northeast of present Runnymede, by Ralph Hoover, was published serially in the *Harper Advocate*, March 23, 30, April 6, 27, May 4, 11, 1950. In 1888 Ned Turnley brought 40 young Englishmen to Harper county. Not long afterward Turnley lost control of his charges, and under the leadership of Richard Watmough they planned and built the town of Runnymede. The town boomed briefly and money was raised to bring a railroad through, but the railroad didn't come and Runnymede began to wither. The grave of Lord Thomas Sharpe Hudson is all that now remains to mark the location of the townsite.

A biographical sketch of John Mathews, founder of Little Town—present Oswego—was published in the *Oswego Democrat*, March 24, 1950. Mathews, said to be the first permanent white settler in southeast Kansas, located where Oswego now stands in the early 1840's and built a house and other buildings where he operated a trading post and tavern.

The Clay Center *Dispatch* published a diamond jubilee edition, March 25, 1950, in celebration of the 75th anniversary of the incorporation of Clay Center. The townsite was selected in 1862 by John and Alonzo F. Dexter, who were the first settlers, but the town was not incorporated until 1875.

A 134-page Mid-Century Resources edition of the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* was published March 28, 1950. Included in the edition were sections on the resources, industries, history, culture, recreation, agriculture and progress of Arkansas City.

Nelson Antrim Crawford sketched some of the history and some of the current trends of Kansas in "The State of Kansas," in *The American Mercury*, April, 1950.

An article, entitled "Anniversary: W. C. Coleman, 80 Years; the Coleman Co., 50 Years," in *Kansas Business Magazine*, Topeka, April, 1950, related the story of the Coleman company, Wichita, maker of heating equipment and the famous Coleman lamps and lanterns.

A diary, kept by G. S. McCain while traveling from Atchison to Laurette, Colo., in the 1860's, was published in *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, April, 1950.

A 56-page progress edition was published by the Hays *Daily News*, April 9, 1950. Included were a story about early-day Hays by Mrs. Josephine Middlekauff who came to Hays 83 years ago, and an article by the late George P. Griffith relating to his experiences as a pioneer farmer and printer in Hays.

A letter recalling some of his early experiences in the Kingman community was written by Linn B. Capps to Mrs. Ed Palmer and printed in the *Kingman Journal*, April 13, 1950.

Among brief historical articles appearing recently in the Cheney *Sentinel* were: "Cheney Pioneers Cleaned Up for Boom Days Election [1884]," April 13, 1950; "Building of Wichita & Western [railroad] Started Cheney as Boom Town," April 20; "Land Seekers Came to Cheney for Ninnescah Valley Land," April 27, and "Community Should Honor Cemetery of Its Pioneers," May 11.

Some notes on the early history of Baldwin and Baker University were published in the *Baldwin Ledger*, April 20, 1950. The dismantling of the old Hale Steele house in Baldwin recalled that its builder, N. Taylor, also erected the first building at the university. Excerpts from his diary were included in the article.

A short history including many of the "firsts" of Butler county appeared in the *El Dorado Times*, April 21, 1950. The county was established in 1855 and organized in 1859. The first settler was William Hildebrand, who located in El Dorado township in May, 1857.

Upon the recent decision to discontinue the high school at Scottsville, Principal Howard Abernethy wrote its history for the 1950 school yearbook. A portion of this history was printed in the *Beloit Call*, April 27, 1950. The first school in Scottsville was a three-month term in 1878 taught by Ida Houston.

Kansas Historical Notes

The seventy-fifth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held in the rooms of the Society in the Memorial building at Topeka on October 17, 1950.

Lea Maranville of Ness City is president of the Ness County Historical Society for 1950. Other officers include: Mrs. Mildred Venard, vice-president; Mrs. Ada Young, treasurer, and Mrs. Audra Hays, secretary.

Dr. Orville Watson Mosher, Jr., of Emporia, was recently elected president of the Lyon County Historical Society, succeeding Ed J. Lewis.

The board of directors of the Russell County Historical Society voted at a meeting March 25, 1950, to inaugurate plans for placing markers on historic sites in the county. It was also decided to revive the annual get-together for old settlers during the county 4-H fair week. Mrs. Lizzie A. Opdycke was elected chairman of the board and Merlin Morphy, resident agent.

Dr. G. G. Anderson was re-elected president of the Wichita Historical Museum Association at a meeting March 30, 1950. Other officers elected were: R. M. Sutton, first vice-president; Bertha Gardner, second vice-president; Carl E. Bitting, secretary, and Dr. H. C. Holmes, treasurer.

All officers of the Finney County Historical Association were re-elected at a meeting of the board of directors April 11, 1950. They are: Gus Norton, president; Mrs. A. F. Smith, first vice-president; Frederick Finnup, second vice-president; Mrs. Josephine Cowgill, third vice-president; Mrs. Ella Condra, secretary; Mrs. Eva B. Sharer, treasurer; Ralph T. Kersey, historian; Mrs. Emma Weeks White, custodian of relics, and P. A. Burtis, business manager.

The Council Grove Historical Society was organized at a meeting April 19, 1950. Mayor E. T. Jacobs was elected president; Jack Lawrence, secretary, and Hale White, treasurer. The immediate purpose of the new society, to raise funds for "surgery" on the historic Council oak, was accomplished at an Old Trail celebration at Council Grove, May 3. Proposals for a museum in Council Grove are now being studied.

C. R. Millsap was chosen president, and Mrs. Hazel Zeller, secretary, of the Wyandotte County Historical Society at a business meeting April 21, 1950. Other officers are: Grant W. Harrington, first vice-president; Allen W. Farley, second vice-president, and Phil Gibson, treasurer. The group decided to meet four times a year, each meeting covering some important event in Wyandotte county history. The landing of Lewis and Clark at the upper point of the Kansas river was the subject discussed at a meeting June 26.

Fifty-three persons attended the semiannual dinner meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, April 27, 1950. After the dinner, Dr. Ernest Mahan, of Pittsburg State Teachers College, addressed the group on modern European history. Dr. H. M. Grandle, president of the society, presided.

The annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields was held in the Memorial building, Topeka, April 28 and 29, 1950. Speakers and their subjects were: "The Influence of the Catholic Church on American Trade Unionism, 1900-1918," Marc Karson, Washburn Municipal University; "Publius Ventidius—Forgotten Roman Military Hero," James E. Seaver, University of Kansas; "The Attitude of the State Department Toward Japan, 1940-1941," Ernest B. Bader, Washburn Municipal University; "Kansas Presidential Vote by Counties, 1864-1948," Robert P. Marple, Fort Hays Kansas State College; "Some Aspects of Discipline in the United States Army in the Plains Indian Wars," Neil B. Thompson, Kansas State College; "The Kansas City, Mexico and Orient Railroad Company," Joseph A. Parsons, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, and "British Nationalization of the Coal and Steel Industries: A Comparative Study," Charles Barnes, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg. At the luncheon Charles B. Realey, University of Kansas, addressed the group on "A British Program for African Development." Officers were elected as follows: George L. Anderson, University of Kansas, president; Francis R. Flournoy, College of Emporia, vice-president, and Ruth Friedrich, Washburn Municipal University, secretary-treasurer. C. Stewart Boertman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, was the retiring president. Directors of the association are: Mr. Boertman; Alvin Proctor, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia; Charles Onion, Fort Hays Kansas State College, and the Rev. Peter Beckman, St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison.

Homer B. Fink was re-elected president of the Shawnee County Historical Society at a meeting of the directors May 9, 1950. Other officers elected were: Earl Ives, vice-president; Paul Adams, secretary, and Paul B. Sweet, treasurer. A resolution was adopted in tribute to George Root and Cecil Howes, prominent members of the society who died recently.

An old settlers' reunion, sponsored by the Ness County Old Settlers Association, was held in Ness City, June 1 and 2, 1950. Included in the program was a historical pageant of Ness county, written by Judge Lorin T. Peters, which was presented the evening of June 2.

The Life of Edmund G. Ross (Kansas City, Mo., 1949), by Edward Bumgardner, is the title of a biography of the man whose vote saved a president. Ross was a United States senator when Pres. Andrew Johnson was tried by the senate under articles of impeachment. After refusing to indicate during the trial how he would vote, at the conclusion Ross voted in favor of the President. One more vote would have convicted Johnson.

The early life of Amelia Earhart is told in story form by Jane Moore Howe in *Amelia Earhart—Kansas Girl*, published recently by the Bobbs-Merrill company.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER

This sketch appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (June 3, 1871, p. 193) under the title "The Far West.—Shooting Buffalo on the Line of the Kansas Pacific Railroad." Dr. Robert Taft, who furnished the photograph here reproduced, believes the original probably was drawn by Henry Worrall, the Topeka artist, and represents a scene along the present Union Pacific railroad in western Kansas.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Scully Land System in Marion County

HOMER EDWARD SOCOLOFSKY

BY 1900 William Scully was known as the owner of the largest acreage of farm land in the United States. His holdings amounted to more than 200,000 acres. The property was about equally divided between the states of Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri. Yet the proprietor, a man who did not believe in publicizing his business, was almost unknown even in those four states.

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE SCULLY LAND SYSTEM

The story goes back many years. The fifth son of an Irish Catholic landowner, Scully enjoyed social advantages from the time of his birth in 1821 in county Tipperary, Ireland.¹ When he was in his 20's he inherited part of the family estate and became known all over Ireland as a hard landlord. After an unpleasant experience, he sold part of his Irish holdings and journeyed to America about 1849 or 1850 for the purpose of investing his wealth.² He went west looking for good soil. In addition, he bought, for a mere trifle, 160 land warrants from soldiers who had fought in the Mexican war. Each warrant was good for 160 acres of land.³

Scully's first purchases were of prairie land in Logan county, Illinois.⁴ On part of his property he built a large house and several barns and began to stock his place for general farming. In 1854, Mrs. Scully's failing health forced a return to England,⁵ and he again became active on his Irish estate. His attempt to rehabilitate these lands caused trouble.⁶ There were evictions, threats on

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1. A. M. Sullivan, *New Ireland* (London, 1878), v. 2, p. 351. Sir John B. Burke, *Landed Gentry, Including American Families With British Ancestry* (London, 1939), p. 2020.

2. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 31, 1901; Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 354, 362.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 353.

4. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 31, 1901. In 1850 prairie soil was generally regarded as poor soil for trees did not grow there.

5. *Kansas City Star*, n. d., about 1894, from the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*; Federal Writers Program, *Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide* (Chicago, 1939), p. 594; Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

6. N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture in Europe and America* (New York, 1940), p. 269; Sullivan, *op. cit.* pp. 350, 351.

Scully's life and eventually death to some of his followers. Thereafter he centered his attention on his American holdings. By the 1890's he had sold all his Irish land not entailed and had only two tenants and a little grazing land in Ireland.⁷

Using the income from his Illinois land, the money from the sale of the Irish estate and money he obtained on loan from Rothschild's, of London,⁸ Scully began buying more American real estate. He again prospected, with a small spade, for the type of soil he wanted.⁹

By 1900 he had amassed 220,000 acres of farm land in Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri. The total cost of this land is said to have been about \$1,350,000.¹⁰ Due to discrepancies in the reported price of the Missouri land the total cost may be a million dollars more. This land was not always contiguous. Much of it was in scattered holdings in at least 11 counties of four states.

Much criticism was directed at William Scully, the landlord, during the 1880's. Newspapers carried on anti-Scully campaigns and at least ten states passed laws regulating the ownership of land by non-resident aliens.¹¹ Congress even passed a law, which went into effect July 1, 1887, to regulate absentee alien ownership in the territories and the District of Columbia.¹² Probably it was this deluge of laws which caused Scully to take out naturalization papers in the fall of 1895. His naturalization was completed about 1900.

The business center of the William Scully estate was in Lincoln, Ill., the county seat of Logan county. Locations of agents' offices were in Marion, Kan.; Butler, Mo.; Nelson, Neb., and several other places. In 1937 a total of 14 agents and subagents, including those in the head office transacted business with the 1,200 tenants on the Scully farms.¹³

Scully apparently disregarded the criticism directed against him. He kept about his business, inspecting his properties and carrying little sacks of soil away from each farm. His tenants believed he was making a collection of soils, but he was actually getting samples from which he could have chemical analyses made. He had definite

7. *Kansas City Star*, n. d., about 1894, from the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

8. *Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1919. Scully secured affidavits that his land in Illinois was producing and with these credentials to back him up he got his loan from Rothschild's.

9. When Scully first began to buy his American land he carried a spade so that he could sample the soil of prospective purchases. This spade was used in later land purchases.

10. Paul W. Gates, *Frontier Landlords and Pioneer Tenants* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1945), pp. 40-43; *Kansas City Times*, November 6, 1946. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 31, 1901, said Bates county land cost about \$27 to \$35 an acre or a total of about \$1,200,000.

11. Indiana, 1885; Illinois, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Colorado in 1887; Iowa in 1888; Kansas and Idaho in 1891, and Missouri in 1895.

12. *United States Statutes at Large*, v. 24, ch. 340, p. 476.

13. *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, August 15, 1937.

ideas of how a Scully farm should be operated and he incorporated his ideas in his leases.

William Scully softened as a landlord in his last few years. Those in close contact with him spoke highly of his character. Most of his tenants were so sure of his honor and generosity that they trusted him implicitly. They would accept new terms in a lease without question. He was proud to point out that there was a waiting list of farmers who wanted to lease his land. He cited the census records to show that tenant farming was increasing. In later years much of the antagonism against him died out.

In 1905 Scully transferred most of the land to his wife. The next year he gave a nephew, John C. Scully, of Peoria, Ill., about 9,000 acres in Butler county, Kansas. In 1906 the Scullys took a trip to England, where on October 17, he died at the age of 84. His body was brought back to Washington for burial.

The value of the estate which Scully had given to his wife just before his death was estimated at between \$25,000,000 and \$50,000,000. It remained almost intact in his widow's hands, agents administering the lands much as they had before.

II. THE SCULLY SYSTEM IN MARION COUNTY DURING SCULLY'S LIFE

In July, 1870, William Scully made his first purchase of land in Kansas. Central Kansas at that time was called "away out West." In June he obtained a team and driver and began to make a careful study of the unoccupied public domain, which at that time was rapidly dwindling. He carried with him a little spade and boxes, cans and buckets. Samples of the soil were taken and careful maps of the places from which the soil came were made. From a chemical analysis of these samples of soil, he chose the land he wished to buy.¹⁴

At the Junction City land office Scully filed for 14,060 acres in Marion county and 1,160 acres just across the line in Dickinson county.¹⁵ Many people have been justified in asking how Scully managed to get the land he wanted at the Junction City sale. The line to the sale office formed for several days with some of the people eating and sleeping in line. Those at the head of the line got what they wanted but some farther back did not. They found out later that Scully had bought their preference in land but they did not see him in line.

14. Kansas City *Star*, January 27, 1919.

15. Gates, *op. cit.*, 38, 39. All the old-timers who saw the land before they bought used some procedure to determine the type of soil and its suitability. Many of them carried small spades just as Scully did. One in particular, the father of J. C. McIntosh, of Marion, dug about one hundred holes in one section before he bought the land.

To take care of his land in Marion county and to act as his agent, Scully secured the services of A. E. Case, well-known Marion pioneer. The landlord came to visit his land regularly each year during the 1870's and sometimes his wife came with him. On each visit he would be most exact and careful in all of his transactions. He would visit his holdings and make minute notes of everything connected with his real estate. Included in these memorandums were notes giving the lay of each farm and the location and extent of every improvement and the exact location of wells, trees, fences and orchards.

On one of these visits to Kansas in the early 1870's, Mr. and Mrs. Scully stopped at the town hotel in Marion. Drought, hot winds and grasshoppers were causing extreme shortages. After one meal at the hotel, Scully found the landlady and apologized because Mrs. Scully had left a small piece of bread on her plate. He assured the landlady that it would not happen again.¹⁶

During the 1870's Scully added to his holdings in Marion county. His agent made arrangements for the purchase of farm land owned by people living all over the United States and even parts of Canada. He bought large and small acreages. From the land speculator, John Williams, of Springfield, Ill., he bought 9,440 acres at a cost of about two dollars an acre.¹⁷ On November 29, 1878, he made preliminary plans for the purchase of land from the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company. The deed was executed December 5, 1878, giving him 7,023.46 acres of scattered land in Marion county at a cost of \$29,316.69.¹⁸ In four other deeds is recorded other land bought from the Santa Fe. The total of the former railroad land bought by Scully in this one county was 8,622.46 acres which cost him \$38,012.07.¹⁹ Scully made a few other purchases in Kansas from large operators but mostly he bought improved land from individuals. These purchases averaged three quarters of a section in size.

A sample check on Scully land shows that his land in Marion county has never been mortgaged. Most of it has not had more than four or five owners since it was sold by the government. For example, Sections 33, 34 and 35, Township 17 South, Range 3 East of the 6th Principal Meridian, were sold by the government in 1869 for the minimum price of \$2,400 to an Emporia speculator. He sold the

16. *Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1919.

17. Gates, *op. cit.*, 39, 40.

18. "Deed Record," Marion county, v. L, p. 578.

19. "Deed Record," Marion county, v. V, pp. 39, 72, 205, 292.

land the same year to W. J. Barney for \$3,840. The following spring Barney sold all except 400 acres to Louis Tuckerman for \$3,040. The other 400 acres plus an additional quarter section were sold to Morton Redmond for \$1,120. Six years later Scully bought the 1,520 acres from Tuckerman for \$4,240 and the 400 acres from Redmond for \$1,200.

The NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Section 3, Township 18 South, Range 3 East had even fewer owners before Scully bought it. The patent on this land was obtained with land scrip issued to a private in the Georgia militia during the War of 1812 and eventually assigned to Erastus M. Burgoyne. Burgoyne sold his quarter section to William Scully for \$518.70.²⁰

In the 1880's Scully bought land in Butler county, Kansas. He also purchased at this time a large amount of land in Marshall county, Kansas, and Gage county, Nebraska. The following table shows the price paid for the land in Kansas bought between 1870 and 1886.

TABLE I.—SCULLY PURCHASES IN KANSAS

Location	Acres	Cost
Marion county	55,666	\$179,197
Dickinson county	1,120	1,400
Butler county	8,605	77,410
Marshall county	5,115	55,252
Total	70,506	\$313,259 ²¹

In 1885 when Scully made some of his last purchases of land in Marion county, his agents would prepare an agreement with the prospective sellers of the land. The agreement would hold until the abstract of title had been examined by the landlord and found to be complete.²²

After the holdings in Kansas became larger, Scully asked A. E. Case to become his full-time agent in Marion county. However, Case had his real estate business and could not spend the time needed to adequately take care of the Marion county land. So the landlord appointed William Fox, who set up his office in Marion. Besides taking care of the Scully land, Fox represented many prominent insurance companies and enjoyed a good business.²³ Fox's agency was a limited one. The only written instructions from the landlord were:

20. "Deed Record," Marion county, v. N, p. 250.

21. Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

22. "Miscellaneous Record," Marion county, v. 2, pp. 205-209.

23. *Marion Register*, May 26, 1886.

I authorize F. W. Fox, of Marion, Marion county, Kansas, to receive all my rents, and to make and enforce all collections for me in Marion and Dickinson counties, and to sue for the same whenever he himself shall think it advisable to do so; and to take other proceedings for the recovery of same as he may be advised to do by Mr. C. W. Koehnle, of Lincoln, Illinois, or other of my duly-appointed agents in the United States.²⁴

On one of his yearly visits to Marion county, he was driven by his agent to his various farms. Fox, knowing that Scully was an Irishman, thought that he would enjoy meeting a typical Irish settler, so they stopped at the farm of Tommy Meehan.

"Meehan, meet Lord Scully," Fox said.

Meehan asked, "What did you say?"

Fox again said, "Meet Lord Scully."

Meehan growled, "Get the hell off my land. He isn't any more a lord over here than anyone."²⁵

Opposition was developing against the landlord in Marion county, too, just as it did in other areas where he owned land. The *Marion Register* carried on a rabid anti-Scully campaign starting after the introduction of a bill into congress in 1886 which was expected to curb "Scullyism" in the territories. Under the heading, "Tyrant Scully," one article told about Scully who owned "20,000 acres . . . situated in Marion county" for which he got a "cash rent of \$2 to \$3 per acre."²⁶ On January 12, 1887, the *Register* continued its campaign by reprinting an article about "Scully the 'Bum'" who had some "dukedom" in Marion county. The *Register* continued with the statement that if "farmers would absolutely refuse to rent his lands, then we would have him corraled." Other Kansas newspapers followed the lead of the anti-Scully *Register*. The *Topeka Daily Commonwealth* came out with an editorial February 6, 1887, denouncing Scully and the curse he had given to Marion county. The *Peabody Graphic* also got into the fight with an article, "Skinning Skully," in the issue of February 11, 1887. The *Atchison Daily Champion* favored a law curbing Scully.²⁷

An opposition newspaper, the *Marion Record*, finally came around to an anti-Scully editorial February 14, 1890, after the "mud-slinging" *Marion Register* had ceased to exist. The *Register* had continued the fight through the first half of 1887 and considered itself in a class with the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and other influential newspapers who were giving wide publicity to the "out-

24. *Kansas Reports*, v. 40, p. 396.

25. Interview with J. C. McIntosh, at Marion, April 5, 1947.

26. *Marion Register*, May 5, 1886.

27. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1887.

rages" of Scully and other foreign landlords. In one issue it advocated that an "unrelenting boycott should be adopted by citizens of Marion county which would force Robber Scully to sell his land. Keep up the agitation; it accomplishes wonders."²⁸ A week later it reported that "petitions [opposing Scully] which *The Register* has been sending all over the country . . . are gradually bearing fruit." This issue also mentioned the Nebraska law, just passed February 14, which prohibited non-resident aliens from acquiring real estate in Nebraska. The bill had been "introduced with special reference to a London capitalist named Scully. . . ." A short time later a letter was printed which said, "Every citizen of Marion county should enlist in the fight and do all in their power to rid the county of that tyrannical [*sic*] landlordism which is keeping many away, and pauperizing the few who have ventured in on the land."²⁹

There were also exhortations to "come up and sign our anti-Scully petitions." On March 2, 1887, the *Register* published a partial list of men in Marion county who thought Scully was a curse to Marion county farmers. The crusade was carried to the state legislature when 200 copies of the *Daily Register* were distributed among representatives and senators. This issue had an article about Scully under the heading, "His Royal Nibs." A resolution was introduced in the state legislature against absentee alien land ownership. The land was to revert to the state on the death of the alien. The agitation continued in March with such statements as, "Anti-Scully is the war cry," "Compel Scully to sell his land" and the "Scully system" was "nothing more nor less than the feudal system as it prevails in Ireland." Personal mention was made of persons from out of town who came in to sign the petition which was to be presented to the state legislature.

In April, an article in the *Register*, datelined Springfield, Ill., stated, "Scully . . . is doing his best to transplant the rack-renting system in this commonwealth."³⁰ The issue of the following week said:

It is said Lord William Scully, the Irish landlord who owns 100,000 acres of land in Illinois, and has initiated in that state practices that have made English landlords objects of hatred in Ireland, owns also 100,000 acres of land in Kansas. The people of Illinois appear to have determined that he must either sell his land there or become a citizen of the state. A like policy should be pursued here. No rack-rents should be permitted in the state of Kansas.³¹

28. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1887.

29. F. M. Smith of Troy, Ohio, Letter to the editor.—*Ibid.*, February 23, 1887.

30. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1887.

31. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1887.

By July, after the state legislature had failed to take any action, the anti-Scully agitation had almost disappeared from the *Register*. As a parting shot, the *Register* of July 27, 1887, under a heading of, "His Royal Nibs Again," tells of the "damnable curse to Marion county and her prosperity. . . . Robbers and thieves are detestable, but Scully is a good deal worse."

While Illinois, Nebraska and other states were passing laws restricting the purchase and ownership of real estate by absentee aliens, the state legislature in Kansas, after the introduction of several bills and much legislative maneuvering, did not think it could constitutionally pass such a law. So a joint resolution to amend the constitution was approved March 4, 1887, to be submitted to the people at the general election the following year. The amendment to be voted on was as follows:

. . . section seventeen of the bill of rights of the constitution of the state of Kansas be so amended that it shall read as follows: Section 17. No distinction shall ever be made between citizens of the state of Kansas and the citizens of other states and territories of the United States in reference to purchase, enjoyment or descent of property. The rights of aliens in reference to the purchase, enjoyment or descent of property may be regulated by law.³²

Not much was said about the proposed constitutional amendment, though it was mentioned by a newspaper not personally involved in the matter one way or another.³³ The amendment played a minor role in the election of 1888. Interest was centered on the races for governor and for president. The amendment developed no outstanding opposition and carried in every county in the state. The statewide ratio of the vote in favor of the amendment was about 14 to 1. In Marion county where the issue was one of local interest the ratio in favor of the amendment was about 23 to 1.³⁴

When the legislature met in 1889 the governor in his message suggested that the legislature follow up the amendment by passing a law regulating the ownership of land by absentee aliens. A bill was presented but the house and senate could not agree and no law was enacted.

Again in 1891, Gov. L. U. Humphrey reminded the legislators of the constitutional amendment of 1888. He said, "such change in the organic law of the state was an expression on the part of the people in favor of such restriction, and it should be supplemented by the necessary legislation."³⁵ Senate bills Nos. 22, 62 and 165

32. *Session Laws of 1887*, p. 340.

33. *The Evening Tribune*, Lawrence, August 7, 1888.

34. *Sixth Biennial Report of the Secretary of State of the State of Kansas, 1886-1888*, pp. 117, 118.

35. *Proceedings of the Senate of . . . Kansas, 1891*, p. 44.

were introduced, all dealing with the absentee alien landlord problem. Bills Nos. 22 and 62 had been sent to the judiciary committee and were indefinitely postponed. Senate bill 165, introduced by Sen. H. E. Richter of Council Grove, was an act "in regard to aliens, and to restrict their rights to acquire and hold real estate, and to provide for the disposition of the lands now owned by non-resident aliens." This bill went through the legislative machinery starting January 22, 1891, when it was introduced, to March 6, when it was signed by the governor.

This Kansas law, added to the other anti-Scully measures in other states, may have influenced Scully's decision to become an American citizen. There were other restrictions limiting a non-resident alien's ownership and disposal of land which were disagreeable to Scully and he could get around all of them by taking out naturalization papers.

In the 1880's, Dr. Gillette came to Marion to help with the administration of the Scully land. A short time later, John Powers came from Lincoln, Ill. He became one of the best known of Scully agents. The firm of Fox and Powers is mentioned in the *Marion Record* of January 24, 1890. Powers set up his permanent residence in Marion and lived there as a Scully agent until he died in the 1920's.

Although Scully did not enjoy a favorable press, many of his tenants backed him. One wrote a letter which appeared in the *Marion Record*, February 25, 1887. The writer of the letter had rented land for the previous four years. During the first three years he had raised an average of 55 bushels of corn an acre, which at the payment of half of the grain at 25 cents a bushel, amounted to a rent of \$6.87 per acre. The preceding year he had rented Scully land which was just as good for three dollars an acre. He was not bothered by having the landlord run one hundred head of cattle in the field right up to corn planting time as his former landlord had done. The renter had gotten no improvements in either case. He voiced the sentiments of many Scully renters when he wrote, "it takes a rustler to pay his rent in Kansas in a dry season." He also wrote that the landlord's agent had treated him in a "gentlemanly manner."

In London, on July 20, 1888, William Scully deeded all the Marion county land to E. Angela Scully, his wife. A second deed was made out the same day, deeding all the Marion county land back to William Scully. Both of the deeds were signed before Thomas M. Waller, consul general of the United States in London. The first deed was filed at the Marion county register of deeds at ten o'clock

A. M., September 26, 1892. The second deed was filed 45 minutes later.³⁶ The purpose of these deeds is not clear. Speculation might give several motives. Perhaps a situation was apprehended in which he would want to quickly shift ownership. By filing the right deed the title would appear to fit the situation. Another suggestion has been offered that Mrs. Scully gave up her dowry rights in the land because of these deeds. Most speculations carry no weight under Kansas law. The deeds as they are did not change the ownership of the land. It was the same as if they had never been executed.

Rent on Scully land was based upon an appraisement of the productive powers and improvements of the land. This hindered the improving of much of the property because of the possibility of increased rent. Some of the Kansas land owned by Scully lay idle for several years until he could get renters. Ofttimes during these early days people would pasture cattle and cut prairie hay on Scully land as if it were an open range. Sometimes adjoining farmers leased it. Early leases were usually for periods up to five years and would require the renter to "break out" a certain amount of sod in return for the first few years' rent. Thereafter for a few years the rent would be 50 cents to a dollar an acre with later increases in rent as the land became more valuable.³⁷ When government became more expensive, following the establishment of schools, roads and other projects, Scully changed his leases to require the tenants to pay yearly to the landlord "the full amount of all taxes or assessments, general or special, of every kind or nature whatsoever, made, levied or assessed upon or against" the land they held for him. Other requirements came into the lease arrangements with the years. The tenants were, of course, required to make all but permanent improvements or else do without. Also they were required to break out each year as many acres of new land as might be designated by the agent. A penalty of three dollars an acre was charged for failure to follow instructions.³⁸ This lease arrangement was not difficult to follow because Scully did not press his tenants to break out the soil. Even today Scully land has much pasture that would be fit for cultivation if it were plowed. Tenants were also required in their lease to sow as much acreage in small grains as was designated by the agent.³⁹

In 1903 after several years of crop failures which kept the tenants

36. "Deed Record," Marion county, v. 69, pp. 270, 279.

37. See pp. 366-368.

38. Three dollars an acre was the standard price for breaking the sod.

39. *Kansas City Star*, January 26, 1919.

from paying their full cash rent, Scully introduced a new clause into the lease requiring the tenant to have a certain percentage of the land planted to alfalfa. Alfalfa usually made a crop regardless of the weather and was considered a sure crop which would enable the tenant to pay the rent each year.⁴⁰ A system of crop rotation had also been set up. Fines were established in the lease payable if the tenant failed to carry out certain provisions. That part of the lease was as follows:

That said tenant will pull out, clean out and destroy all burrs, thistles and other weeds on said land by the first of August in each year. That he will, on or before the first day of August in each and every year of this lease, mow or plow all lands sown to small grain the spring or fall preceding. That he will take care of, cultivate, protect and maintain all hedgerows, fences, fruit and other trees that now are, or may hereafter be planted on said land. That he will trim all hedges on said land by the first day of January in each and every year during this lease and burn the brush. That he will, at his . . . own expense, keep open, cleanse, plow, scrape and dig out all ditches and drains that now are, or may hereafter be made on said land, by the first day of October in each and every year during this lease; and in case of failure to keep open, cleanse, plow, scrape and dig out such ditches, trim such hedgerows and pull out and destroy the burrs, thistles and other weeds, respectively, as aforesaid, the said tenant agrees to pay said landlord seventy-five cents per rod for the ditches, twenty-five cents per rod for the hedges, \$2 per acre for land in burrs and weeds and \$1 per acre for stubble land not mowed or plowed, as damages for such failure in addition to the rent hereby reserved, such damages to be recoverable by the said landlord in the same manner as rent in arrears. That said tenant will not permit or suffer cattle or other animals to feed upon the stalks standing on said land, said stalks being reserved to the landlord.⁴¹

William Scully did not like to part with land. He did not sell farm land in Kansas except for right of ways, school grounds and the like. On one occasion the owner of Crane's ranch, located near Durham, Albert Crane, wanted to trade half sections with Scully. The trade would have been one of convenience for both parties. Both would then have had land in a block, for each had other holdings in the neighborhood. Scully refused to trade and suggested that Crane sell him the land in question. Crane, who was not anxious to sell either, had merely thought the trade would be advantageous to both of them. Scully said, "It is a very serious thing to part with title to real estate. I will not do it." Other stories have circulated about his refusal to sell land. Always he was most emphatic about it.

Scully land in Marion county is good land. The tenants have been good farmers and most of them have made money year after

40. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1903. There is some indication that this clause in the lease was not widespread until after 1918.

41. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1919; "Miscellaneous Record," Marion county, pp. 75-79.

year and had no trouble paying the landlord. The leases given by Scully were desirable and some of the tenants stayed on the land for a lifetime. The Scully system was a new path in the route of agricultural success. Under this system a tenant could start operating a rented farm with very little capital. As he farmed he could put his money into improvements because of the low rent. When he was ready to branch out and operate a farm of his own he was able to sell the improvements and make a substantial down payment on the new farm. Many farmers in Marion and Marshall counties in Kansas owe their "start" to the Scully system.⁴²

Prior to Scully's death in 1906, John C. Scully, a nephew, received the Butler county, Kansas, lands. E. Angela Scully, wife of William Scully, received the rest of the estate, most of it by a deed about a year before he died. The breakdown of the land in Marion county according to acreage was 49 sections, 40 half sections, 36 quarter sections, 23 eighth sections and 13 tracts which were one-sixteenth of a section in size.

The rent of Scully land remained about the same until World War I, when mounting farm prices brought on increases. These, however, lagged behind the increase in the price of farm products and the tenants enjoyed a period of prosperity.

Mrs. Scully lived in London much of the time after the death of her husband. On December 2, 1918, she made out a deed which gave all the Marion county land to her son, Frederick, "for in consideration of natural love and affection, and one dollar."⁴³ In other deeds Frederick got the Dickinson and Marshall county lands in Kansas and all the land in Nebraska. Thomas, the older son, was given the Illinois and Missouri land. The two sons were to share equally in property elsewhere.

III. THE SCULLY SYSTEM IN MARION COUNTY AFTER SCULLY'S DEATH

Frederick Scully was well suited to the job of a landlord when he acquired the Nebraska land and most of the Kansas land as a Christmas gift from his mother in 1918. In addition to the land he received from his mother, he bought between 27 and 35 thousand acres of land near Cut Off in Lafourche parish, La.⁴⁴ The land is near the Gulf of Mexico, about 35 miles south-southwest of New Orleans. Much of this land, which apparently was not purchased as farm land,

42. *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 3, 1943.

43. "Deed Record," Marion county, v. 145, p. 190.

44. *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, August 15, 1937, gives 27,000 acres. *Abilene Daily Reflector*, March 14, 1942, gives 35,000 acres.

was in swamp and had to be reclaimed. Two thousand five hundred acres are in an experiment station which is considered the largest privately-owned agricultural experiment station in the United States.

Fred was 37 years old when he got the land. In appearance he was an English gentleman and his speech indicated his Oxford education. Although he was an American citizen he spent much of his time in England and in travel.⁴⁵ The job of managing the Scully lands was taken over by the same agents who had handled them for the father.

Thomas and Frederick Scully had much in common with their father. They were frugal and their wealth went a long way. Most of the surplus profits from the estate were invested in municipal and county bonds. During World War I, Mrs. Scully and the boys invested about two million dollars in Liberty bonds.⁴⁶ Thomas, the elder by about six years, also spent much of his time in travel. During World War I he had been an ambulance driver. Though he was an American citizen, he had spent five years in Egypt on a mission for the British government.

Throughout the years the Scullys had been on good terms with their tenants. There was a minimum of conflict until about the time Fred and Thomas were given the land. During World War I, Scully tenants sold good crops at high prices. Cash rents began a steady rise because of increased value and productivity of the land.

Trouble with tenants began in the fall of 1918, in Illinois, just before the change in ownership, when they were notified of an increase in rent of from six dollars to ten dollars an acre for the next year. They were also to be required to plant a certain percentage of the land in clover and either plow it under or feed it on the farm. The tenants protested and some of them formed a league to get united action. They found no recourse in the law so they attempted to take their ills to the legislature.⁴⁷ Scully's agent said, "We gave the farmers the advantage of four years of unusually high prices. They have made a lot of money. Increased income taxes and war's other calls on the Scully estate necessitated raising the rents this year."⁴⁸ The tenants stated that costs of improvements had taken a big jump and that prices of farm products had already threatened to tumble. They claimed that the increase was taking unfair advantage of temporary prosperity.

45. *Kansas City Star*, January 26, 1919.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, editorial, October 17, 1918.

48. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1919.

In Logan county, Illinois, where tenants were prosperous and had a large amount invested in their improvements, they had mostly fallen in line with Scully's demands and had signed their leases. Elsewhere in Illinois, the association of Scully tenants was refusing to sign new leases and was asking for a reduction in the rent for the next year.⁴⁹ The tenants were holding out for the previous years' rent of six dollars an acre. Agreements were finally reached which set the yearly rental at eight dollars an acre. The tenants were also allowed to borrow money from the estate at five per cent interest instead of the prevailing rate of seven per cent.⁵⁰

The clause in the lease requiring the planting of a certain per cent of the land to clover or alfalfa brought forth a minor tenant rebellion. However, after seeing the beneficial effects on the soil, the tenants became hearty advocates of legume planting.

In 1921, tenant trouble, termed a "revolt" by newspapers, was developing in Kansas. The rental charges for the land had been increasing for years and the schedule for the 1922 season provided for no decreases. The tenants felt that the decrease in the price of farm products almost to a pre-war level should give them a proportionate decrease in cash rent. They began to develop a united organization and asked for a 40 per cent reduction. Since crops the preceding year had been poor, some thought Scully should make an adjustment. A number of the association members were making arrangements to lease other land. Many were making little effort to prepare the ground for the next year's crop and no leases were signed.⁵¹

During the early part of September there was much activity in which most of the 350 Scully tenants participated. Numerous meetings were held. The organization contended that the Scully lease was a one-man lease and charged that it supplanted laws of the state, by requiring the tenant to waive legal rights. Threats were made to strike against Scully prior to the wheat-sowing season if no relief was forthcoming.⁵²

Heretofore the attitude of Kansas tenants had been good, as a rule. However, they were now "bucking" Powers, the Scully agent in Marion, as much as Scully himself. Powers was considered high-handed in many of his dealings and many tenants found it difficult to stay on good terms with him.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Kansas City Times*, July 3, 1919, from the *Chicago Herald-Examiner*.

51. *Kansas City Star*, September 4, 1921.

52. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1921.

About a week after the threat to strike, the tenants met at Tampa, Kan., elected permanent officers and formed a committee to draft a constitution for the proposed tenant union. Many came and brought their families. Ninety per cent of the tenants were active in the organization.

At this time a survey was made of 1921 incomes on Scully land, so that the tenants could present their side of the case. The average income from a quarter section was found to be \$1,030. In share renting, the landlord's share at the usual rate of one-third would have been \$343. Tenants at that time were paying a cash rental of about \$600, plus taxes amounting to about \$100. The 40 per cent reduction asked would have given a cash rent of \$360, still above the rent on a one-third share basis. A 25 per cent reduction was finally offered by the landlord, but the tenants were unanimous in their demand and would not accept the offer.⁵³ The Scully manager finally reduced the rent by 40 per cent, meeting the demands of the association, and averting the threatened strike. This organization functioned effectively for three years.

In 1923, tenant unrest began to crop out again when the members of the protective committee of the association, representing the Scully tenants, had a conference with State Sen. Charles Thompson of Marion. The committee proposed that Senator Thompson introduce a bill which would protect the tenants' homes, barns and other buildings which were liable to seizure by creditors. This time the agitation was not so much against the landlord as it was against an "unfair" law. Under the Kansas homestead law, the buildings constituted a homestead and could not be seized for debt. But Scully tenants who provided their own improvements, were not protected because they held no equity in the land. The protective committee told of many tenants having their buildings seized by creditors and the possible results of such action. Also under state law the improvements of the tenant were taxed as a part of the land belonging to the landlord. Legislation was sought as a remedy for the situation.⁵⁴

Both Senator Thompson of Marion and Rep. Charles G. Carothers of Peabody presented bills in their respective houses. Legislative committees reported unfavorably on the bills, and nothing was accomplished in that session.⁵⁵ However, in 1925 a law was passed

53. *Kansas City Times*, September 21, 1921.

54. *Kansas City Star*, January 22, 1923.

55. *Senate Journal*, 1923, Kansas, 285, 316, 378. *House Journal*, 1923, Kansas, 194, 205, 319.

giving the tenants the protection of their property from seizure by a creditor when he is the landlord.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, trouble of a different sort was confronting Frederick Scully. In 1920, one Godfrey Berg had purchased his father's improvements and began farming as a Scully tenant. Yearly leases were signed until on July 16, 1923, when Berg was served with a "written notice that his lease would not be renewed; that he must vacate by March 1, 1924; that he must dispose of his improvements on the leased premises after his rents had been paid; that he should not put in fall crops."⁵⁷ Berg could find no one to purchase his improvements, therefore, with the expiration of his tenancy, he did not immediately vacate the premises. Whereupon, his household goods and other personal property were moved out on the highway by the sheriff.

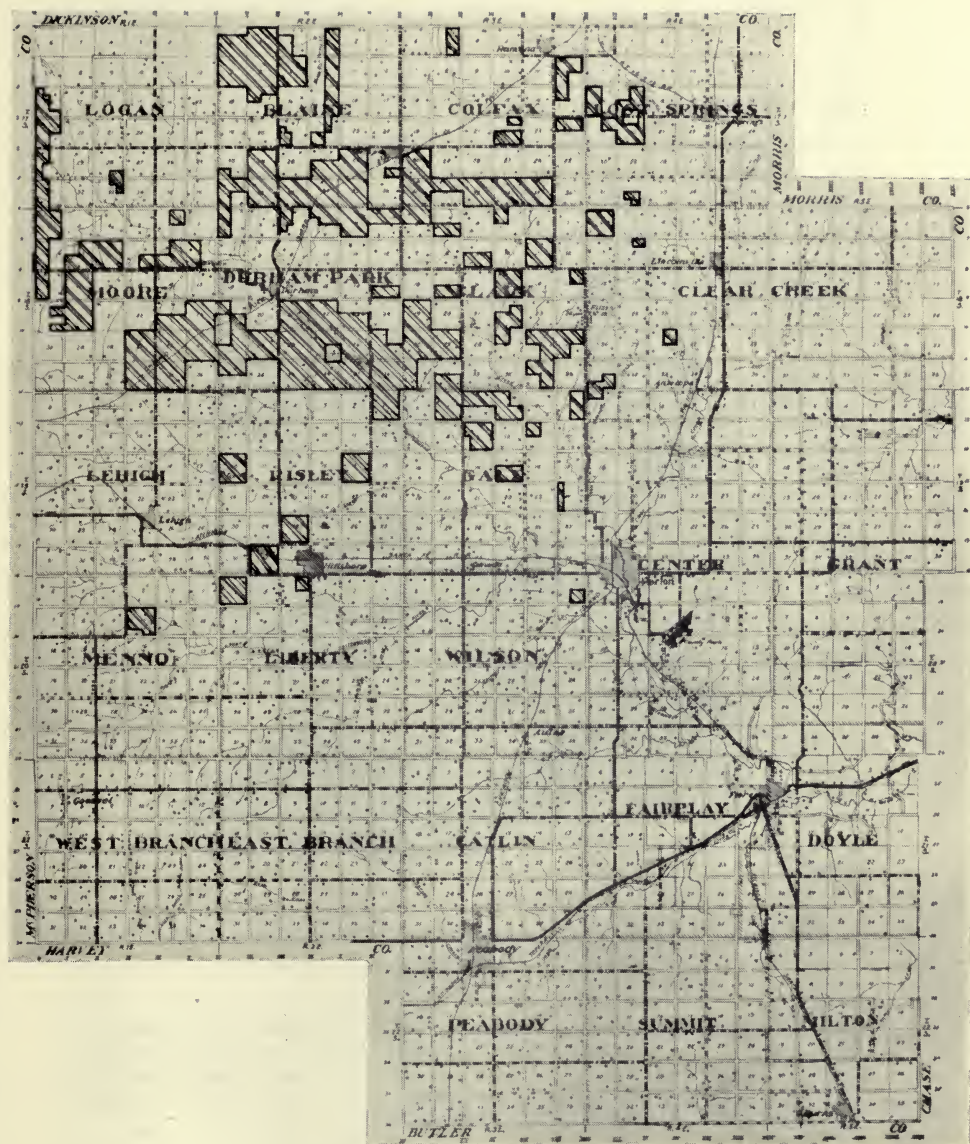
The tenant association was anxious to test the lawfulness of the Scully lease where non-payment of rent was not concerned, and Berg, who was an out-spoken tenant (the kind not ordinarily on Scully land), was willing to provide the necessary action. The association financed the litigation. Berg brought suit against Scully to recover the value of his improvements. As might be suspected, tenant sympathy was almost entirely with Berg. The case came up in the district court of Marion county. Attorneys for Berg believed that they could win the case by showing that John Powers, agent for Scully, could not sue or be sued in Scully's name.⁵⁸ Powers produced the authorization, much to the surprise of the people assembled in the courtroom. Another point brought up was the custom of transferring leases from one tenant to another. The court did not recognize that custom makes a law. The provisions of a Scully lease with respect to improvements on the land were brought out. One sentence was as follows:

"But the said landlord hereby agrees, that upon the expiration of the term of this lease, and upon the rent and taxes herein provided for being fully paid, and other promises and undertakings herein written having been done, kept and performed by the said tenant (but not otherwise), that he, the said landlord, will consent to the removal of all buildings, fences or other chattels made or erected by the said tenant upon said premises, or belonging to him thereon, provided that said removal be made promptly; but all buildings, fences or other improvements thereon belonging to the landlord, and all additions or repairs that may be made or done to the same during this lease; and any hedges or live fence, fruit or other trees that may be planted, set out or grown

56. *Session Laws of 1925*, Ch. 208, p. 276.

57. *Kansas Reports*, v. 120, pp. 638, 639.

58. Powers had never previously indicated any legal power to enforce Scully contracts. Hence, the Berg attorneys hoped to win their case early.



THE SHADED PORTIONS SHOW SCULLY LAND IN MARION COUNTY AT THE TIME OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE FREDERICK SCULLY ESTATE IN 1947



WILLIAM SCULLY
(1821-1906)

Mr. Scully was an Irish landowner who made extensive investments in the United States. At his death in 1906 he was reported to own one of the largest acreages of farm land in the United States. Over 60,000 acres were in the Kansas counties of Marion, Marshall and Dickinson. Practically all this land is still controlled by the Scully heirs.

This sketch of Mr. Scully was reproduced from the *Topeka State Journal* of October 18, 1906.

on said premises at any time previous to or during the term of this lease, shall be deemed fixtures and shall not be removable under any circumstances or at any time.”⁵⁹

Scully's lawyers contended that Berg had abandoned the property and that it was therefore forfeited to the landlord. The judgment of the court was in favor of Scully, and Berg received no satisfaction. In reminiscing about the Berg case, prominent members of the association have stated that they “missed the boat” when they did not have the township assessor present at Berg's eviction. He could have required the sheriff to keep the road clear. Speculators say the sheriff might have found it necessary to take the evicted man's property to the court house grounds in Marion.

Berg's lawyers appealed the case to the state supreme court, because they said the lower court had erred in excluding evidence in Scully's “practice in dealing with his tenants.” The supreme court admitted the evidence regarding the customary practice of Scully or his agents in dealing with the tenant. This showed that over a period of years when a tenant would give up his lease, the incoming tenant would negotiate for and purchase the improvements of the outgoing tenant. No incoming tenant was sent to Berg to buy his improvements and since he had no crops in the ground, no one was anxious to lease the land. Actually he could not move his improvements and get anything out of them. The cost of dismantling and moving the property would be almost equal to their value. In summing up the opinion of the court, Justice Richard Hopkins wrote:

No provision of the contract contemplates forfeiture of the tenant's improvements to the landlord. . . . Through Scully's general course of dealing, the plaintiff [Berg] understood and believed he would be able to dispose of his improvements at the end of his tenancy, otherwise he could not have afforded to purchase them and become the defendant's tenant.⁶⁰

The justice mentioned the act of 1925 regarding “free sale and transfer of such improvements, or the purchase thereof by the landlord.” The act was passed after action in the case was begun. “While the statute is not retroactive,” the court said, “it is indicative of public policy on this subject, and virtually places defendant's [Scully's] attitude . . . under public condemnation.” The judgment of the lower court was reversed and Berg won the case. Two of the seven justices of the court dissented from the majority opinion but no minority opinion was written.

Another victim of eviction during the activity of the association was J. B. Shields, of near Lost Springs. He was secretary of the

59. *Kansas Reports*, v. 120, pp. 638, 639.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 643, 644.

tenant association and held a prominent place in the policies of the organization. Shields was one of the first Scully tenants in Marion county. He had started leasing land in 1883. A man of conviction, he would not back down from his position when confronted by John Powers and Frederick Scully. His contention that rents must be lowered was disputed by Frederick Scully. Words followed which resulted in Shields losing his quarter-section lease in 1922, after he had been a Scully tenant for 39 years. Shields still farmed his own two quarters, where he raised purebred cattle. When word spread that Shields was to lose his lease, some of the Scully tenants and other farmers almost fell over each other in their hurry to get to Marion and rent the land, thus indicating that there were backsliders in the organization.

The Scully system and the extent of the Scully holdings has been debated politically. In 1919, Gov. Henry Allen, of Kansas, called attention to the problem, after tenants refused to tax themselves to construct a highway. A group of Old Trails boosters had endeavored to rebuild the Santa Fe trail through Kansas. In those days the highways were paid for by the taxpayers on either side of the road. Tenants, such as those on Scully land would, of course, refuse to tax themselves \$1,500 to \$2,000 to build a road along their landlord's farm. The project to rebuild the trail had received support from every county through which the road would pass, except from Marion county.⁶¹ The action taken by the tenants proved an effective bar to the project and the road was never built.

In every district where Scully land predominated this was true. The system was detrimental to the promotion of public improvements such as roads and schools. The situation in Nebraska was much the same, and Gov. S. R. McKelvie unofficially urged a remedy for large-scale land tenantry. In Missouri, just after William Scully had bought land in Bates county, an election was held to determine whether the people should vote bonds for a new courthouse. In this case the Scully agent wrote to Scully and asked how he should advise the tenants. William Scully wrote that they should vote for the new courthouse.⁶² Except for this instance, the Scullys never interfered with or advised the tenants regarding their action during an election.

Most of the tenant contacts with Scully were through his agents. The tenants were usually treated in a very business-like way, but with a patronizing manner apparent at times. Powers, the long-

61. *Kansas City Star*, January 24, 1919.

62. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 31, 1901.

time Scully agent in Marion county, often talked to the tenants in an aloof, superior manner. Agents who followed Powers were on more friendly terms with the tenants. Rent was of course on a cash basis, paid yearly. The money could be handed personally either to the agent in Marion or mailed in to the estate's office. The business between the estate's office and the tenant could be carried on by mail because the tenant did not have to sign a new lease every year. As long as the rent and taxes were paid regularly the agents did not bother the tenants. Old leases were automatically extended for another year. Tenants were billed for the amount they were to pay, including taxes. Generally, they did not get a separate bill for the taxes. Nevertheless, in Marion county, the tenant paid the entire amount of the yearly rent, plus taxes before the due date, to the Scully agent. Or the amount could be paid in installments with interest. The agent would then take the money to the county treasurer and pay the entire year's taxes on the Scully land. The rebate on the last half of the taxes usually amounted to several hundred dollars. In 1942, the tax on the Marion county Scully land was \$26,586.61. The rebate on the last half was \$219.49. In 1943 the tax was \$22,075.45 with a rebate of \$174.39. The tenant owns the improvements and these are now taxed as the tenant's personal property. Due, possibly, to the fact that the tenants pay the taxes, Scully land is not discriminated against by the assessors. In some states Scully pays the taxes and charges a higher rent.

Contrary to William Scully's policy of not selling farm property, some of the land in Marion county has been sold to private individuals as well as to the county for roads and schools, since his death in 1906. The selling of land has always been a money-making proposition with the Scullys. At times when roads have been widened in the county, the agent has always arranged, if possible, that additional ground be required, it would come off the land across the road rather than from Scully's property. At times when Scully land was on both sides of the right of way, the easement to the county or state would be paid for at a good rate per acre even though most of the other landowners would give the land needed for road construction. Mrs. Scully sold a school district 3.12 acres in 1909 for \$200.⁶³ Apparently, every transaction must bring an income, even though the use to which the deeded land is put will improve the value of the adjoining land.

Frederick Scully sold parcels of land to individuals in the 1920's.

63. "Deed Record," Marion county, v. 136, p. 428.

One 40-acre piece, northwest of Durham, was sold to David Rudger in 1926 for \$75 an acre.⁶⁴ Stanley Safarik paid \$140 an acre for 40 acres of good farm land near Tampa in 1927.⁶⁵ This plot was the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of a section and the right of entry onto the land had caused some trouble, and Scully decided to sell it. In each of these sales, the grantors reserved to themselves, "their heirs and assigns all rights to the oil or minerals in, on or underlying said land." In 1929, I. Urbanek bought 80 acres from Scully for \$140 an acre.⁶⁶ In this case, Scully reserved an "undivided two-thirds in all rights to oil, gas" and other minerals. Each piece of land sold had some kind of stipulation which made it different from the ordinary deed. The Strassburg Baptist Church bought one-half acre in 1941 to build a parsonage. To buy the land, in addition to paying \$75 for it, they agreed to maintain a proper fence and not to raise or keep chickens on the premises.⁶⁷

Up to 1947 some oil companies were inclined to avoid leasing Scully land. They knew that the lease would be written out in the Scully office and on Scully terms. For instance, in 1929 the Shell Oil Company leased a block of land which included 640 acres belonging to Frederick Scully.⁶⁸ The lease included provisions different from the ordinary oil and gas lease. The lessor demanded one-sixth royalties. The usual rate is one-eighth. He demanded full access to lessee's books and daily reports. Royalty payments were to be made monthly while ordinarily the payments are made quarterly. Other stipulations were made regarding the time of drilling the well and what to do if it were a dry hole. In addition to this and other usual parts of an oil and gas lease, the lessor reserved "unto themselves a one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) overriding royalty out of the $\frac{5}{6}$ of the production of oil until such time as the proceeds of such overriding royalty shall amount to \$64,000 . . . at which time the entire leasehold shall pass to the property of the lessee." The lease could be terminated by paying Scully ten dollars.

Frederick Scully was dissatisfied that none of his land had oil or other minerals to add to the income received by rent. His cousin, John C. Scully, had oil on his land in Butler county, Kansas. Up to 1947 in Marion county all wells drilled on Scully land had been dry ones, though there were flowing wells within one-quarter mile.⁶⁹ Oil

64. *Ibid.*, v. 174, p. 283.

65. *Ibid.*, v. 183, p. 449.

66. *Ibid.*, v. 191, p. 340.

67. *Ibid.*, v. 224, p. 68.

68. "Miscellaneous Record," Marion county, v. 44, p. 40.

69. In recent years drilling operations on Scully land in Marion county have resulted in flowing wells.

companies generally wanted to avoid developing an area of ground containing Scully land because of the special considerations required by the owner. Other landowners near by not being included in the oil development were inclined to blame the Scullys.

As has been said, the Scully farm lease was a very involved document.⁷⁰ It cited various obligations of the tenant in addition to the payment of the cash rent, taxes and assessments. The tenant agreed to plant certain crops and waived the benefit of the exemption, valuation and appraisal laws of the state. Although the agents did little, if anything, to carry out these terms in the lease, the Kansas legislature passed a law in 1933 dealing with leases such as the one Scully had his tenants sign. Although Scully was not mentioned by name, the explanatory paragraph preceding the law practically recited the Scully lease word for word.⁷¹ The law continues with the following statement:

The foregoing lease conditions and requirements are variant from the ordinary . . . in the particulars above mentioned, are harsh, burdensome, oppressive and extortionate in their terms. . . . On account of the pledge of lien by the tenant to the landlord of his crops, teams, and all his other property he is deprived of credit with merchants and banks. . . .

The law then states that the lease agreements mentioned containing "all of the burdensome requirements heretofore recited are hereby declared to be against the public policy of the state, illegal and unenforceable. . . ." The lien required from the tenant was limited to the "total crops grown on the leased land" and the "total receipts or returns from pasture. . . ." Some changes were made in the leases after 1933. Items such as the fines were stricken from several provisions. However, there is still some question whether the leases of 1947 would satisfy a court if certain provisions in them were tested.

During the 1930's the Scullys aided the tenants with a substantial reduction of rent during the period of poor crops and low prices. In 1932, Thomas Scully halved the rent in Bates county, Missouri. Like reductions were made on Scully land elsewhere. Most of the land was still making a profit for the landlord during those lean years. Frederick at this time had about 62,000 acres in Kansas, 64,000 acres in Nebraska and about 27,000 acres in Louisiana. Over a five-year period from 1932 including 1936 all his land, except that in Louisiana, made a profit. In Marion county, 1932 was the worst year for the landlord, when his net profit was about \$11,000. The

70. See pp. 365-375.

71. *General Statutes of Kansas, 1935*, 67-531 to 67-533.

best year of this period was 1935, with a profit of about \$48,000. The total income from Marion county for the five-year period was about \$150,000. Profits per acre in Marshall county, Kansas, and Gage county, Nebraska, were about the same as in Marion county but in each case the acreage was smaller. A small profit in Nuckolls county, Nebraska, cancelled a loss in Louisiana. Total income from rent for the five years on 154,000 acres was about \$240,000.⁷²

Thomas Scully had at this time about 47,000 acres in Illinois and 45,000 acres in Missouri. The Illinois property brought the highest rent of any of the land in the Scully estates. In addition, there have been fewer years of poor crops. In Missouri this five-year period resulted in a net loss of about \$50,000 for the landlord. The net profit received by Thomas Scully from rent of his land during this five-year period was about \$430,000.⁷³

It is no wonder that when the War Department began dispossessing farmers through acquisition of land for Camp Crowder, Ft. Leonard Wood and other Missouri projects in 1941, Thomas Scully was willing to sell his Bates county holdings. In 1943 he received a check for \$1,078,150 for the land. The Missouri Defense Relocation Association and the FHA were endeavoring to resettle dispossessed farmers, but the availability of high-paying war-industry jobs hindered sale to them. In March, 1947, five units of the former Scully land in Bates county were still in government hands. Expectations were that they would soon be privately owned. The president of the Chamber of Commerce of Butler, county seat of Bates county, and other businessmen were glad to see the land return to farmer operators. The benefits of home-owned and home-operated farms were contrasted with "the antique and cold-blooded type of ownership that formerly existed."⁷⁴ There was a tendency in Bates county to give the Scully family credit as astute businessmen who were fair and honest landlords. However, the people felt that, on the whole, the Scully regime was not for the permanent benefit of the county because it had reduced the percentage of freeholding farmers. The schools, churches and rural community activities had suffered as a result.⁷⁵

A change in tenants on Scully land would, of course, require a change in ownership of the improvements. The incoming tenant would negotiate with the outgoing tenant to establish a price, often called the premium, for the improvements and the lease. The Scully

72. *Chicago Tribune*, August 15, 1937. Rents were up in the 1940's.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Kansas City Star*, March 12, 1947.

75. *Kansas City Times*, July 30, 1941.

agent retained the right to approve or disapprove the succeeding tenant and the sale of the improvements. Sometimes the agent would require a renegotiation of the purchase price of the improvements if he deemed them too high. The agents followed the direction of the Scullys, who have held that the prospective tenant is desirous of getting the land, not the improvements, and they sought to guard his rights. The outgoing tenant had to take the price set on his improvements by the Scullys if he wished to sell them and he usually would not appreciate the interference of the Scully management.⁷⁶

In Illinois the tenants have better improvements on Scully land than in other states. The improvements there are often valued at \$10,000 or more. In Marion county, Kansas, the improvements on a quarter section are usually worth between \$1,000 and \$5,000. For fences alone with no buildings the incoming tenant would usually pay the outgoing tenant about \$1,000. Often the premium paid would not replace the improvements on the land. At times tenants have wished to buy Scully land if it happened to fit into their land adjacent to it. On the other hand, they knew that if Scully owned it they could have it to rent; whereas, if someone else bought the Scully land that might not be possible.

Marion county tenants were among the first farmers in the county to join the AAA program. The requirements to get AAA benefits were not so much different from the stipulations set down in the Scully lease. The present lease has several paragraphs regarding soil conservation and saving the fertility of the soil. Benefits for some of these practices are paid by Scully today.

In 1941, Thomas Scully finished building a \$100,000 house on some of his land three miles from Lincoln, Ill. His wife, Violet, is the daughter of Sir William Simpson, a Scottish knight. Their sons, Michael and Peter, were 15 and 13 years of age, respectively, at that time.

On October 28, 1942, Frederick Scully died in Chicago. His wife, Betty, had died, September 11, 1942, as a result of injuries received in a bicycle accident in England. The settlement of the estate was not finished in Kansas until January, 1947, over four years later. Ancillary proceedings on the Kansas land of the Frederick Scully estate were held in the Marion county probate court. William Scully, who was 20 years of age at the time of his father's death and a student at Northwestern University, later joined the U. S. army and served overseas with the 90th division. Robin Frederick Scully,

76. *Kansas City Star*, January 26, 1919.

18, and a student at Harvard at the time of his father's death, later joined the navy. Under the soldiers' and sailors' civil relief act, W. R. Carpenter, was appoined by the probate court as attorney to represent their interests. A "Journal" entry in the matter of the estate of Frederick Scully, deceased, mentions the granting of additional time to prepare and file the inventory and appraisement of the estate. On May 27, 1943, the notice of hearing for the petition to admit the foreign will to probate was published for the first time.⁷⁷ Beginning in the July 8, 1943, issue of the *Record-Review* the notice of the appointment of ancillary executors was made for three weeks. The executors of the estate were Thomas A. Scully, elder brother of Frederick, William E. Trapp, Scully agent at Lincoln, Ill., and John C. Scully, Peoria, Ill., attorney and cousin of Thomas and Frederick.

The will which was originally probated in Washington, D. C., was filed in the Marion county probate court, December 6, 1946. Legal notice of final settlement of the estate in Kansas was first published December 5, 1946.⁷⁸ The will provided for many bequests. To his wife, Betty, he gave \$100,000 net and the following real estate: 400 acres in Marshall county, Kansas; 1,521.77 acres in Gage county, Nebraska, and 6,667.40 acres in Nuckolls county, Nebraska. Betty had died prior to the settlement so these bequests went back into the estate. Thomas A. Scully got \$50,000. William E. Trapp got \$8,000. Frank W. Ryan, partner of Trapp's, got \$5,000. Frank Turner got \$3,000. Any servant in the household ten years got \$1,000 net. The rest of the will dealt with the division of the remainder of the estate between the sons, William and Robin. An excerpt from the "Journal" reads as follows:

It is further found . . . that William Scully, eldest son of Frederick Scully, deceased, was and is entitled to have assigned to him subject to Testamentary Trust, in the management and control thereof, . . . all real estate situated in Marion, Marshall, and Dickinson Counties Kansas . . . and all land, real estate . . . owned by said Frederick Scully at time of his death, located in the State of Kansas.⁷⁹

Likewise, Robin received all the Scully land in Nebraska which is in Nuckolls and Gage counties. William's share was about 62,000 acres and Robin received about 66,000 acres. The two sons were given all the property in Louisiana, "in equal shares as tenants in common in fee simple forever." Likewise they shared in the one-half interest owned by their father in the Scully building in Lincoln,

77. *Marion Record-Review*, May 27, 1943.

78. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1946.

79. "Papers in the Matter of the Estate of Frederick Scully, Deceased," in Marion county probate court.

Ill., and other Logan county properties. The other property was also divided equally between William and Robin. This included interest in residence property located in Washington, D. C.⁸⁰

Thomas A. Scully was appointed trustee for the two sons, to "hold, manage, and control all of the estate," devised to the sons. In addition the property would be held in trust with certain provisions. At the age of 21 years each son would receive \$5,000 a year. At the age of 25, \$15,000, and at 30 years of age the income for each would be \$25,000. At 35 each son would assume full management of the estate. If the guardian should feel that they could undertake the full management of the estate at 30 years of age he could give them full possession. For maintenance and education, \$3,000 per year and emergency sums such as money needed for surgical and medical care were provided for each son. In case Thomas A. Scully should die or become incapacitated, John C. Scully was to be appointed with the duties of guardian and trustee. The trustee could, with the consent of the heir when he reached 21 years of age, sell, transfer or convey any of his real estate as deemed advisable. The trustee could not receive compensation of more than \$2,500 per year. Thomas A. Scully relinquished and declined to fill the position of guardian and trustee and requested that the probate courts in the District of Columbia and Marion county, Kansas, appoint John C. Scully to that position. This was done and the estate was readied for settlement by the payment of various fees and taxes.

The Kansas income taxes from January 1, 1933, to February 29, 1944, amounted to \$18,053.28 plus interest of \$3,252.38.⁸¹ The death of William Scully in 1906 had cost his estate nothing in inheritance taxes because none existed. E. Angela Scully transferred most of the estate in 1918 prior to her death and averted death or inheritance taxes.⁸² Gift taxes were not then in use so that transfer of property brought nothing into the treasury of the state or nation. Between 1906 and 1942 laws were passed to act as a leveler of the country's wealth. So when Frederick Scully died in 1942 there were laws giving the state and nation a sizable proportion of the property changing hands. The property owned by Frederick Scully was appraised to determine the value of the estate to be taxed. The following table shows the assessed and appraised value of the Kansas land.

80. By 1950 William had severed all business relations with the Lincoln, Ill., office. The office handling his estate is located in Beatrice, Neb.

81. *Ibid.*

82. Kansas City *Star*, January 26, 1919.

TABLE II.—AREA AND VALUATION OF SCULLY LAND IN KANSAS

County	Acres	Assessed Valuation	Appraised Valuation
Marion	53,491.34	\$1,657,630	\$1,304,886.50
Marshall	7,576.38	356,270	236,292.80
Dickinson	1,150.37	35,655	24,127.00
Total	61,218.09	\$2,049,555	\$1,565,305.30 ⁸³

The appraisers, who were paid a fee of \$600.00 for their work in Marion county, did the Scullys a good turn by keeping down the value of the estate by appraising the land at about 78% of its assessed value. Only a few parcels of land were appraised at the assessed value. The assessed value in Marion county was 60.7% of the sale price based on a sample of 150 deeds on land sold between March 1, 1945, and March 1, 1946. This means that Scully land in Marion county would sell for an average of \$51.04 per acre (and probably more) and that the land was appraised at \$24.39 per acre, less than half of the expected sale price. The average of the appraised valuation in Marshall county was \$31.19 per acre. The 11 parcels of land in Dickinson county, mostly pasture land, were given an appraised value of \$20.97 per acre. The table below shows federal taxes paid by the Frederick Scully estate.

TABLE III.—FEDERAL TAXES ON THE FREDERICK SCULLY ESTATE

Kind of Tax	Date	Amount
Federal Estate Tax	Jan. 29, 1944	\$3,198,842.84
Additional Federal Estate Tax	Jan. 17, 1945	30,529.75
District of Columbia Estate Tax	March 23, 1944	371,372.65
Additional D. C. Estate Tax	June 10, 1944	61,261.53
Additional D. C. Estate Tax	May 11, 1945	3,756.84
District of Columbia Inheritance Tax	April 25, 1944	65,415.14
Total		\$3,731,178.75 ⁸⁴

The inheritance tax paid to the state of Kansas totaled \$137,744.20.⁸⁵ Taxes were also paid in Nebraska, Louisiana, Illinois and perhaps elsewhere. The total amount was probably well over four million dollars and the heirs did not need to mortgage or sell land

83. "Papers in the Matter of the Estate of Frederick Scully, Deceased," in Marion county probate court.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

to pay the tax. The estate was settled January 10, 1947, in the ancillary settlement. At present the Scully lands in Kansas are leased from John C. Scully, trustee for William Scully. New leases were signed by the tenants in the spring of 1947. The contents of the lease were much the same as those used in former years. There were slight changes in wording but the meaning and use of them has remained virtually the same. Tenants still pay cash rent, which was slightly higher in 1947 than in 1946, furnish their own improvements and plant the crops required in the lease. The gross rents in Marion county for the year March 1, 1943, to March 1, 1944, were \$68,597 plus \$808.39 interest on arrears. Expenses were slight.⁸⁶ Considering the original investment the profits are huge. The business of being a landlord has evolved so that he has a minimum of risks and a maximum of leisure under the Scully system.

IV. AN EVALUATION OF THE SCULLY SYSTEM OF LANDLORDISM

Although the Scully system of absentee landlordism has retarded progress over large areas of farming and pasture land, there are certain benefits, such as improved farming practices, which can be credited to William Scully's methods. Nevertheless, the Scully property, itself, can be easily identified in Marion county because of the appearance of its improvements. Many of the buildings today are badly in need of paint and repairs because the tenants do not own the land and spend neither time nor money in keeping up the appearance of their homes. Improvements are often maintained at the minimum necessary to "get by." When farmers live on their own land and rent Scully land in addition, the benefits to community life and public improvements are more apparent.

The Scullys have never spent much time around their farms. Though Thomas Scully does live near his Illinois property, the owners of the land in Kansas and Nebraska have for years had their official residence in Washington, D. C. Most of the tenants in these states still think of the Scullys as foreigners and the Scullys for many years took no definite pains to change this opinion. With surprise, some of the people in Marion county have remarked that young William Scully, the grandson of the first William and the present owner of the Kansas land, is an American young man. Since his residence is now in Beatrice, Neb., he may lose the taint of foreign capitalism formerly associated with the Scullys.

Another source of wealth for the Scullys, considered unfair to other landlords, is the increasing value of real estate, the "unearned

86. *Ibid.*

increment." William Scully spotted his purchases in Marion county through 14 townships, though his land would not comprise three townships. No more than 45 per cent of any one township is owned by Scully. Other owners improved their land and paid taxes to build roads and schools, which increased the value of Scully's land. He did not shoulder his share of the responsibility to make this profit. It is true that after the panic of 1893, Scully forgave the rents due him for that year, though the tenants still paid the taxes. But he knew that the tenants could not have paid the rent. He would have lost a great many of his renters, who at that time were hard to find. An abatement on rent was again necessary for tenant morale during the poor crop years of the 1930's. It did not work a hardship to the landlord for he was still making money and the tenants were probably barely breaking even or perhaps suffering a loss.

Another feature of the Scully system which has caused unfriendly feelings among other landowners is the "run-down" character of the improvements on Scully land. Because of the poor improvements, the tax assessment for Scully land generally is less than neighboring land of the same productive capacity. This causes neighboring property to assume some of the tax load which otherwise would have fallen on Scully land. As a result, neighboring landowners have always felt that Scully is not paying his way in local government.

During the activity of the tenant association of the 1920's, few of the members knew what the landlord could do to them because of their leases. The same is true today. The length of the lease and the multitude of "herebys" and "hereinafters" discourage the tenant from "wading in" and finding out what the lease prescribes. The system of fines for non-compliance with certain provisions of the lease, which was expressly forbidden by a Kansas law of 1933, has been removed. However, other penalties have been added since. Several provisions, some not actually enforced, regarding crop rotation, increasing the fertility of the soil, and soil conservation, tend to act as moral persuasion to make the tenants farm the land as they should. The Scully lease as it is written could make the life of a tenant unbearable if it were strictly enforced. Enforcement is used sparingly and only to get rid of an undesirable tenant. This might be considered one of the "saving graces" of the Scully system.

Rents have also been reasonable over the years. One tenant, who retired in 1944 after 52 years of farming on Scully land, remarked that except for the increase in rent just after the first World War,

he had paid approximately the same rent for the last 40 years. Another tenant paid the cash rent on his 320 acres in 1946 with the income from crops on six acres. Of course, he had to pay the taxes, and pay for improvements and other costs, but with the high prices for farm crops in 1947, payments were easy to make. Other landlords cannot compete with Scully on his rent.⁸⁷

Recently, public policy has been in favor of breaking up large estates. Many suggestions have been made for legislation which would accomplish this purpose. Some people have advocated outright condemnation by the state of land owned by absentee landlords. But there would still be large estates. The progressive land tax would probably go a long way toward making ownership of large holdings such as the Scully estates unprofitable. Congress was attempting to reduce tenant farming when it passed laws in 1947 which would increase the number of farmer-operators.

The Kansas and Nebraska Scully land is now in trust to William and Robin, sons of Frederick. They will be given complete control of their holdings in 1958 and 1960, respectively, when they are 35 years of age, unless their guardian feels that they are able to assume full ownership at 30 years of age. Until then, the land could be sold by the guardian with the approval and consent of the son involved. However, there seems to be little likelihood that the Scully land will be broken up into small independently-owned farms in the immediate future. The sale of the Thomas Scully holdings in Missouri was viewed as an indication of a change in Scully attitude toward selling land. But it must be remembered that the Missouri land had always been the least profitable of their properties. Opinion is general in Marion county that the Scullys will keep the land until taxation or legislation forces them to dispose of it.

V. ONE OF THE FORMS OF FARM LEASES USED IN KANSAS ON SCULLY LAND IN 1893

William Scully (hereinafter called the Landlord,) hereby rents to Henry W. Fisher (hereinafter called the Tenant), the following tract of land, in the County of Marion and State of Kansas, to-wit: The East half and the East half of the West half of Section 35 in Township 18 South, Range 2 East of the 6th P. M. supposed to contain 480 acres; excepting however, any part or parts thereof which may have been, or may hereafter be condemned or taken for Public Highways, or given, granted or taken for Railroads, school-houses, or other public uses; with full liberty for entry, egress and regress at all times

87. Interview with William Carter, a long-time Scully tenant, at Durham, Kan., July 8, 1947. Scully rent advantages come from the fact that he provides no improvements and pays no taxes. Marion county Scully land rarely rents for as much as \$5 an acre.

for the said Landlord, his heirs, executors, administrators, and all persons authorized by him or them without being liable for any damages done to crops or fences of said Tenant:

To Hold, (Subject to all and singular the conditions, restrictions and limitations hereinafter mentioned), for the term of Five years, from and after the first day of March A. D. 1894, or so soon thereafter as the present tenant or tenants occupying said premises, or any portion of them, shall give possession of the same, and ending on the last day of February A. D. 1899. And in consideration thereof, the said tenant undertakes, promises and agrees as follows:

To pay to said Landlord the following sums, and to do and perform the following things, as rent for said premises.

On the first day of November, A. D. 1894 a sum equal to the taxes on said land for 1894.

On the first day of November, A. D. 1895 a sum equal to the taxes on said land for 1895.

On the first day of November, A. D. 1896, \$240.00 Two hundred and forty dollars.

On the first day of November, A. D. 1897, \$480.00 Four hundred and eighty dollars.

On the first day of November, A. D. 1898, \$720.00 Seven Hundred and twenty dollars.

And likewise in addition to the said several sums of money aforesaid as part of said rent to pay yearly to said Landlord, at the several and respective times of payment aforesaid, the full amount of all taxes or assessments, general or special, of any kind or nature whatsoever, made, levied or assessed upon or against said land or any part thereof, for and during the period of this lease, from the year 1894 to the year 1898, both years inclusive. And further to pay interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum upon the amount of said rent and taxes from the time they are herein made payable until the same are fully paid. And likewise in addition to the above that he shall and will, as part of said rent, break out 360 acres of said land in the year 1894 and 1895 and in case of his failure to break out said 360 acres he shall and will forfeit and pay \$3.00 per acre for the amount of acres agreed to be broken and left unbroken, to said Landlord as agreed and liquidated damages for such failure.

And the said tenant further agrees that he will sow at least 100.00 acres of said land in small grain, such as wheat, oats, rye, flax, millett, alfalfa or sorghum, in each and every year during the continuance of this lease and in case of his failure to sow said 100 acres in such small grain he shall and will forfeit and pay to the said Landlord the sum of \$1.00 per acre for the amount of acres agreed to be sown in small grain and not sown, as agreed and liquidated damages for such failure.

And the said tenant further agrees that if, during any year of this lease, any portion of the rent reserved for such year shall remain due and unpaid at the commencement of the next succeeding rental year, then and in that event, the portion of the rent remaining due and unpaid with interest as herein provided shall be added to and become a part of the rent for such succeeding year. That the said Landlord is not liable to make or erect any houses, fences, or other improvements whatsoever on or about said lands, nor to be liable to contribute in any way to the making, erecting, or repairing any such houses,

fences or other improvements; nor to be responsible for any damage that may arise or be done through any want of or deficiency in the same; the said tenant taking said premises as they are, and agreeing to make all such improvements as he may deem necessary for the efficient cultivation of said land and for the protection of the crops at his own exclusive cost and expense.

But the said Landlord hereby agrees, that upon the expiration of the term of this lease, and upon the rent and taxes herein provided for being fully paid, and the other promises and undertakings herein written having been done, kept and performed by the said Tenant (but not otherwise), that he, the said Landlord, will consent to the removal of all buildings, fences and other chattels made or erected by the said Tenant upon said premises, or belonging to him thereon; Provided, that said removal be made promptly; but all buildings, fences or other improvements thereon belonging to the Landlord, and all additions or repairs that may be made or done to the same during the lease, and any hedges or live fence, fruit or other trees that may be planted, set out or grown on said premises at any time previous to or during the term of this lease, shall be deemed fixtures and shall not be removable under any circumstances or at any time.

That said Tenant will cultivate and manage said land in a good and husband-like manner, that he will pull out clean out and destroy all burrs, thistles and other weeds on said land by the first of September in each year. That he will take care of, cultivate, protect and maintain all hedgerows, fences, fruit and other trees that now are, or may hereafter be planted on said land. That he will trim all hedges on said land by the first of January in each and every year during this lease and burn the brush. That he will at his or their own expense, keep open, cleanse, plow, scrape and dig out all ditches and drains that now are, or may hereafter be made on said land, by the first day of October in each and every year during this lease; and in case of failure to keep open, cleanse, plow, scrape and dig out said ditches, trim said hedge-rows, and pull out and destroy the burrs, thistles and other weeds, respectively, as aforesaid, the said Tenant agrees to pay said Landlord Seventy-five cents per rod for the ditches, twenty-five cents per rod for the hedges, and two dollars per acre for land in burrs and weeds, as damages for such failure in addition to the rent hereby reserved, such damages to be recoverable by the said Landlord in the same manner as rent in arrears. That said Tenant will not permit or suffer cattle or other animals, to feed upon the stalks standing on said land, said stalks being reserved to the Landlord; and that he will deliver up said premises to the said Landlord in good order and condition as they now are, at the end or other sooner determination of the period for which the same are let, reasonable wear and tear only excepted.

That said Tenant will pay said Landlord on the first day of August, in each and every year of this lease, the proportionate amount of the rent hereinbefore reserved, on all land that may have been sown to small grain the spring or fall preceding. And it is hereby further covenanted and agreed, that said Landlord reserves and retains to himself or his agents the right of entry upon said land, for the purpose of fall plowing, any ground which may have been sown to small grains the Spring or Fall preceeding the expiration or other sooner determination of this lease, and also of sowing wheat in the corn growing on said land.

It is further expressly agreed between the parties hereto, that if default shall be made in the payment of the rents above reserved or any part thereof, or any of the covenants or agreements herein contained to be kept by the said Tenant, it shall be lawful for the Landlord or his legal representatives, into and upon said premises or any part thereof, either with or without process of law to re-enter and re-possess the same at the election of the Landlord, and to distrain for any rent that may be due thereon upon any property belonging to the Tenant. And in order to enforce a forfeiture for non-payment of rent it shall not be necessary to make a demand on the same day the rent shall become due, but a failure to pay the same at the time aforesaid or a demand and a refusal to pay on the same day, or at any time on any subsequent day shall be sufficient; and after such default shall be made, the Tenant and all persons in possession under him shall be deemed guilty of a forcible detainer of said premises under the statute.

Nothing in this lease contained shall confer upon the Tenant any right to the coals, minerals, oils and quarries underlying said land, or any part thereof; but the same are hereby expressly reserved by the Landlord, together with full right, liberty and land room, to him to enter upon the premises and to bore, search, and excavate for the same, to work and remove the same, and to deposit excavated rubbish; and with full liberty to pass over said premises with vehicles, and to lay down and work any such railroad track or tracks as may be necessary and convenient for the above purposes; said Landlord, however, agreeing to deduct from the annual rent "pro-rata" for the land so taken by him or his assigns for said uses.

And it is further covenanted and agreed between the parties hereto, that all the rent herein reserved and agreed to be paid shall constitute and be a lien upon all the crops growing or made on said land during any of the time for which said premises are leased as aforesaid.

And the said Tenant hereby waives the benefit of the Exemption, Valuation and Appraisement Laws of the State of Kansas for the rent herein reserved.

Any assignment of this lease or underletting of said land or any part thereof without the written assent of the Landlord or his duly authorized agents first obtained shall operate to immediately determine this lease, without notice from the Landlord and the rent for the then current year and all arrears of rent shall become immediately due and payable.

The covenants herein shall extend to and be binding upon the heirs, executors and administrators of the parties to this lease. Witness the hands and seals of the parties aforesaid, the 1st day of April, 1893.

Witness:

ALBERT H. WOLFF
L. PFISTER

WILLIAM SCULLY (H. S.)
By Koehnle & Trapp.
His Attorneys in fact.
HENRY W. FISHER (H.S.)⁸⁸

For valuable consideration I hereby surrender all my rights, title and interest to the within lease after August 24, 1894.

Done this 25th day of August 1894.

HENRY W. FISHER

⁸⁸. Lease filed June 17, 1893, at 8 a. m.—"Miscellaneous Record," Marion county, v. 4, pp. 75-79.

VI. ONE OF THE FORMS OF FARM LEASES USED IN KANSAS ON SCULLY LAND IN 1947

John C. Scully, Trustee for William Scully (hereinafter called the Landlord), hereby rents to John Doe (hereinafter called the Tenant—), the following tract of land, in County of Marion and State of Kansas, towit:

[Description of land]

Supposed to contain ——— acres; excepting, however, any part or parts thereof which may have been, or may hereafter be condemned or taken for Public Highways, or given, granted or taken for Railroads, School Houses, or other public uses; with full liberty for entry, egress and regress at all times for the said Landlord, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, and for his or their agent or agents, and all persons authorized by him or them without being liable for any damages done to crops or fences of said Tenant—: TO HOLD (subject to all and singular the conditions, restrictions, and limitations hereinafter mentioned), for the term of ——— one ——— year—, from and after the first day of March, A. D. 194—, or so soon thereafter as the present Tenant or Tenants occupying said premises, or any portion of them, shall give possession of the same, and ending on the last day of February, A. D. 194—.

And in consideration thereof, the said Tenant— undertakes, promises and agrees as follows:

To pay the said Landlord the following sums, and to do and perform the following things, as rent for said premises:

On the first day of ———, A. D. 19—, \$———
(—————DOLLARS).

On the first day of December, A. D. 194—, \$———
(—————DOLLARS).

And likewise in addition to said several sums of money aforesaid as part of said rent to pay yearly to said Landlord, at the several and respective times of payment aforesaid, the full amount of all taxes or assessments, general or special, of every kind or nature whatsoever, made, levied or assessed upon or against said land or any part thereof, for and during the period of this lease, for the year 194—. And further to pay interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum upon the amount of said rent and taxes from the time they are herein made payable until the same are fully paid.

And the said Tenant— further agrees that if, during any year of his lease, or extensions or renewal thereof, any portion of the rent reserved for such year shall remain due and unpaid at the commencement of the next succeeding rental year, then and in that event, the portion of the rent remaining due and unpaid, with interest as herein provided, shall be added to and become a part of the rent for such succeeding year.

That said Tenant— will pay said Landlord on the first day of August, in each and every year of this lease, the proportionate amount of the rent hereinbefore reserved, on all land that may have been sown to small grain the spring or fall preceding. And it is hereby further covenanted and agreed, that said Landlord reserves and retains to himself or his agents, or any person by him thereunto authorized, the right of entry upon said land, for the purpose

of fall plowing, any ground which may have been in small grain the crop season preceding the expiration or other sooner determination of this lease, and also of sowing wheat in the corn growing on said land.

It is further expressly agreed between the parties hereto, that if default shall be made in the payment of the rents above reserved, or any part thereof, or any of the covenants or agreements herein contained to be kept by said Tenant—, it shall be unlawful for the Landlord or his legal representatives, to enter into and upon said premises, or any part thereof, either with or without process of law, to re-enter and re-possess the same at the election of the Landlord, and to distrain for any rent that be due thereon upon any property belonging to the Tenant—. And in order to enforce a forfeiture for non-payment of rent, it shall not be necessary to make a demand on the same day the rent shall become due; but a failure to pay the same at the time aforesaid or a demand and refusal to pay on the same day, or at any time on any subsequent day, shall be sufficient; and after default shall be made, the Tenant— and all persons in possession under —him shall be deemed guilty of a forcible detainer of said premises under the statute.

And it is further covenanted and agreed between the parties hereto, that all the rent herein reserved and agreed to be paid, shall constitute and be a lien upon all the crops growing or made on said land during any of the time for which said premises are leased as aforesaid; and upon any and all teams, farming implements, fences, buildings and chattel improvements and machinery owned by said Tenant— and used on said land during said time; and that this lease may be filed at the proper office, and will be a chattel mortgage on said property for said purpose.

Any assignment of this lease, or underletting of said land or any part thereof, without the written assent of the Landlord or his duly authorized agents first obtained, shall operate to immediately determine this lease, without notice from the Landlord, and the rent for the then current year and all arrears of rent shall become immediately due and payable. And it is further agreed between the parties hereto, that the Landlord, shall he deem it necessary may, at the cost and expense of the Tenant—, employ men, teams and machinery to go upon said premises and cultivate the crops and harvest them, or to do anything that is necessary to promote their growth or save them at any time before they are in the granaries, the whole expense of the same to be a lien upon the said Tenant's share of said crop.

That the said Landlord is not liable to make or erect any houses, fences, or other improvements whatsoever on or about said lands, nor to be liable to contribute in any way to the making, erecting or repairing of any such houses, fences or other improvements; nor to allow for the same; nor to be responsible for any damage that may arise or be done through any want of or deficiency in the same; the said Tenant— taking said premises as the(y) are, and being permitted to make all such improvements as —he— may deem necessary for the efficient cultivation of said land and for the protection of the crops at his own exclusive cost and expense. But the said Landlord hereby agrees, that upon the expiration of the term of this lease, and upon the rent and taxes herein provided for being fully paid, and the other promises and undertakings herein written having been done, kept and performed by said Tenant— (but

not otherwise), that he, the said Landlord, will consent to the removal of all buildings, fences or other chattels made or erected by said Tenant— upon said, or belonging to —him— thereon, PROVIDED, that said removal be made promptly; all buildings, fences or other improvements thereon belonging to the Landlord, and all additions or repairs that may be made or done to the same during this lease and any hedges or live fence, fruit or other trees that may be planted, set out or grown on said premises at any time previous to or during the term of this lease, shall be deemed fixtures by both parties hereto and shall not be removable under any circumstances or at any time. The Tenant— shall not cut or remove any trees of any kind without the written consent of the Landlord or his agents.

Nothing in this lease contained shall confer upon the Tenant— any right to the Coal, Minerals, Sand, Gravel, Mines, Oils and Quarries underlying said land, or any part thereof; but the same are hereby expressly reserved by the Landlord, together with full right, liberty and land room to him, to enter upon the premises to bore, search, and excavate for the same, to work and remove the same, and to deposit excavated rubbish; and with full liberty over said premises with vehicles, and to lay down and work any such railroad track or tracks as may be necessary and convenient for the above purposes: said Landlord, however, agreeing to deduct from the annual rent “pro-rata” for the land so taken, by him or his assigns for said uses. It is agreed between the parties hereto, that this lease is made and accepted subject to the reservation: That, if any portion of said land is leased for oil or gas operations, or either of them, by the Landlord, this lease shall be abrogated and surrendered as to rights of the tenants, as to said portion of said land, but a proportionate abatement of the rent for the land leased for said oil and gas operations shall be made by the Landlord.

That said Tenant— will cultivate and manage said land in a good and husbandlike manner. That —he— will pull out, clean out and destroy all burrs, thistles, sunflowers and other weeds on said land and pasture and the public road adjoining by the first of August in each year. That —he— will, on or before the first day of August in each and every year of this lease, mow or plow all lands sown to small grain. That —he— will take care of, cultivate, protect and maintain all hedgerows, fences, fruit and other trees that now are, or may hereafter be planted on said land by the first day of January in each year during the lease and burn the brush. That —he— will at his or their own expense, keep open, cleanse, plow, scrape, and dig out all ditches and drains that now are or may hereafter be made on said land, by the first day of October in each year during this lease; and that —he— will deliver up said premises to the said Landlord in good order and condition as they now are, at the end or other sooner determination of the period for which the same are let, reasonable wear and tear only excepted. That said Tenant— will not sublet, remove, sell or dispose of the stalks standing on said land, but shall have full pasture privileges for —his— own livestock. That —he— will not suffer, allow or permit any horses, hogs, cattle or other livestock to feed, run or be herded on said land when the ground is soft and would be injured thereby.

And the said Tenant— further agrees that —he— will sow at least ——— acres of said land in small grain such as wheat, oats, rye, flax, or millet, in each and every year during the continuance of this lease.

And the said Tenant— agrees to sow, or if already sown, to keep growing and maintain at least ——— acres of said land in alfalfa during —his— tenure of this lease and any extension or renewal thereof; and no rent shall be remitted for alfalfa plowed under. No permanent pasture or meadow shall be broken up, without the written consent of the Landlord or his Agents.

The said Tenant— will sow in clover or sweet clover, either in oats or alone, at least one eighth of said premises exclusive of land in house lots, orchard or permanent pasture, for the purpose of changing and resting the land. The legume crop, herein required to be sown, shall not be plowed under sooner than eighteen months from the time the same was sown. The Landlord agrees that every acre of the above required legume crop plowed under, the rent at the rate above specified shall be remitted, and the Tenant— may pasture or graze said legume crop, or cut same for use on said land only. But none of the legume crop, except the seed shall be sold or removed from the land. The Tenant— agrees to pay an additional rent of \$5.00 per acre for each acre of the required amount of legumes not grown and turned under as herein provided. Corn shall not be planted on any land where corn was grown during the two years next preceding.

For soil conservation, prevention of erosion and maintenance of soil fertility, the tenant agrees to seed brome and legumes or native grasses, in all waterways and gullies and on any other areas designated by the landlord or his agents, and to help and cooperate in the establishment of grass waterways and the prevention of erosion, as directed by the landlord or his agents. For such waterways, gullies and erosion prevention areas established in grass, to the satisfaction of the landlord or his agents, the landlord agrees to allow a credit of \$—— per acre for one year only. Any area once established in grass under the provisions of this paragraph shall be deemed permanent grass land and a penalty of \$10—— per acre will be assessed against the tenant for plowing up or disrupting any such area without the written consent of the landlord or his agents. The tenant may pasture, graze, cut for hay or seed, such legume and grass crops, only after the same, in the sole opinion of the landlord or his agents, is well established but no hay may be removed from the premises without the written consent of the landlord or his agents. Any such area shall not be included as crop rotation land.

The Tenant— further agrees to seed brome and legumes, or native grasses, in all waterways and gullies as directed by the Landlord or his Agents, and to help and coöperate in the establishment of grass aprons, waterways and prevention of erosion. Any such area shall not be included as crop rotation land. For such waterways and gullies established in grass, the Landlord agrees to allow credit of \$—— per acre for one year only. Damages of \$—— per acre will be charged against the tenant for plowing up or disrupting any waterways or gullies that have been established in grass, without the written consent of the Landlord or his Agents.

For eradication of bindweed and other perennial noxious growths the Landlord agrees to allow a credit of \$—— per acre for —— acres of infested land, provided an approved method of eradication is employed by the tenant, and subject to the inspection and approval of the Landlord or his Agents. Land designated for bindweed eradication hereunder shall not be eligible for abatement or rent remittance under the terms of either of the two preceding para-

graphs. In no case shall credit or rent remittance be made in excess of — for each 160 acres under lease, for brome and legume crops established, for waterways and gullies seeded or bindweed tracts brought under treatment, for any single year.

The Tenant accepts this lease with full knowledge of the danger which might arise from the present or any future electric line construction, fixtures and equipment, and assumes all risk thereof and agrees to indemnify and hold harmless the Landlord from any loss, damage, costs or expense arising therefrom or out of any injury resulting therefrom to any person or persons.

Nothing in this lease contained shall be construed to create a tenancy longer than the one year term herein specified.

And the said Tenant— hereby waives the benefit of the Exemption, Valuation And Appraisement Laws of the State of Kansas for the rent herein reserved.

And it is further mutually agreed that this lease merges all prior promises, agreements, or understandings, as to the contract between the parties thereto, and that this contract shall not be altered or changed, except in writing endorsed hereon and signed by the parties hereto; that no act of either or both parties, or a holding over, shall be construed as an extension of this lease, unless the same shall be reduced to writing and signed by both parties hereto.

Said Tenant— agrees to use said premises for farming and grazing purposes only and that the same will not be used for any other purpose.

The covenants herein shall extend to and be binding upon the heirs, executors and administrators of the parties to this lease.

WITNESS the hands and seals of the parties in triplicate, this — day of — A. D. 194—.

WITNESS:

_____ SEAL
_____ SEAL
_____ SEAL

THIS MEMORANDUM, made and entered into this day, witnesseth: That — the Lessee— in the within lease, and whose name— subscribed hereto, by and with the consent of Landlord, the Lessor herein, ha— sold to — whose name— also appear— subscribed hereto, all the buildings, fences and chattels on the demised premises, belonging to the said Lessee—; and hereby undertake, promise— and agree— to and with the said Landlord, to do and perform, stand to and abide by all and singular the covenants, undertakings, promises and agreements to be done upon, kept and performed by the said original Lessee— as in said lease written, and hereby acknowledge — sel— bound by all and singular the conditions, limitations, restrictions, penalties and forfeitures therein contained, in the same manner and to the same extent as if — he— were the original Lessee— therein.

Dated at — this — day of — A. D. 194—.

The consent of the Landlord is hereby given to the foregoing transfer. Dated at Lincoln, Ill., this — day of — A. D. 194—.

By _____ His Attorneys in fact.

VII. A FORM OF HAY AND GRAZING LEASE USED ON
SCULLY LAND IN 1947

THIS INDENTURE, made this _____ day of _____ 194— between John C. Scully, Trustee for William Scully, party of the first part, and John Doe, County of Marion, State of Kansas, party of the second part.

WITNESSETH, That the said party of the first part, in consideration of the covenants of the party of the second part, hereinafter set forth, does by these presents lease to said party of the second part, the following described property, to:

[Description of the land.]

Supposed to contain _____ acres.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD THE SAME to the said party of the second part for the term of one year from the first day of March, 194— to the last day of February, 194—. And the said party of the second part, in consideration of the leasing the premises as above set forth, covenants and agrees with the party of the first part, to pay said party of the first part, as rent for the same, the sum of _____ Dollars, and the taxes assessed against said land for the year 194—, payable as follows, to wit:

On the first day of _____ 194—, the sum of _____ and taxes assessed against said land for the year 194—.

And further, to pay interest at the rate of — per cent. per annum upon the said amounts, from the time they are herein made payable, until the same are fully paid.

The said party of the second part further covenants with said party of the first part, that at the expiration of the time mentioned in this lease, peaceable possession of the said premises shall be given to the said party of the first part may, at his election, either distrain for said rent due, or declare this lease at an end, and recover possession as if the same were held by forcible detainer; the party of the second part hereby waiving any notice of such election, or any demand for the possession of said premises. And it is further covenanted and agreed between the parties aforesaid that said land shall be used for haying and grazing purposes only.

And the Tenant hereby give— to the Landlord a lien upon the fences and all improvements on said premises, and in default of the payment of the rent reserved when due, the Landlord or his agent or agents may sell the same at public sale after ten days notice, and apply the proceeds thereof, after payment of the costs of sale, to the payment of the rent due under this lease.

No greater number of cattle shall be pastured on said land than in the ratio of one head to each — acres of land, and in case the Tenant shall surcharge said pasture, —he— agree— to pay double the amount of rent herein reserved as agreed and liquidated damages.

The said Tenant— hereby waive— the benefit of the Exemption, Valuation and Appraisalment Laws of the State of Kansas to secure the payment of the rent herein reserved.

The Landlord reserves from this lease all rights to coal, minerals, oils, gas, and quarries, underlying said lands, with full right to search, bore and drill for the same, a ratable deduction of the rent being made for land so used by the Landlord.

The Tenant— agree— to keep all weeds mowed in the pasture and along the highway and to keep the hedges trimmed.

In case of severe drouth causing shortage of feed or water, the Tenant— agrees to remove all stock upon request of Landlord or his agents, ratable adjustment of rent being allowed by Landlord for unexpired portion of said grazing season.

The covenants herein shall extend to and be binding upon the heirs, executors and administrators of the parties to this lease.

Witness the hands and seals of parties aforesaid.

_____ SEAL
_____ SEAL
_____ SEAL

Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855-1860

DONALD W. STEWART

I. INTRODUCTION

THE article which follows was written in his 76th year by my grandfather, Watson Stewart, who settled in Allen county nearly 100 years ago as a stockholder in the ill-fated Kansas Vegetarian Colony. This account is presented without editing as it appears in his personal memoirs, a record which continued his life story to 1904 and covered most of an active life of 83 years, prominently identified with the history of Kansas.

Watson Stewart was the son of Joseph and Mary (Coe) Stewart. He was born in Miami county, Ohio, in 1827, the eldest of four children. His mother died when he was about eight, and his father died when he was 13. At 16, Stewart set out to make his own way in the world. He learned to carve marble by serving for several years as an apprentice to monument makers. In the spring of 1849 he began work in the marble shop of a Mr. Clark in Lafayette, Ind. During the summer, a cholera epidemic took the lives of many of the town's citizens, including Stewart's employer, and also the owner of Lafayette's other monument firm. That fall, Stewart and a friend named Grosvenor formed a marbleworks partnership. The firm prospered and two years later Stewart, then 25, married Elizabeth Tipton, aged 19. A daughter Cynthia was born to them in December, 1852; and in February, 1854, they had a son whom they named Frank. Also, in this latter year, Watson Stewart's brother Samuel came to live with them. The brothers read about the new territory of Kansas which was formed in 1854, and talked of migrating there. Watson Stewart was particularly interested because he had for some time wanted to engage in farming.

The section from the memoirs, printed here, tells of the removal of the Stewarts to Kansas, and of their pioneer experiences in the territory during the years between 1855 and 1860.

The homestead referred to still exists in Cottage Grove township in southern Allen county. "Stewart Lake" still borders Highway 75

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about four miles south of Humboldt; and the home Watson Stewart himself erected on that site still stands.

This pioneer Kansan was the father of 10 children. His seven sons survived him but his three daughters died in childhood, due in part to the rigors of pioneer life in Kansas. He served as a major in the Kansas territorial militia in the days of border warfare; and he was a member of the upper house of the Kansas territorial legislature when the territory became a state. He represented Allen county in the lower house of the legislature in 1865. He twice served as registrar of the federal land office at Humboldt, by appointments from Presidents Lincoln and Grant. When the Osage strip, extending through southern Kansas 200 miles east and west, by 50 miles north and south, was first opened to settlement, he was privileged to make homestead entry No. 1 by virtue of being the individual in that entire area of longest continuous residence. His brother, Samuel, made entry No. 2. Watson Stewart died in 1910. He is buried at Humboldt, and in that vicinity many of his relatives still live.

II. WATSON STEWART'S MEMOIRS: 1855-1860

During the summer of 1855 we learned of the formation of a company called the "Vegetarian Settlement Company", organized for the purpose of making a settlement in Kansas.¹ Its officers were Charles H. De Wolf of Philadelphia, President; John McLauren, Treasurer; and Henry S. Clubb of New York, Secretary. The purpose and plan of operation of this company may be understood from the following extract from a circular issued by the officers, dated December 1, 1855, in connection with a few articles of their constitution:

Art. 2 The Company shall be conducted on the mutual joint-stock principle, for the equal benefit of all the members, and to protect each other from the impositions of speculators and monopolists, by raising sufficient funds to start with efficient machinery, implements and provisions.

Art. 4 Persons of good moral character, who shall be approved by the board of directors, whether male or female, who are not slaveholders, may become members of the company, on paying \$1.00 entrance fee, and an installment of 10 cents per share, on not less than twenty shares. Each member may subsequently purchase additional shares, no member, however, shall be allowed to hold more than 240 shares at any one time. Each person, on becoming a member must agree to sign the following declaration upon entering the settlement:

1. For supplementary information on this colony, see Russell Hickman's article, "The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2, pp. 377-385.

"I do voluntarily agree to abstain from all intoxicating liquors as beverages, from tobacco in every form, and from the flesh of animals; promote social, moral and political freedom; to maintain the observance of all good and righteous laws, and to otherwise conform to the rules adopted by a majority of the Vegetarian Settlement Company."

The capital stock of the Company consisted of shares of from \$5.00 up, each equal in number to the acres of land located. The circular of December 1, 1855, referred to, says in part:

In September last, Dr. John McLauren, as one of the directors, proceeded to explore Kansas Territory, and after spending several weeks traveling along the Kansas, Osage and other rivers, he came to the conclusion that a fine site on the Neosho river, between latitude 38 degrees and the boundary line of the Osage Indian lands, and between 18 and 19 degrees longitude west from Washington, would be the best location for the Vegetarian Settlement. He, accordingly took possession of a claim, comprising excellent water privileges. The river, at this point is very rapid, and for ten months in the year, the water is sufficiently abundant to make it serviceable for mill power. It is free from any bad taste, and is very soft. There is sufficient amount of timber to serve the purposes of settlers, until additional timber can be grown. Coal, limestone and sandstone, suitable for grindstones, etc., and abundant springs of pure water are interspersed throughout a fine rolling prairie; and the land comprises an excellent vegetable mold, loam, etc., to a great depth, with a gravelly, and in some instances, rocky substratum. The scenery is beautiful, and the surface undulating like the waves of the ocean subsiding after a storm. The banks of the river are from 15 to 30 feet high, so that a milldam can be easily constructed without causing an overflow. Altogether, it does not appear that a more suitable site could be found for the purpose of the Company.

The aim of this company, and its plan of operations, as set forth, seemed feasible; and in accord with our views, and from what we learned of the promoters through the New York Tribune, and the "Phrenological Journal", my brother and I took stock in it, and at once began preparations to go with the company to Kansas.

In the early spring of 1856, I sold out my business to John W. Pampell. We had a wagon made to order, bought a team of fine young horses, and early in March my brother started overland with wagon, team and outfit for camping. It was his purpose to drive to St. Louis, and there meet with other members of the company, and together to proceed overland to Kansas. He was then to return to Jefferson City, Missouri, where myself and family (having journeyed thus far by public conveyance) would meet him and proceed by team to our destination.

Having arranged all matters for our departure, on April 17th my wife, her mother, our children and myself, took passage on a steamer to Terre Haute, having shipped our household goods to St. Louis.

We stayed over night in Terre Haute, and from there went by rail to Champaign, Illinois, in the vicinity of which we spent several days visiting with friends. Leaving there, we went via Springfield to St. Louis, stopping for a day and a night; and from there by rail to Jefferson City, at that time the western terminus of the only railroad in the state. We arrived there on the 27th or 28th of April, as agreed upon with my brother, and found him waiting for us.

The information he brought was very encouraging, as to the country, but he did not like the appearance of such of the company as he had seen, nor of the arrangements made on the company's location for the comfort of its members. He had met our secretary, Mr. Clubb, and found that he was a man of no experience of Western life and a new country, and was, in his opinion, unfitted to manage the affairs of the company.

We had paid, I think, two ten cent assessments on our stock, and another due, but I have forgotten what amount of stock we then had. We concluded to withhold further payments until our arrival on the ground and decided as to our future action, after an examination of the conditions as we might find them.

Anxious to hasten on our journey, we set out on the same afternoon on our way to our Kansas home. Hitherto we had traveled by steamer on the river and by railroad, with all the comforts attending such travel. The spring season was on, all nature was smiling, wood and landscape were all in beautiful green, and we were starting out with joyous feelings. On each side of our road were well improved farms, with fine houses and surroundings. The day was bright and warm, and we hoped to get out into the country a short distance and find a good camping place, and stop there for the night. However, just a little before night, there suddenly came up a hard thunder storm, the rain falling in torrents, but our wagon cover was good and we did not get wet. On account of the rain, and as that was our first night out, we began to look for a place where we could get accommodations in some house, and take some more favorable time for our first camping. While it was yet raining, a gentleman on horseback caught up with us and entered into conversation, and as we neared his residence, he very politely invited us to go into his house and await the slackening of the rain, which offer we very gladly accepted.

He had a beautiful home, nicely set about with shrubbery and flowering plants. He was a Southerner, with some slaves. After a time, as it was nearing night and the rain had nearly ceased, we

suggested a desire to remain overnight, stating the fact that we were not very well equipped for camping out. To this suggestion he very politely informed us that he could not accomodate us, but that he thought the rain would soon slack up, and that at a house a ways beyond we could get in for the night. So, the rain ceasing for a time, we resumed our journey, only to meet with like receptions, until darkness began to shut down upon us. We were becoming quite discouraged when we came to a rather indifferent looking house, to which we had been sent by the man to whom we had last supplied for entertainment, and had been refused. We found the family were "renters", with scant room for their own large family, but on learning of our situation, they at once gave us a hearty welcome with such accomodations as they could offer, saying that they were not prepared to properly care for us, but that they could not turn women and children out in such a night as that. We learned that they were not native Missourians, and we made the best of the opportunity thankfully, and in the morning, it having cleared off, we went on our way.

For the future, we provided ourselves with provisions, and as a rule, when night came, went into camp. We had no tent, the wagon cover was very good and would shed rain quite well. We had plenty of bedding, and the wagon offered a lodging place for the women and children, Samuel and I sleeping under the wagon, on the ground.

For about a week the weather was very unsettled, raining more or less nearly every day or night. I think on the second night we camped just at the bottom of a hill, near a small creek and where the ground was dry. During the night, there came a hard, flooding rainstorm. Samuel and I were lying under the wagon, where the water soon came rushing down the hill and driving us out of our sleeping place, and for the balance of that night we were camped in front of the wagon, inside, but with no chance for sleep.

The heavy rains soon made some of the streams impassable, and some times we pushed through swollen streams that were unsafe, but we met with no serious mishaps. When we had been about a week on the road we reached the vicinity of the Osage river at Pappinville. There was a bridge across the river at this point, but the river had overflowed the bottom land on the other side for about seven miles, and finding that it would be impossible for us to proceed further, we were fortunate in getting into a house with a family by the name of Dewese, who gave us a room with the privilege of using their stove for cooking. Here we put in eight days while waiting for the fall

of the water. Mr. Dewese was a Northern man and had no slaves, he owned a very good farm.

We were now nearing the Kansas line. There were but few slaves in this part of Missouri, most of the people having come from the North. Hitherto we had passed through parts where there were numerous slaves, but we never sought conversation with them, and if at any time we had occasion to speak with them, we were careful as to what was said. In our conversation with the slave-holders, we were equally careful not to give offense, yet we never represented ourselves as holding other than Anti-Slavery sentiments. This course on our part seemed judicious, for the reason that just then excitement ran very high, and by the Missourian, persons passing through the state from the North to Kansas were not generally looked upon with favor. We, however, never had reason to fear any trouble from an expression of our political opinions.

While waiting here we bought three yokes of oxen, finding that they were cheaper here than in Kansas, and knowing that we would need them for breaking the prairie.

It was about the 15th of May when the water had fallen so that we could cross the river and again proceed on our way. Our delay had put us about a week or ten days behind the time we had set for our arrival at our destination. When we crossed the river on the bridge, we found ourselves on a "bottom" road, on much of which the water was still from one to two feet deep and all very bad, making our progress very slow. In places the pulling was very hard and through mud and water, so that we had to attach one yoke of oxen with the horses in order to make any headway. As it was, we found ourselves still in the mud and water when darkness began to shut us in. The road was through timber, very muddy and crooked, and we began to fear that we would not get out that night. Looking forward, we could see the lights from a house just outside the timber, maybe half a mile distant. Samuel took out one of the horses and rode out to see if we could secure houseroom for the night. Finding we could, and as we were all tired and worn out and hungry, he arranged with the woman to have us some supper prepared against our arrival. On his return, we took two horses, Samuel getting on one and I on the other, each of us taking on a woman behind and a child before, and thus we made our way out of that veritable "slough of despond". We turned the oxen loose, and started them ahead of us, expecting them to go to the prairie and graze on the grass, and that we would find them there in the morn-

ing. We had a regular backwoods supper, which we greatly relished and enjoyed a good night's sleep, feeling that our travel troubles were over.

On getting up in the morning, we found two yoke of oxen on the prairie, but one yoke was nowhere to be seen. After a time we thought that we had found their tracks leading back on the way we had come, and following on that distance of six or seven miles, through that miserable road of mud and water, we came to the bridge, and there they were—quietly lying down. Having an aversion to going upon a bridge, they had laid down on dry ground of the approach. By the time we got them back and the wagon out upon dry ground, it was late in the afternoon, and we concluded to remain another night where we were. Here the woman of the house was kind enough to entertain our women with all kinds of stories of snakes, skunks, and wild-cats; filling their minds with great fear as to their future in the wild country.

The next morning was clear and warm, the sun shone brightly, and we started again upon our journey with high hopes of reaching the Kansas border during that day; the road was still muddy, so that our progress was slow, but in the afternoon we passed out of Missouri and into Kansas and camped for the night upon a small creek two or three miles northeast of Fort Scott. Here we remained for one day, Samuel going into town to secure necessary supplies.

We were now within about fifty miles of our destination, which we hoped to reach within a couple of days. Our next day's travel was over a beautiful country, with here and there a settler along the streams, but with but little in the way of a road other than an Indian trail. That night we camped on the head of Elm Creek, a little timber along the same but no settler in sight. The night was beautiful, a clear balmy Kansas spring night with light of a full moon. After supper my wife and I were walking a little distance from the camp admiring the beauties of the scenery, when not far away in the timber we heard the sharp cry of a panther or a catamount. The cry is startling and sounds much like a human cry. We sought the camp without any unnecessary delay, and some of the more timid were more or less nervous during the remainder of the night, but we heard nothing further of its cry.

The next day we followed the course of Elm Creek, there being no wagon road. About noon we came to a new town called "Cofachiqui", located near the Neosho river and about two miles south of where Iola was afterwards located. The place was occupied at

that time mostly by a company of Colonel Buford's men from Georgia, who had a few slaves, and coming with the avowed purpose of assisting to make Kansas a slave state. The legislature had designated the place as the County seat of Allen County, and at that time the settlers of the village and the surrounding country were nearly all "pro-slavery" in sentiment.

We did not like the appearance of these people, but passed on down the Neosho river that evening, reaching a point just a little south of where Humboldt now is, and near a settler by the name of Henry Bennett, where we camped for the night. Mr. Bennett was the only settler near there, and we passed only two or three during the day outside of those in the village of Cofachiqui. Mr. Bennett had come from Tennessee and was a strong "Free-State" man.

We were now within five miles of our destination, and on the next day, May 20th, we reached the "promised land". We were not so badly disappointed as some others of our company, from the fact that Samuel had informed us as to what we might expect. As voicing the general feeling of the members of our company on the ground before our arrival, I give the following from Mrs. Colt's book "Went to Kansas". She and her family arrived in the settlement about a week before our coming. Speaking of their arrival, she says:

We leave our wagons and make our way to a large camp fire. It is surrounded by men and women cooking their supper, while others are busy close by grinding their hominy in hand mills. Look about and see the grounds all around the camp fire are covered with tents in which the families are staying. Not a house is to be seen. The ladies tell us they are sorry to see us come to this place, which plainly shows us that all is not right. Can anyone imagine our disappointment on learning from this and that member, that no mills have been built; that the directors, after receiving our money to build mills, have not fulfilled the trust reposed in them, and that in consequence, some families have already left the settlement? For a moment let me contrast the two pictures; the one we had made provision for and had reason to believe would be presented to us, with the one that meets our eyes. We expected that a sawmill would be in operation, a grist mill building, and a temporary boarding house erected to receive families as they come into the settlement until their own houses could be built. As it is, we find the families, some living in tents of cloth, some of cloth and green bark just peeled from the trees, and some wholly of green bark, stuck upon the damp ground without floors or fires.

Only two stoves in the company. These intelligent, but too confiding families have come from the North, East, South and West to make pleasant homes; and now are determined to turn right-about and start again on a journey, some know not where. Others have

invested their all in the company; now come lost means and blighted hopes.

Sufficient to say that we found conditions in no manner improved; one log house 16 x 16 feet, without floor, had been built, and was called the "Center House." It was located on the east side of the creek named "Vegetarian Creek." In this the Colt family was living; Mr. Clubb occupied an old Indian wigwam covered with tenting cloth south of the Center House. A family named Adams lived in a log and bark shack a little north; the Broadbents were living in a cloth shack southwest near the river; and a Mr. Herriman and family were in a similar shack near Mr. Clubb. He and wife, with one child, had come from St. Louis in the wagon with Samuel, and while on the road, Mrs. Herriman gave birth to a child, only detaining them two days.

Others of the company were in a large tent, pitched on the high ground northeast of the old ford of the river. We availed ourselves, for the time being, of the shelter of this tent, in connection with the wagon cover.

One great difficulty with most of the members of the company was their inability to adapt themselves to conditions unavoidable in frontier life. Their expectations were too great as to the comforts and conveniences to be found under such conditions. They were mostly from the far East; mechanics, professional men, and men from offices and stores in the cities, and altogether unable to adjust themselves to a frontier life.

After spending one day in conversation with Mr. Clubb, our Secretary, and other members of the company on the ground, we became convinced that the company would prove a failure. We looked over the surrounding country for a few days, and were well pleased with the general appearance of the land, and resolved to remain. We bought a claimant out, who had selected a location just outside "Vegetarian Settlement", on the northwest, for which we paid him about \$100 in a yoke of oxen. The site for the building, in a beautiful grove on high ground, we thought the most beautiful of any in all the country. But I will again quote from Mrs. Colt's book, "Went to Kansas":

The Stewart's have located their claim west from here; and are building their cabin on a high prairie swell, where nature had planted the walnut and oak just sparsely enough for both beauty and shade. Just back, and south of the cabin, is a ledge of shelving rocks where many berry bushes have taken root in the vegetable mould in their crevices, and are clinging for support to their craggy sides; grapevines clamber over rock, shrub and tree. There is a

natural cut through the ledge, and an Indian trail leading down to a quiet little lake, sleeping among the tall grass, whose waters abound in fish and clams. The whole view is beautifully picturesque.

This site, we named "Cottage Grove", which name has been retained ever since. The Township in which it is situated, also bears the same name.

In reaching this period of my life, it now looks to me, as my life work. Hitherto I had led a fairly comfortable, even course in life; had, for a number of years been engaged in a business congenial and fairly profitable; was happy in my family life, with wife and two children, all of whom had always lived in a city surrounded with friends and most of the comforts of life. Here, we were on the frontier of civilization—indeed, just over the borderland; far away from a post office, and over 100 miles from any town of importance. The nearest being Kansas City. There was neither church nor school, and surrounded by strange, and for the most part, an uncongenial company of uncongenial spirits, united in a common effort to secure freedom for Kansas and build up a strong colony of intelligent, temperate, liberal minded, right-living people, who would at once, by their combined efforts, secure schools, churches, mills, post office and all the slow process usual in the settling of a new country.

We found a majority of the company entirely unfitted to cooperate in securing the desired results; too many came without means, expecting to get employment from the company; those who had some means were so disposed to withdraw from the company, not willing to entrust their money with persons whom they found to be impracticable in methods of business. Of the officers, only the Secretary, Mr. Clubb, was on the ground. He had brought a small supply of groceries for the use of the company, such as sugar, rice, beans, crackers, dried and canned fruits. Some of the people thought that he had misappropriated the funds entrusted to him. I did not have that opinion of him, but I believed that he did not have the practical ability to manage the affairs of the company successfully. He was wholly unacquainted with Western life; he was an Englishman, about thirty years of age, with a wife but no children; had been connected with the New York Tribune, I think as a reporter, and knew nothing outside of office work.

We, therefore, concluded to put nothing more into the company, but as we had "cut loose" from our Eastern relations, and had "burned the bridges" behind us, we would remain in the country; having literally followed the advice of Horace Greeley, so often read,

and "Gone West", we would now try to "grow up with the country."

It was now late in May and our first thought was to break up some prairie and get some things planted; corn, pumpkins, squashes, and melons, as well as some garden, for which we had brought an abundant supply of seeds. Here was a new experience for me—the driving of oxen. However, Samuel was an expert at that, having worked with oxen when breaking prairie in Illinois. We broke out a few acres north and east of the building site, where we planted a variety of things, and in the meanwhile we went to work building the cabin of round rough logs, 16 x 18 feet square. This, we built up to the square only, at the time, and added a shed on one side 8 or 10 feet wide for a kitchen. For a roof, we bought the large tent that had been used by the members of the company, who by this time had either gone to their own claims, or had left the country, and this we drew over the top of our building, until such time as we could complete the roof.

On the sixth of June, we removed our effects to this place, as our future home. We experienced much trouble in getting the logs for this cabin from the timber. The river had overflowed all the bottom land, and now in the timber the mosquitoes fairly swarmed. The weather was becoming hot, and while at work in the timber we were compelled to wear our coats and tie handkerchiefs around our necks and over our faces, to as far as possible escape the torture of these pests.

A young man by the name of Buxton, who had come through with Samuel from St. Louis, had, since we selected our claim, been at work for us and made his home with us. Before moving into our cabin, we had sent him with the wagon and team of horses to Kansas City to get a lot of our goods which we had shipped to that point, and it was expected that it would take him about three weeks to make the trip.

I should have said, as to our house, that it had no floor, neither had we any table or bedsteads. We arranged our beds on one side of the house. About two feet from the ground we bored holes in one of the logs with a large augur, got poles about four feet long, sharpened one end and drove them into the holes, letting the other end rest upon a stake driven into the ground. Upon these we built a bottom, using poles, brush and grass, on which we placed our mattresses and bedding, thus forming a line of beds the entire length of the house. We used boxes in which we had brought our goods, for a table, and for chairs, we resorted to various devices. We, however, had two or three chairs for the use of the women. We had also brought with us a cook stove.

On the first night in our new home, there came up a flooding rain, with heavy thunder and lightning and a strong wind. For a time the storm threatened to dismantle our abode by carrying away our tent covering, and Samuel and I were compelled to get up and hold on to it to prevent its blowing away. As the sides of the house were quite open, the rain blew into it and quite thoroughly wet everything within. It was an unpleasant experience for our first night, but the morning came bright and clear, as is its wont in "Sunny Kansas" and we felt reconciled to our condition.

Of the company, probably eight or ten families and several young men remained, and were engaged in putting in some crops and improving the places which they still hoped to make homes for themselves, yet for the most part in a half-hearted way. It was very trying on the women of the party, most of whom had been accustomed to city life, or good society in an old settled community of the East.

Here, settlers were few, and outside of our own company were an uneducated, coarse class, mostly from Missouri and Arkansas, with more Indians than whites as visitors. Also, just at this time, in the North part of the Territory there was much trouble between the settlers from the North and the "Border Ruffians" from Missouri. We were not as yet troubled, but it was uncertain as to when the conflict might extend to us. The "Pro-Slavery" element was quite strong in our vicinity, and was probably in the majority of the County, at that time.

Our nearest post office was Fort Scott, a distance of fifty miles, and to us who had been accustomed to a daily mail, it was a great deprivation. We soon arranged to have some one go once a week for the mail. Samuel often went for it, taking three days to make the round trip. It was a great event each Saturday night, to get dozens of letters and papers by one mail, and we would sit up nearly all the night to read over letters from friends far away, also the papers, which were very full of accounts of the troubles in "Bleeding Kansas."

We began to feel some concern about Mr. Buxton and our household goods, after he had been gone about three weeks, with no word from him. We could hear many reports of trouble about Lawrence, and of northern men being turned back on their way through Missouri to Kansas, and of raids from the vicinity of Kansas City and Westport. We began to fear that we would never see more of Buxton, team or goods, when one day we saw Buxton coming over the prairie afoot and alone. Indeed, he was as disconsolate a looking person as one could imagine. He was an Englishman of slender

build, with serious countenance ordinarily, but on that occasion his face was unusually elongated, and expression almost forlorn.

He had reached Westport, when a party of armed men stopped him on the principal street and informed him that they wanted the horses. They took off the harness, putting it into the wagon, which they pulled into an alley, and told Mr. Buxton that he could go his way. He could do nothing else than make his way on foot. It took him about ten or twelve days to return, much of the way without roads other than Indian trails, and the country being but sparsely settled, some times he had difficulty in getting either food or shelter.

We realized that we had indeed fallen upon troublous times. Our loss would be at least \$500, and one not easily borne by us in our circumstances. In the hope that some part of our property might be recovered, Samuel took a pony we had brought with us from Indiana and started to Kansas City. On arriving there, he found the wagon where it had been left, with harness and boxes of goods intact. The box containing the bookcase had been opened, but finding books and not "Sharp's rifles", as they no doubt suspected, nothing was taken. The groceries and prairie plow were taken.

Samuel, with the friendly aid of a Mr. McGee, a pro-slavery man, secured one of the horses, it having been left in a stable on account of having become lame. Both horses had been used by the "Missouri Raiders" in making a foray into the territory, and the one was still out in the service. He got possession of the one horse, but not being able to get the other, he hitched up the pony with the horse recovered, and came home. His home-coming was a matter of much rejoicing for while our fine team was broken, we felt thankful that we had come out so well. We never saw more of the lost horse.

In the meantime, summer was upon us. The season was favorable to the growth of our garden stuff and other crops, and we began to have a few green things to eat. We found fine blackberries along the edge of the timber and especially an abundance of very fine ones along Big Creek, some eight miles south of our place. We had also bought a very good cow, and had plenty of milk and butter. The river, in the spring, had flooded the low lands, and now malaria began to affect many of our neighbors. Mosquitoes were also very troublesome; so persistent were they, that it became impossible to sleep in our cabin, which was too open to keep them out, and as a rule we were compelled to take out a couple of blankets and sleep on the ground on the open prairie, where the breeze would in a measure drive them away.

The dews were very heavy, and this may have contributed to the attacks of chills and fever. Whatever the cause, many of our people became ill, and our numbers were decreased by still further desertions.

By the middle of the summer we had put a roof on our cabin, chinked and daubed up the sides, and had secured some hewed-out boards which the company had made, to be used in the works of a contemplated mill. We used these to make a very substantial floor, and for a floor overhead, we had gone to an old deserted Indian village and got a lot of "puncheons" made by the squaws and used by them in the construction of their wigwams. These boards were about five feet long and from eighteen inches to four feet wide, dressed down to from one to two inches in thickness. It was a wonder how they could have dressed them out of large trees, in some cases as much as four feet in diameter.

In the building of a wigwam, they first took long poles, setting one end into the ground, in two parallel rows about 12 or 15 feet apart for a distance of 20 or 50 feet, bending the tops over so as to meet and forming an oval top, then they placed these boards or "puncheons" on end along the sides and ends, leaving an opening at one end for ingress and egress. From the tops of these boards, over the top of the wigwam, would be covered with a matting of skins, leaving an opening in the center for the smoke to pass out. A fire was built on the ground in the center of the wigwam, where the cooking was done, and around which the family sat by day and slept at night.

In a village, the wigwams were arranged in lines, fronting a street, often as many as thirty or forty. We found one of these deserted villages, several miles down the river, with wagon loads of these "puncheons" on the ground. It was a wonder to us why they should have left such quantities of boards, the making of which must have taken so much time and labor. The settlers hauled them away, using them in various ways about their places.

We noticed that when the Indians saw these boards they were talking together about our use of them, and we inferred that they were displeased that we had appropriated them as we had. Imagine our feelings when later we learned that a few years before this village had been scourged with an epidemic of small pox! This disease had swept away most of its inhabitants, and those who recovered had abandoned the place. Fortunately, any germs of the disease left behind had perished before we became possessed of the boards.

After we had got floors in our cabin, below and above, we were the

most comfortably fixed of all the families in the settlement, so that when sickness became general among the members of our company, our house became a sort of hospital for the sick, who could not as well be cared for at their own homes. We sometimes had the house quite full of such cases. We, having come from a malarious country, did not so readily succumb to the disease here. My wife and her mother seemed immune, as also did Samuel. The children and myself were, in the end, more or less victims of the disease. Mr. Buxton had quite a siege of the chills and fever. We also had with us for some time, Mr. Wheeler, a young man, Mrs. Barker, a widow from New York City, and others who were sick. None of these persons were very ill, and during the summer they all left the country.

In the meantime, we were cultivating our little crop, and making such improvements as we could on our claim. Yet, we were not greatly encouraged. The unsettled condition of affairs in the territory prevented immigration. There was much sickness among our people, and quite general discouragement, so that many were leaving while none were coming to take their places. Our number was decreasing, rather than increasing. We also learned that we might have trouble as to our lands. It was unsurveyed, we knew, when making the settlement, but now it was understood that we were on Indian lands, from which we were liable to be removed at any time.

Our Secretary, Mr. Clubb, took down with the chills and fever, and as he saw the members of his company leaving one by one, and those remaining were only awaiting an opportunity to leave, he also became discouraged. So about the middle of August, Samuel started with him and his wife to Kansas City. At Kansas City they found the people were not permitted to pass into the Territory. Samuel found that he could not return home without trouble, and he sought the aid of his former friend, McGee, but the feeling was so intense that he could not get permission to return to Kansas. After waiting two or three days with no better success, he adopted a plan by which he got out of the city.

He took down the bows and cover of the wagon, bought a broad brimmed straw hat, and having oxen hitched to his wagon, he assumed the role of a countyman, started out into Missouri, and thus got out of the City into the country. After going a few miles, he turned in a southern course through the state until near Fort Scott, when he succeeded in crossing the line into Kansas. He, however, had much trouble in passing through Missouri, having been stopped on two or three occasions.

In the early part of September the family of Colt's left the settlement, W. H. Colt, wife and two children, one of our best families. They were from New York and were well educated and highly refined. Mr. Colt and both children had been, for several weeks, sick with the chills and fever. Mr. Colt's father, mother and sister remained. The family started in a wagon for some railroad point in Missouri, with a view of taking passage for their former home, but on reaching Boonville, Mr. Colt became too ill to travel further; and here both he and the boy died. The widow and daughter proceeding on their way until friends were reached in Michigan.

Thus, one after another of our company left us, and very few of those remaining had any intention of making permanent homes in Kansas. They waited only for opportunities to get away. Two brothers, named Broadbent, from Tennessee, stalwart Scotchmen in full vigor of manhood, were living alone in a tent about a mile east of our place, and were for some time ailing, but I had no thought that they were dangerously sick; when through a neighbor I learned that one of them was dead and the other very low. Both were dead within two days.

While many had been sick with chills and fever, no one of our company had, hitherto, died. They had died without medical attention, and with but scant help from anyone. A nearby neighbor had called on them daily, and had given them fresh water and such help as seemed called for, but as for a doctor, there was none within fifty miles.

Now—as to their burial! There was no undertaker and no lumber with which to make a coffin, nearer than Fort Scott, fifty miles away—What should we do? We selected as fair boards of the Indian “puncheons”, mentioned before, as we could and formed very rude boxes from them into which we placed the bodies, burying them on a slope of the prairie a little distance from the tent in which they had died. Samuel and I, with another neighbor, dug the graves just over a swell of the prairie and out of sight of our cabin, so that the women there might not see, and thus learn that death had come so near to us.

Some little time after, we were called upon to perform a like service for . . . an elderly man named Curtis [i. e., Colt], who had come from Connecticut and refused to leave with his son a few weeks before. Of this event Mrs. Colt, in her book “Went to Kansas”, says:

Kind neighbors came in and dressed the cold form of the departed for the grave. They nailed together some of the rough “puncheons” which they had

taken from the wigwam ruins, for a coffin, wrapped him in winding sheet and Indian blanket and laid him therein; then bore him away without prayer, requiem or knell, and laid him in his narrow home beneath the rich soil of the prairie, on whose bosom were still blossoming many a richly tinted flower.

Thus, four of our members were dead, and nearly all the living ones had left us. One of these four in question was old Mr. Colt, to whom the foregoing excerpt refers. The situation was anything but encouraging. The unsettled condition generally over the Territory was not improving; large bodies of Pro-slavery men from Missouri and Arkansas were invading the Territory; "Free-State" parties from the East were stopped in Missouri at different points and turned back. Many "Free-State" settlers in our part of the Territory were becoming discouraged and leaving, while settlers from the South, not being so liable to malarial troubles and inured to the privations and hardships of frontier life, were remaining.

As to our success in raising crops, we could not, in the nature of things, expect much; the land all being new and nothing planted before June. We raised some garden stuff, plenty of pumpkins, squashes and melons, but very little corn. I had learned to handle oxen, so that I could yoke up and drive them fairly well.

While we cultivated friendship with the Indians and were not fearful of any violence on their part, we were constantly subject to their thieving propensities. They would steal green corn, potatoes or melons under our very eyes, and I never thought of leaving the family alone, either by day or by night. We, however, gained the friendship of some of the leading members of the Tribe, which I think, stood in good stead on occasion. We often had them with us at dinner or other meals, and many times some of them would remain with us over night, in which case, if the night was cold, they would lie down on the floor in front of the fire, sometimes as many as half a dozen at a time.

As the winter approached, we built a stone fire place and chimney, and as I was a stonecutter, we made us a neatly cut stone fire place with dressed stone chimney throughout. Our cabin was a very rough log building, but when finished up for the winter it was very comfortable, and was superior to any other house in that country at the time. The cold winter seemed to have destroyed the fever germs; we all regained a good degree of health, and thus were in better spirits.

During the winter we got out much fencing material. I was no hand to either chop the timber or to make rails, but I could drive the

oxen and haul the rails out of the timber. We hired two men from the north part of the county to come and make several thousand rails and posts. These were all hauled onto our claim, where we intended making fences in the spring; all in readiness for making extensive improvements in the way of farming more land.

In the Territory, 1857 opened up under more favorable conditions for the "Free State" men of the Territory. The laws passed by the Legislature of 1855, commonly called the "bogus laws" had been wholly ignored by the Free-State men of the territory. The Topeka Constitution had been adopted by the Free-State voters, and under it a Legislature had been elected. Our part of the Territory had enjoyed quiet during the winter; we had some Free-State families come into the neighborhood in the spring, among them my uncle, F. W. Stewart and family; also the family of Dr. I. N. Phillips from Illinois, and a number of German families.

However, the Topeka Constitution and the Legislature under it, were not recognized by the General government, and on its meeting in Topeka in January, the presiding officers of both houses were arrested with several of the members and taken to Tecumseh, before Judge Cato, and bound over to the U. S. Court. The Legislature, being without a quorum, took a recess till June. The second session of the Territorial Legislature met in Lecompton in January, John W. Geary being the Governor. He and the the legislature did not agree, and later he resigned.

The Free-State men had, hitherto, refrained from voting, but during the summer a feeling grew that by taking part in the elections they could elect a "Free-State" Legislature, and get control of the Territorial government. Later, in September, when Governor Walker issued an address assuring the people that the October election should be fairly conducted, the "Free-State" men were disposed to take him at his word. A Free-State convention was held at Grasshopper Falls, of which my brother was a member, and they resolved to take part in the fall elections. As a result of that election, Samuel became a member of the House of Representatives. He was also elected a member of the Legislature under the Topeka Constitution.

Early that spring a post office was established at Cofachiqui, but no mail service was put on, and the settlers arranged with someone to carry the mail from Fort Scott weekly, as had been done before.

A son was born on April 8th, we named him Fred. The following letter written to our afflicted friend, Mrs. Colt, will fairly express my feelings at this time:

NEOSHO, KANSAS, MAY 17, 1857.

Dear Mrs. Colt:

Yours of March 30 was but recently received. We had thought and spoken of you very often, and in every mail had hoped to hear from you, but did not, until a short time before receiving your letter, hear of your great bereavement. Mr. Voorhees then wrote us of it.

Be assured, Mrs. Colt, you have our tenderest sympathies in this, your great affliction. Bitter indeed, has been your cup. What a destruction of family in one short year! How soon our fondest hopes may all be crushed—crushed!

To us, the past year has been one of many hardships and troubles, but our lives have been spared; and since about the time you left, we have enjoyed good health. We have got things fixed up around, so that we now live quite comfortably.

Samuel, our brother, who went to take Clubb to Kansas City, got home the evening after you left, in good health. He had some narrow escapes, and to get home, was obliged to go round through Missouri, 100 miles out of his way.

Mr. Adams went, shortly after you left, to Maysville, Arkansas. We had a letter from them in the winter, their health had improved. The Broadbents both died, shortly after old Mr. Colt.

Mr. Hobbs went back to Ohio. Mrs. Barker remained with us until late in the fall, then went to Kansas City with the intention of going home. Buxton is still in the neighborhood. Blackburn went to Tennessee, home to his family.

Immigration is coming in very fast, and we are getting many new neighbors. There is a town laid off up the river five miles, and a steam mill is to be put up there this summer. Altogether, the prospects for us in the future are encouraging.

Mrs. Stewart has a son, born April 8th. She is very well. The past winter has been quite mild; Spring is backward. We would be gratified to have you write soon again. Receive our best wishes for your future.

Respectfully,

WATSON AND ELIZABETH STEWART.

The town of Humboldt was laid out that spring by a company from Lawrence, composed largely of Germans. The first house built was one of logs for J. A. Coffey, by my uncle, F. W. Stewart. It was built on contract for \$25.00. Early in the summer a steam sawmill was put up by Orlin Thurston. It was considered a great acquisition, as there was no other mill within 50 miles. We felt greatly encouraged to see a town starting up within five miles of us, where we could purchase some of the necessities and could get lumber.

We extended our cultivated land by breaking out and fencing in quite a large field east of our house, putting it into sod corn, melons and pumpkins. Others of our relatives came out from Illinois during that summer, Uncle Daniel Stewart and family, and cousins David Stewart with family and his brother John. These accessions to our immediate neighborhood were very gratifying.

At the fall election the Free-State party elected a large majority of the members of both branches of the Territorial Legislature, and in our own county the Free-State party obtained complete control. I think it was at the election in the spring of 1858 that I was elected one of the Justices of the Peace for Allen County, and it so happened that I was the only one to qualify. The result was that all business of that kind in the county came before me, and I was kept quite busy, some rather important cases coming before me.

We had cherished the thought of some time building us a residence with concrete walls, and to test the practicability of the matter, we built a small house in this way, about ten by sixteen feet, one story, with cellar. We built a large log-heap in the timber, on which we piled limestone and then fired the logs, which in burning reduces the stone to lime and thus we secured the lime for the walls. The lime, we mixed with sand and rough stone, and this mixture we put into boxes formed by boards about a foot wide, set apart the width of the thickness of the wall, and we had a very useful building, which we used for various purposes; one of which was as an office for holding my court. Later, we laid in a small stock of such goods as were desired by the Indians, and opened up quite a profitable trade with them.

They had mostly buffalo robes and ponies for trade. We could get the robes for about \$4.00 each, and ponies at from \$10.00 to \$20.00 each. We gave them flour, sugar, coffee and tobacco, also goods for the squaw's dresses and blankets.

As there was considerable immigration to our part of the Territory, this year, there was much trouble as to claims. The settlers had formed a sort of Protective League, in which was recognized the right of each settler to hold a claim, independent of the one on which he resided. All of which had no support under the U. S. laws, but the settlers set up a "Higher law", and for a time enforced it. Speculation in claims became quite a business. Persons leaving the country would sell their claims for such prices as they could get, and the purchaser would hold and sell to the newcomer for, sometimes two or three times the amount paid.

This practice was finally broken up, when one A. W. J. Brown, living in the north part of the county sold one such claim to a Mr. Rhodes for about \$2,000, receiving, I think, \$600 in cash and taking a note for the balance. This note, when due, Rhodes refused to pay, and suit was brought in the U. S. Court for its collection, where the action, of course, failed.

As to the claim of a prairie and timber tract of 320 acres, it having no warrant in law, as settlers came in and began to contest such claims, they were abandoned, each settler being restricted to 160 acres.

While in our part of the Territory we were enjoying peace and quiet, there was much political agitation over the rest of the Territory. The LeCompton Constitution had been formed without being submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. The Territorial Legislature had ordered an election for a vote on the Constitution, at which time it was almost unanimously rejected, the Pro-Slavery party generally not voting. This vote was on January 4th. The same month, the Legislature under the Topeka Constitution, met but did little business. In the meantime a Constitutional Convention, of which my brother was a delegate, met in March at Maneola [Minneola] and adjourned to Leavenworth, where a Constitution was formed, known as the "Leavenworth Constitution."

There was much disturbance along the Kansas border in Lynn and Bourbon counties. At one point in Lynn County a band of men from Missouri crossed the line and arrested nine "Free-State" men, and taking them near the Missouri line stood them in line and fired on them. Every one fell, all shot to death or wounded. One of the wounded men was afterwards shot dead; six were killed and the other three feigned death and thus escaped.² One, Asa Hairgrove, I became acquainted with in Montgomery County many years afterwards.

These disturbances did not extend to our section of the Territory, in fact the settlers in Allen County, of all parties agreed in Convention, that they would resist any invasion of our County by any armed force of whatever party. In the fall of this year, the post office was established at Humboldt, and a weekly service from Lawrence was put on. Albert Irwin was the first Postmaster; and thus we had a post office within five miles and regular mail once a week. In the meantime Humboldt had become quite a village. W. C. O'Brien had put up a steam saw and grist mill.

The year of 1858 was not noted in our part of the Territory for any unusual occurrence. The County received a large acquisition of northern settlers, and many of the Pro-Slavery settlers sold their claims and left the country, so that the County had a good majority of Free-State men, and the government of the County was in their

2. This was the Marais des Cygnes massacre of May 19, 1858. Five men were killed, five were wounded and one escaped by feigning death.

hands. As to the Territory, there was no longer any doubt as to the Free-State element controlling it, and in the end establishing a state government under a constitution excluding slavery.

There was still more or less trouble along the eastern border in Lynn and Bourbon Counties. Gangs from Missouri made occasional raids over the line, attempting to drive out Free-State settlers, killing them and burning their houses. The settlers on this side, under such men as John Brown and James Montgomery, organized for their own protection, and no doubt excesses were committed on both sides.

During the season we had broken out a small tract in the bottom west of the lake, in addition to the land cultivated east of the house on the high prairie. Our thought, on first settling, was that the bottom land would not be desirable for cultivation, on account of its liability to overflow, but we learned from the Indians and others, that the river did not flood these lands only once in several years. We, therefore, changed our claim lines so as to include the bottom land lying west and south of the lake, and we soon learned from the better crops yielded by these bottom lands, that we had chosen wisely.

We had secured a few fruit trees, and set them out on the slope north of the house, but were anxious for more of an orchard. I, therefore, took a lot of the buffalo robes that we had obtained from the Indians, and went over into southwest Missouri, to the Counties of Cedar and Polk, and traded them for apple trees, winter apples and some other articles of use to us. In the spring of 1859 we set out quite an orchard.

For us, the year 1859 was a fairly prosperous one as to crops, and the general condition of the country was encouraging. In May a convention was held at Osawatomie by the Free-State party, which was addressed by Horace Greeley. The convention adopted a platform, and organized as the Republican Party. Hitherto all those persons who favored the admission of Kansas as a "Free-State", had united and acted together under the name of the "Free-State" party.

In June delegates were elected to form another Constitution. These delegates met in Wyandotte, July 5th, and formed the Constitution which on October 4th was adopted by a large majority of the voters, and under this Constitution the State was finally admitted.

Early in this year, our neighborhood was very much annoyed by a system of thievery that had grown up among quite a number of

settlers in our immediate neighborhood. The Indians would occasionally steal horses from the settlers, and by way of reprisal, a number of rather rough characters, mainly from Missouri, united in the business of running off Indian ponies to Missouri and selling them or trading them for horses or cattle, which they would bring back to the settlement.

The business had been carried on for several months, and the Indians were becoming very restless. There would be quite a herd of ponies missing, and at the same time some of the parties would also be gone, who after a week or two, would return with the proceeds of their trip. Soon these persons became well known to both Indians and whites as being engaged in this wholesale thievery. The Indians would miss a lot of ponies and would go from house to house, and finding that certain of these men were gone, would come to us with their complaints, seeming to think that we were leading men and could, in some manner, help them to recover their ponies or prevent our neighbors from stealing them. A few of the white settlers who were opposed to this business finally arranged with a few friendly Indians to go on a certain night and capture some of the most notorious characters, and give them a good scare,—indeed, such a scare as would compel them to leave the country.

In accordance with this plan, on a certain night the Indians went from house to house, gathering in four or five of these men. There were George Kelly, Ed Marble, two Galloway brothers, and I think, one other person. These, they carried off a distance of seven or eight miles to Godfrey's trading post on Big Creek, where were two or three Indian chiefs and a number of other Indians. A council was held, after which ropes were put around the men's necks and they were made to understand that they were to be hung. Of course they were informed as to the reason for such punishment. They promised to quit the business, and begged for their lives, but the Indians gave them no hope, however, on their earnest solicitation, the matter was held in abeyance until Dr. Phillips and my brother could be sent for.

On their arrival, and after a full consultation between the Doctor, Samuel and the Indians, it was agreed to spare their lives upon the following conditions, viz: The names of all persons connected with them in the "business" should be divulged, while each of the parties under arrest should submit to the shaving of one side of his head; that, at once upon being released, they should give notice to each of the parties implicated with them to leave the country within ten days; and that they would do the same, promising never to return,

under penalty of certain death if found in the country after ten days.

These conditions being accepted by them, the parties were set free, after the shaving of the one side of their heads. I was not personally concerned in these proceedings, but was in very hearty sympathy, and on the following day it did me good to see some of these men going about the neighborhood with shaved heads, making arrangements for a final leave of the country; which they were careful to do within the agreed time. The clearing out of these thieves was felt to be a great boon to the community in general, and the effect on the Indians was very beneficial in the establishing of a kindly feeling towards the whites remaining.

In the early autumn, at Fort Scott, a republican convention for the twelfth Council District honored me with the nomination as Councilman in the Territorial Legislature. The District was composed of the counties of Bourbon, Allen, McGee, Dorn, Woodson and Wilson. The Council was the upper house of the Legislature, and consisted of thirteen members. I was not at the convention and the nomination was wholly without solicitation on my part. After a time I learned that the Democratic party had placed in nomination one, N. S. Goss of Neosho Falls, Woodson County, a gentleman who had built a water-mill at that place, and of whom I had heard but with whom I was not personally acquainted. I felt quite certain of my election, as I understood the District was safely Republican, although in and about Fort Scott the Democratic element was dominant. Some two weeks before the election, while engaged in the bottom field across the lake in digging potatoes, (of which we had a very fine crop), Mr. Goss called upon me. He said that he had come down to Humboldt and learning where I lived had thought it well to call upon me and become acquainted. It was nearly noon and I invited him to go to the house and have dinner, which invitation he accepted.

I took him to the cabin, introduced him to my wife, and we were soon enjoying a good dinner together. I found him to be a very pleasant gentleman. He suggested that we make a canvass of the District together, however, I told him that I had not sought the nomination, that I was not a political speaker and had not intended to leave my home to make a canvass, but would rely upon my friends to say, by their votes, whether or not they wanted me to represent them. He finally concluded to adopt my policy, and returned home expressing his belief that I would be elected, and the hope that his interests would be well guarded by me in certain local Legislation.

From that meeting on, for many years in my intercourse with Mr. Goss, I found him a gentleman in the fullest sense of the word. The entire vote in the District was 1,192, of which I received 642, thereby winning the election by 92 votes.

Lincoln visited Kansas in December, making speeches in Leavenworth and Atchison.

My son, Joseph, was born October 30th. He came into the world without the aid of either doctor or midwife. We had expected to have Dr. Phillips, living within two miles of us, but it chanced that he was away from home. I went about a mile to get my Aunt Catherine Stewart, leaving my wife alone with her mother, and on my return found that the boy had been born. We named him for my father. All turned out well for both mother and child.

The Territorial Legislature met January 2, 1860. Some days earlier I had a chance to ride to Lawrence with Mr. Jordan Neal, who resided near that place, and who, with his wife, was visiting his cousin, Moses Neal in Humboldt. There was a stage line, but I gladly accepted the chance to go with Mr. Neal, wife and two children in his carriage. I arrived in Lawrence January 21st, where the members of the Legislature were in waiting, with a view of driving up to Lecompton the next morning. Lecompton, being the place designated for the meeting of the legislature, but because the place had been named as the Capital by the Pro-Slavery party, and was not very well provided for the accomodation of members, and the meeting of the Legislature, the former Legislature had adjourned to and held its session in Lawrence. I found the people of Lawrence making every possible effort to secure similar action on our part.

The City offered a hall for the meetings free of charge, and the hotels made very favorable rates to the members. The Republican members were generally in favor of meeting at Lecompton the next day, and immediately adjourning to Lawrence.

I was stopping at the Eldridge House, the principal hotel, a very fine one for these times. It was, in fact, a house built to replace the "Free-State Hotel" which had been destroyed during the Missouri Invasion of 1856. During the evening I met the notorious James H. Lane, a man of whom much had been said for and against, a man who had come to Kansas a Democrat, but who, on seeing the methods adopted by the Democratic party to fasten slavery upon the Territory, had espoused the "Free-State" cause and was now a leader of the radical wing of the Republican party.

Unfortunately, in a claim difficulty, he had shot the contestant,

Gaius Jenkins, and had lost the respect of many of the party's friends; so much so, that the party had become divided into Lane and anti-Lane factions, and the feeling was becoming very bitter. Whatever the merits in the case may have been, I at the time, had made up my mind that I would act with the anti-Lane party. However, I met the man; he found that I was from Indiana, and offered me a seat in his buggy on the next morning. With him I rode to Lecompton, much of my prejudice having worn away in the meantime. I found that Lane had friends enough in the Legislature to organize it in his interest. The body was composed of thirteen members of the Council, and thirty-nine members of the House. We organized the Council by the election of W. W. Updegraff as President, and John J. Ingalls as Secretary. There were eight members returned as Republicans and five as Democrats. The seat of one Democrat was contested and the Republican member seated, thus giving nine Republicans and four Democrats.

On the second day of the session, we passed a joint resolution adjourning to meet in Lawrence on the seventh. Samuel Medary was Governor, and he promptly vetoed the resolution, which was as promptly passed over his veto, and hied away to Lawrence. The citizens of Lawrence furnished transportation for the members and Legislative supplies, records, etc. free of charge; halls for the meetings without cost, also very low rates for the members at the hotels. At that time there was no railroad, and everything had to be transported by wagon. I was furnished a nice room in connection with two other members, warmed and lighted, with board, at three dollars per week, at the Eldridge House, the best one in the place.

We were much better located, as to our own comfort and convenience in Lawrence than we could have been at Lecompton, but the action of the Legislature in the removal was one of the sentiment rather than of necessity. Lecompton had been designated as the Capital of the Territory by the general government at the behest of the Slavery interests, and the Free-State people had built up Lawrence. The Government had spent \$50,000 towards the erection of a Capitol building, which had been spent in laying the foundation and beginning the walls of the building which the Free-State party had determined should never be utilized for the purposes intended.

We met in Lawrence as per adjournment, but the Governor refused to recognize us, remaining himself at Lecompton. We continued our sessions until the 18th, when we adjourned. It was, however, understood that the Governor would immediately call us

together again in extra session at Lecompton, this he did. We met on the 19th, and at once adjourned to meet in Lawrence on the 21st. The Governor went with us, and the work of the session began.

We did not enact many laws of general interest; the Wyandotte Constitution had been voted on and adopted at the fall election, and State officers and members of the Legislature were elected. We were only awaiting the action of Congress to become a sovereign State.

A large number of local bills were passed, such as the incorporation of town companies, etc. At that time, also there was a great demand for Legislative action in the dissolving of the marriage relation and many divorces were granted, which action, I with a few other members, in every case opposed. We found that Slavery existed under the laws of the Territory and passed a bill abolishing it. Every Republican in both Houses voted for it, and every Democrat voted against it. The Governor vetoed the bill, and we passed it over the veto. Mr. Beebe, a Democrat of the Council, in a minority report from the Committee, said: "We have found that there is now invested in this Territory, between one-fourth and one-half million dollars worth of property in slaves, and believing that the immediate prohibition of an existing right of property in any given article is beyond either the Legislative power of the States or Territories, as contravening the letter and the spirit of Articles Four and Five of the Amendments to the Federal Constitution; recommend to your honorable body the indefinite postponement of the said bill."

The Democratic Territorial Convention met at Atchison in March, and also denounced the action of the Legislature in passing this bill for the abolishing of slavery. We adjourned on the 27th of February.

My recollections of this winter, spent as a Legislator, are very pleasant. Our body of only thirteen members seemed like an orderly debating club; some of the members were quite able in debate. Four were Democrats and nine Republicans. The minority had a decided advantage as to ability in debate. W. G. Mathias of Leavenworth was a Democrat and a lawyer, he had been a member of the first Territorial Legislature of 1855, commonly known as the "bogus Legislature." George M. Beebe was a Democrat from Doniphan, also a lawyer of good speaking ability. He was afterwards appointed Territorial Secretary, and during the absence of the Governor for a short time, he was the acting Governor. He was so acting at the time of the admission of Kansas as a State. He re-

moved to New York and was a member of Congress there for one term at least.

On the Republican side, our best debaters were W. W. Updegraff and P. P. Elder. Mr. Elder, in 1861, was appointed Osage Indian Agent; in 1870 he was elected Lieutenant Governor, and later he went off with the Populist movement and was, for several years, prominent in their Councils. Our Secretary, John J. Ingalls, was a bright young lawyer of Sumner, Atchison County. He was a young man of fine ability, and was a member of the State Senate in 1862, filled many places of trust in after years, and was in the U. S. Senate for eighteen years, succeeding S. C. Pomeroy in 1873. In the U. S. Senate he was recognized as one of its most brilliant members in debate.

The year 1860 was noted for the great drouth in Kansas. There was a very general failure of crops over the entire Territory, while in the southern part the failure was complete. The previous fall and winter were very dry and during the spring and summer but very little rain fell. The summer was very hot and vegetation and crops planted, having moisture enough to bring them through the ground, withered and died. Our lake dried up, and on our farm we did not raise a bushel of corn and but little garden stuff. We had got a start in stock, but what hogs we had we sold to a party who drove them to Missouri where feed could be had, we got \$1.25 per 100 pounds. For our cattle, we depended upon the timber grass for their winter feed.

Many of the settlers, having friends in the East, received aid from them; others left the country; many were unable to leave, and without aid from abroad, must suffer. Our part of the Territory, being new laid, had but little left over from last year's crop upon which to subsist, consequently all of our supplies must be hauled in from Kansas City or Southwest Missouri. My brother, in the fall, in behalf of the settlers of Allen County, made a trip to Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, where he was acquainted, soliciting and receiving a very liberal donation for our aid. Thadeus Hyatt of New York, with W. F. M. Army and S. C. Pomeroy of Kansas, visited the County to ascertain the condition of the people, and at a meeting at Humboldt they informed the settlers that provisions, clothing, etc., would be sent from the East to be distributed to those in need, through Mr. Pomeroy at Atchison, and I was designated as an agent for Cottage Grove township, to receive and distribute such aid. In furtherance of that plan, I went to Atchison with a number of set-

tlers with teams to procure such aid as our township was entitled to receive. I think we had about twenty teams, and we made the trip in December, taking, I think, seventeen days to do it. We had rather cold disagreeable weather, some snow, and we camped out every night. On reaching Atchison we found the demand was very great, while the supply was but scant. We, however, think its entire value would not have been equal to a dollar a day for each person and team in the company. Still, it helped us out and we were very glad to get it indeed, but for the help sent us from the East there would have been much suffering in Kansas.

Earlier in the fall I had made two trips to Missouri and Arkansas, bringing out supplies of corn meal, flour and apples, mostly the proceeds of the Buffalo robes which we had received in our trade with the Indians; and in this way we were able to get through that winter with a minimum of discomfort.

More About Kansas River Steamboats

The First Kansas-Built River Steamer

EDGAR LANGSDORF

IN MY article, "Early Navigation on the Kansas River," which appeared in the May, 1950, number of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, the statement was made (p. 144) that the steamer *Lightfoot* was "said to be the first boat built in the Territory" of Kansas. The authority cited was Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 338. The fact is that the *Lightfoot* was not built in Kansas, but at Pittsburgh, Pa., and the story that it was of home manufacture is a fabrication which has been carelessly continued through the years.

Thaddeus Hyatt, a member of the Kansas National committee widely known for his activities in forwarding the Free-State cause, purchased the *Lightfoot* for the purpose of assisting immigration into the territory. He started east on January 12, 1857, reported the Lawrence *Herald of Freedom* of January 17, "conscious of the great want of Kansas," and "determined to supply that want by placing two steamers on the Kansas river on the opening of spring, to ply between Lawrence and Quindaro." On February 11, 1857, he wrote from New York to H. B. Hurd, secretary of the Kansas National committee, explaining that he would be in Cincinnati about March 1. "I have purchased a steamer (the *Lightfoot* of Quindaro) to run on the Kansas river. She will leave Cin. March 1-10th passage \$20.00 from Cin. to Quindaro, \$3.00 from Quindaro to Lawrence." On March 11 he wrote again to Hurd: "I must rush into Kansas in time to meet my Boat which started from Cincinnati Tuesday morning 10th inst. . . ." And on March 19 he wrote Hurd that the boat had reached St. Louis. All these letters are in the "Hyatt Papers," in the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

On April 2 the *Lightfoot* arrived in Kansas City, Mo. Two days later the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise*, a weekly newspaper, printed the following notice:

STEAMER LIGHTFOOT.—A neat little steamer with the above name arrived at our wharf on Thursday under the command of our old friend Capt. Mott Morrison. She is intended for a Kansas River Packet. . . . This makes the fourth boat for the Kansas River the present season. . . .

The steamer went on to Lawrence, arriving April 7. From that date little was heard of her until Hyatt informed Hurd, in a letter of May 30, of "a series of untoward events and misfortunes connected with my boat. . . ."

Final proof of the origin of the *Lightfoot* is supplied by Hyatt in a letter of June 29 to Charles Robinson, treasurer of the Quindaro company and later the first governor of Kansas. Hyatt proposed to erect a block of buildings in Quindaro, preferably in cooperation with the company, and told Robinson that if his proposition was accepted he would immediately sell his boat. Since he was in New York and could not start for Kansas for a month, he asked that someone advertise the boat for him, suggesting the following form of notice:

LOW-WATER-BOAT FOR SALE

The new and elegant Steamer Lightfoot (built last year at Pittsburgh, and drawing 13 in water) now lying in the Kansas river will be sold low for cash. For particulars enquire of the subscribers No St. Louis

SIMMONS & LEADBEATER.

According to Greene, the *Lightfoot* made only one round trip on the Kansas river. The return journey from Lawrence was not completed until May 9, "the greater part of the time being spent upon sand-bars." The Quindaro *Chindowan*, in its first issue, May 13, 1857, reported that "the Kansas river is very low. We understand that the *Lightfoot* is aground near Eureka Ferry."

Her subsequent career has not been traced with certainty, though it is likely that she was transferred to the Missouri river trade. However, it is known that she was still owned by Hyatt nearly two years later. S. C. Pomeroy wrote him on January 17, 1859, asking if he still owned the boat, and proposing to put her on the Missouri river to run daily from Atchison to St. Joseph as an adjunct of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad and the "North Missouri Road," both of which were nearly completed to St. Joseph. Hyatt replied on February 2, and Pomeroy acknowledged both this letter and a telegram about the *Lightfoot* on February 14. He said that he was delighted to handle the transaction, and had an appointment on the 22d with the general agent of the Hannibal and St. Jo to discuss the sale of the boat. "I will sell it if there is any such thing. . . .," he promised.

The collapse of the *Lightfoot* legend leaves the question of the "first" Kansas-built steamboat still to be settled. It may be that the first steamer actually built in Kansas was the *Wyandott*

City. The Weekly Western Argus, of Wyandott, March 21, 1860, carried this item:

STEAMBOAT LAUNCH.

Yesterday the steamboat "Wyandott City" was launched at our Levee. She is a most beautiful craft, intended for the Kaw river trade, 90 feet keel, 18 feet beam, and 4 feet hold, and as she now sits in the water, draws but about 3 inches. When her machinery shall be in, she will draw but about 6 inches.

Capt. Wiltz is well deserving of the credit which he receives for building the largest and most handsome boat ever launched into the waters of the Kaw.

A large assembly of our citizens witnessed the launch, with a fair proportion of the fair sex. We shall soon see the Wyandott City "walking the waters like a thing of life."

Another newspaper account of what was erroneously called the first steamboat built in Kansas appeared in the *Kansas Tribune* of Quindaro on July 30, 1860, and was reprinted in the *Leavenworth Daily Times*, August 7, and the *Emporia News*, August 11, 1860, as follows:

THE FIRST STEAMBOAT BUILT IN KANSAS.

We to-day stood on the deck of the first steamboat ever built in Kansas. The Messrs. Nelson & Simpson have just completed their splendid little steamer, the *Kansas Valley*, and are now ready to enter heartily into the freighting business on the Kansas river. This little packet now draws only eight inches of water, and when loaded to the capacity of 14 tons, will only draw one foot of water. She is ninety feet long, thirteen feet beam, with side wheels, and sits upon the water like a thing of life.

Death Notices From Kansas Territorial Newspapers, 1854-1861

PART TWO: M-Z—Concluded

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE

- MCALLISTER, JOHN B., formerly of Page county, Va., d. in Oregon, Mo., Dec. 18, 1860, of pneumonia. (*White Cloud, Kansas Chief*, Dec. 27.)
- MCBRATNEY, MARY, dau. of Robert & Mary, aged 9 mos., d. Mar. 2, 1860. (*Atchison, Freedom's Champion*, Mar. 3.)
- MCCLATCHEY, F., murdered near Kansas City, June 10 or 11, 1860. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, June 16; *Wyandotte, Western Argus*, June 16.)
- MCCLELLAN, THOMAS MOORE, only son of O. B. & M., aged 1 yr., 2 mos., 21 days, d. Aug. 25, 1860, of lung fever. (*Oskaloosa, Independent*, Aug. 29.)
- MCCULLY, — —, killed in fight on flatboat 10 miles above Leavenworth, Jan. 16, 1860. (*Leavenworth, Daily Times*, Jan. 19.)
- MCDONALD, WILLIAM, formerly of Northumberland, Pa., aged 32 yrs., d. Nov. 11, 1857. (*Lecompton, National Democrat*, Nov. 19.)
- MCGAHEY, MARY EMMA, dau. of A. & M. J., aged 11 mos., d. Sept. 7, 1859. (*Leavenworth, Daily Times*, Sept. 8.)
- McKAY, WILLIAM JOHNSON, only son of William & Martha, aged 1 yr., 7 mos., 9 days, d. Nov. 9, 1857. (*Wyandotte, Citizen*, Nov. 14.)
- McKEE, MARY, dau. of John & Josephine, aged 7 mos., d. July 26, 1860. (*Leavenworth, Daily Times*, July 27.)
- McKIBBEN, THOMAS EDWARD, son of John W. & Mary E., aged 1 yr., 10 mos., d. in Forest Hill, Nov. 4, 1859. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Nov. 12.)
- McKINLY, W. J., husband of Nancy, of Linn county, murdered by J. B. & Peter Landis, July 19, 1859. (*Leavenworth, Daily Times*, Oct. 28.)
- McQUARTERS, MRS., — —, wife of Jas., aged 30 yrs., d. at residence on Otter creek, Feb. 9, 1860. (*Burlington, Neosho Valley Register*, Feb. 14.)
- McQUEEN, JOHN CRISON, son of Josiah & Sarah, aged 3 yrs., 8 days, d. at Hickory Point, Nov. 3, 1859, of lung fever. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 12.)
- McVAY, JOSEPH, A., d. June 15, 1859. (*Atchison, Union*, June 25.)
- McVAY, LILLY, dau. of Dudley & Martha, aged 9 days, d. Nov. 29, 1856. (*Atchison, Squatter Sovereign*, Dec. 9.)
- McWILLIAMS, COL. JOHN C., formerly of Madison county, Ky., aged 71 yrs., d. near Plattsburg, Mo., May 18, 1857. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 23.)
- MACY, MARY VERLINDA, dau. of E. G. & Rachel C., aged 3 weeks, 2 days, d. near Bloomington, Mar. 12, 1860. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Mar. 22.)
- MALONE, JOHN W., aged 32 yrs., 10 mos., 22 days, d. Aug. 29, 1859. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, Sept. 17.)
- MANGIDO, MARY ELLEN, dau. of Amasa & Martha, aged 3 yrs., 11 mos., 28 days, d. Feb. 10, 1860, of inflammation of the lungs. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Mar. 15.)

ALBERTA PANTLE is a member of the Library staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

- MARCH, MARTHA ELIZABETH, dau. of Milton H. & Eleanor, aged 2 yrs., d. Sept. 22, 1857. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Sept. 26.)
- MARKHAM, CAROLINE T., dau. of Thomas B., aged 22 yrs., d. at Auburn, Nov. 22, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Dec. 3.)
- MARSHALL, ANDREW B., aged 24 yrs., 10 mos., d. at Zeandale, Sept. 22, 1857, of bilious fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 24.)
- MARSHALL, ISABELLA GRAHAM, dau. of Zachariah, aged 14 yrs., 10 mos., d. at Wakarusa, July 18, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 26.)
- MARTIN, JOHN S., formerly of *Times* office, d. at Hollidaysburg, Pa., Sept. 6, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, Sept. 18.)
- MARTIN, MARGARET, dau. of Capt. J. W. & Amanda, d. at Kickapoo City, July 28, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 8.)
- MARTIN, ORLANDO J., brother of Dr. S. E., aged 20 yrs., 1 mo., d. Feb. 10, 1860, of consumption. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Feb. 11.)
- MATZ, M. R., of Sumner, killed while hunting near St. Joseph, Mo., Mar. 24, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Mar. 31.)
- MEAD, MRS. ADELAIDE, wife of George W., formerly of Olivet, Mich., aged 20 yrs., d. July 31, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Aug. 4.)
- MEADE, GEORGE WILLIAM, formerly of Clarke county, Va., aged 24 yrs., d. Aug. 24, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 25.)
- MEEKER, REV. JOTHAM, of the Ottawa Baptist Mission, missionary in the territory for 21 yrs., aged about 45 yrs., d. Jan. 11, 1855. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Jan. 24.)
- MENDENHALL, DAVID, late of Indiana, aged 38 yrs., d. June 14, 1855, of cholera, left wife and seven children. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 9.)
- MERCHANT, JOSEPH A., son of Leonard P. E., formerly of Adams, Mass., aged 9 yrs., d. on board the *Sultan*, near Kansas City, May 25, 1855. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, June 4.)
- MERCHANT, MRS. PRUDENCE, relict of Joseph, and mother of Leonard, formerly of Vermont, aged 74 yrs., d. in Lecompton township, Aug. 29, 1859, of congestion of the lungs. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 3.)
- MERRIAM, MRS. REBECCA JACKSON, wife of Dr. James, aged 24 yrs., d. at Brandon, Vt., Feb. 13, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Feb. 24.)
- MICHAELSON, KNUTE, aged 25 yrs., d. at residence of Mr. Toletson, April 21, 1859. (Sumner, *Gazette*, April 23.)
- MICKEL, FRANKLIN, son of W., aged 12 mos., d. at Waterloo, Sept. 10, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 18.)
- MIDDAUGH, CLARK ALBERT, son of H. B. & Nancy A., aged 22 mos., 9 days, d. Sept. 9, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 15.)
- MILLER, HURON EUGENE, son of Joseph & Maria H., aged 10 mos., d. on Dow creek, Sept. 16, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 25.)
- MILLER, IRENE, only child of Josiah & Agnes, aged 4 mos., d. Aug. 16, 1859, of cholera infantum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 3.)
- MILLER, JENNETT W., wife of A. J., formerly of Prairie City, aged 21 yrs., d. at Lawrence, Mar. 26, 1858. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, April 1.)
- MILLER, DR. JOHN JAY, emigrated from New Paris, Preble county, Ohio, in spring of 1855, aged 24 yrs., d. at Bloomington, Oct. 12, 1856. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 22.)

- MILLER, LAVINA EMELINE, dau. of Aaron & Lavina M., aged 2 yrs., 10 mos., 8 days, d. June 3, 1860, of putrid sore throat. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 9.)
- MILLS, JAMES B., of Bloomington, drowned in the Wakarusa at Yates' crossing, July 23, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 31.)
- MILLS, MARY ELIZABETH, eldest dau. of Theodore & Eliza C., born at Andover, Ohio, emigrated to Topeka in 1857 with her parents, aged 22 yrs., d. June 25, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, June 30.)
- MILLS, THOMAS, formerly of Havana, N. Y., and of California, aged 65 yrs., d. Oct. 18, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 20.)
- MILLSAPPS, AMANDA ELIZABETH, dau. of William & Rachel, aged 18 yrs., 6 mos., d. Nov. 16, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Nov. 24.)
- MINER, MRS. LUCY, relict of Demmon, formerly of Peru, Mass., and mother of Dr. E. C., aged 59 yrs., 9 mos., d. Sept. 21, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 8.)
- MITCHELL, ARCHIBALD, supposed to be from Edinburgh, Scotland, aged 36 yrs., d. at residence of R. Porter. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 22, 1857.)
- MITCHELL, CAPT. WM. H., formerly of Galesburg, Ill., and of Lowell, Mass., aged 54 yrs., 4 mos., d. at Centralia, Nemaha county, Mar. 14, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 2.)
- MONROE, MR. — —, aged about 18 yrs., killed by steam boiler explosion, Nov. 21, 1855. Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 24.)
- MOON, THOMAS B., Albemarle county, Va., aged 25 yrs., d. Oct. 11, 1855, of cholera. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 27.)
- MOORE, ELY, register of the U. S. land office, aged 62 yrs., d. at Lecompton, Jan. 27, 1860. (Atchison, *Union*, Feb. 11.)
- MOORE, J. F., formerly of Topeka, aged 23 yrs., d. at Miiffin, Juniata county, Pa. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Nov. 21, 1857.)
- MOORE, JOHN, born in Pennsylvania in 1815, aged 45 yrs., d. in Cottonwood township, Breckenridge county, Mar. 5, 1860. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, April 2.)
- MOORE, REBECCA, sister of H. M. Moore, aged 17 yrs., d. near Oakland Mills, Juniata county, Pa., May 31, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 9.)
- MOORE, REBECCA A., wife of Philander S., aged 29 yrs., 8 days, d. in Marmaton township, Mar. 18, 1860. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Mar. 29.)
- MOORE, T. E., formerly of Lecompton, shot by James S. Chiles, son of Col. James, April 20, 1857. (Lecompton, *Union*, April 25.)
- MOQUET, VICTOR, formerly of Paris, France, d. in hunting accident, July 20, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, July 21.)
- MORGAN, EMMA ASENATH, dau. of J. F. & A. P., formerly of S. Framingham, Mass., aged 9 mos., 15 days, d. in Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 19, 1854. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 14, 1855.)
- MORGAN, HANNAH, wife of William, aged 35 yrs., d. Sept. 10, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 25.)
- MORGAN, LEANDER FLANDERS, son of J. F. & A. P., formerly of S. Framingham, Mass., aged 5 yrs., 4 mos., 8 days, d. April 3, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 14.)
- MORGAN, WILLIAM, aged 40 yrs, d. Sept. 20, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 25.)

- MORLEY, CHARLES, formerly of New York, aged 50 yrs., d. in Indianola, July 17, 1856, of congestion of the brain. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, July 28.)
- MORLEY, MRS. JANE E., widow of Charles, formerly of Albany, N. Y., d. at Whitfield, Aug. 3, 1856. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 18.)
- MORRIS, IDA, dau. of Dr. J. W., aged 21 mos., d. July 19, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 19.)
- MORSE, EVERETT DWIGHT, son of the Rev. G. C. & A. B., aged 6 weeks, d. Sept. 1, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 4.)
- MOUSER, JOHN, aged 20 yrs., d. Oct. 19, 1857. (Delaware, *Kansas Free State*, Oct. 31.)
- MUDGE, GIDEON, formerly of New York state, aged about 35 yrs., d. Sept. 26, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 8.)
- MUNDY, — —, an Indian, accidentally shot while hunting, Feb. 28, 1858. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, Mar. 6.)
- MUNSON, AVERY S., formerly of Albion, Wis., aged about 26 yrs., d. April 21, 1860, of bilious cholic. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, April 28.)
- MURPHY, JAMES EDWARD, aged 11 yrs., d. April 22, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 28.)
- MURPHY, JEREMIAH, born in Cork, Ireland, aged 52 yrs., d. Oct. 4, 1859, of gastritis. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 8.)
- MURPHY, MARY, dau. of Mr. and Mrs. W. S., aged 11 mos., d. in Weston, Mo., Sept. 17, 1854. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 22.)
- MURPHY, WILLIAM S., aged 42 yrs., d. Dec. 18, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 21, 1857.)
- NEWELL, MRS. HARRIET, d. near Gardner, April 9, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 21.)
- NEWLAND, DAVID H., aged 44 yrs., d. June 10, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 12.)
- NEWLAND, MAGGIE, dau. of D. H. & Mildred, aged 14 mos., d. Aug. 24, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 29.)
- NEWLIN, ELIHU, aged 44 yrs., d. April 22, 1860, of inflammation of the lungs. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 28.)
- NEWLIN, OLIVE, aged 4 mos., d. April 21, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 28.)
- NEWMAN, J. BURTON, son of J. Burton & E., aged 2 yrs., 5 mos. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 4, 1859.)
- NICHOLS, GEORGE, formerly of Brattleboro, Vt., and publisher of the *Windham County Democrat*, aged 71 yrs., d. at Ottawa, Aug. 29, 1855, of chronic disease of the lungs. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 27.)
- NIEHART, — —, aged 14 yrs., drowned in Kaw, July 16, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 22.)
- NINEMIRES, WILLIAM, of Samuel Ferandis' train, while en route to Ft. Riley, d. near Ozawkee, on Grasshopper river, Sept. 9, 1855, of cholera. (*Lawrence, Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 17.)
- NIXON, AUGUSTUS P., formerly of Flanders, N. J., worked in *Herald of Freedom* office, aged 26 yrs., d. Sept. 2, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 5.)
- NOE, JANE, wife of Jacob, aged 26 yrs., d. Mar. 15, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Mar. 17.)
- NOLLNER, JOSEPH VIVION, son of Sherman B. & Martha F., aged 1 yr., 3 mos., 4 days, d. Oct. 16, 1857. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Oct. 17.)

- NORRIS, MARY BARNETT, dau. of Charles B. & N. A., aged 4 mos., 2 days, d. near Kickapoo, July 26, 1857, of scarlet fever. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 8.)
- NORTON, THE REV. H. N., lived near Bloomington, aged 47 yrs., d. Aug. 27, 1857, of cancer, left wife and four children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 12.)
- O'CONNER, MOSES, d. at Mill creek, 40 miles southwest of Topeka, in hunting accident, June 29, 1857. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 4.)
- ODELL, JEROME, of firm of Weaver & Odell, d. Sept. 26, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 3.)
- O'DRISCOLL, MRS. ELIZA, mother of B., d. near Doniphan, Sept. 14, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 9.)
- OGDEN, MAJ. EDMOND A., d. at Ft. Riley, Aug. 3, 1855, of cholera. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Territorial Register*, Aug. 11.)
- OLNEY, MRS. JOSEPH, and son, drowned in Pottawatomie creek, near Osawatomie, Jan. 21, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Feb. 4.)
- ORDWAY, RUFUS, formerly of Waterloo, Iowa, aged 59 yrs., d. Sept. 5, 1860, of congestive chills. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 8.)
- OSMUNDSON, OLE, killed by fall from wagon, May 4, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 28.)
- OTIS, WILLIAM H., son of Harris F., aged 19 yrs., d. Oct. 7, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 13.)
- OUSTEROUTE, FREDERICK, aged 34 yrs., d. Nov. 4, 1859. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Nov. 12.)
- OVERHOLTZ, DR. J. M., formerly of Humbestone, Canada West, aged 30 yrs., d. at residence of W. F. N. Army, Hyatt, Dec. 15, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 27.)
- OWENS, ELIZABETH JANE, wife of John, aged 27 yrs. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Feb. 14, 1860.)
- PACKARD, CYRUS, aged 64 yrs., d. at Rochester, Sept. 2, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 8.)
- PAIT, FRANCIS, aged 47 yrs., 6 mos., 17 days, d. Oct. 17, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Oct. 20.)
- PARKER, MR. —, d. Aug. 24, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 29.)
- PARKER, CHARLES, son of William & Bertha, d. Dec. 16, 1858. (Elwood, *Press*, Dec. 18.)
- PARSONS, SYLVANUS M., formerly of Vermont, aged 59 yrs., d. at Burlington, June 24, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 30.)
- PATEE, IDA LEE, dau. of E. L. & M., aged 5 yrs., 2 days, d. Oct. 27, 1859. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Oct. 29.)
- PATTERSON, JOSEPH, formerly of Ontario, N. Y., aged 62 yrs., d. Aug. 12, 1857, of congestion of the brain. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 15.)
- PATERSON, WILLIAM, formerly of Ohio, aged 46 yrs., 2 mos., d. May 13, 1858, left wife and four children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 22.)
- PATTY, JOHN G., son of R. H. & L. T., aged 16 mos., d. July 8, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas National Democrat*, July 8.)
- PAUPITZ, ULEOUS, son of Frank & Francisca, aged 2 yrs., 1 mo., 6 days, d. Mar. 14, 1860, of scarlet fever. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 15.)
- PAYNE, CURTIS, son of the Rev. Rodney & Sarah, aged 4 yrs., 11 mos., 25 days, d. on Wolf creek, Coffey county, July 13, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, July 14.)

- PAYNE, ROSE ANN, d. Nov. 11, 1857, of typhoid fever. (Sumner, *Gazette*, Nov. 20.)
- PEARSON, CHARLES E., formerly of Philadelphia, Pa., & Richmond, Va., aged 25 yrs., d. Oct. 24, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 31.)
- PEARSON, JOHN, d. at Iowa Point, Oct. 5, 1859, by suicide. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 8.)
- PECKHAM, EDWARD C., son of J. H. & Margaret C., aged 3 yrs., d. at Seneca, June 26, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, July 7.)
- PEMBERTON, SARAH E., dau. of William & Rachel, aged 16 yrs., d. Nov. 15, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 21.)
- PENFIELD, ELDRIDGE H., formerly of Connecticut, aged 38 yrs., d. Dec. 12, 1858, of typhoid. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 16.)
- PENFIELD, FLORENCE JANE, dau. of E. H., aged 2 yrs., 11 mos., d. July 31, 1857. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 1.)
- PENFIELD, JANE, aged 33 yrs., d. at residence of Judge Dow, July 28, 1860, of liver complaint. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, July 28; Sept. 8.)
- PEPPER, SARAH FRANCES, dau. of S. P., aged 14 yrs., 9 mos., 12 days, d. in Burlington, Aug. 16, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Aug. 18.)
- PERRATT, MISS —, d. on the Wakarusa river, Jan. 30, 1855, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 3.)
- PERKINS, JOHN, son of George, aged 1 yr., 6 mos., d. Sept. 19, 1858. (Emporia *Kansas News*, Sept. 25.)
- PERRILL, PRICE, of Burlingame, supposedly killed by Kansas Indians while hunting buffalo on Little Arkansas river. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 10, 1859.)
- PERRINNE, MARY E., dau. of Mary J. & George, d. in Topeka, Feb. 17, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 25.)
- PETFISH, JAMES BUCHANAN, son of S. H. & N. M., aged 1 yr., 13 days, d. Oct. 18, 1857. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 24.)
- PETTENGILL, CLARRIE, dau. of Hugh & Zyntha, aged 14 mos., d. at Coal creek settlement, Feb. 13, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 24.)
- PHILLIPPAT, MRS. ALICE, formerly of Pittsburgh, Pa., aged 53 yrs., d. near Prairie City, July 6, 1858. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, July 8.)
- PHILLIPS, —, infant dau. of Col. William A. & M. Carrie, d. Jan. 28, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 3.)
- PHILLIPS, JOHN HENRY, son of W., d. Feb. 6, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 8.)
- PICARD, FRANCIS, one of the first white persons born in St. Louis. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 7, 1859.)
- PICKETT, ISAAH, aged 76 yrs., d. May 23, 1859, of inflammation of the lungs. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, May 28.)
- PIERCE, MRS. WILLIAM A., d. Mar. 25, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 31.)
- PIERSON, MRS. —, widow of Allen, aged 35 yrs., d. Nov. 27, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 4.)
- PIERSON, ALLEN, of Dow creek, aged 45 yrs., d. Nov. 22, 1858, of lung fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Nov. 27.)
- PINGREE, GEORGIANNA F., dau. of Levi W. & Adriana, aged 5 yrs., 9 mos., d. at Baldwin City, May 13, 1858. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, May 13.)

- PINGREE, ORLEANNA R., dau. of Levi W. & Adriana R., aged 4 yrs., d. at Baldwin City, July 21, 1858. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, July 22.)
- PINGSTON, JAMES A., formerly of Washington, Mo., aged 25 yrs., d. at Ft. Leavenworth, Oct. 10, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 11.)
- PIPER, CHRISTOPHER, late of Bureau county, Ill., native of Germany, aged 45 yrs., d. at his residence in Owl township, Woodson county, Feb. 22, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Mar. 13.)
- POLLY, MARTHA, wife of Abel, aged 54 yrs., 6 mos., d. at Burlingame, Oct. 8, 1859, of lung fever. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 15.)
- POMEROY, MOSES, member of Second Emigrant Aid Company, aged 22 yrs., d. Oct. 10, 1854. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 14, 1857.)
- PORTER, ROBERT J., member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, d. at residence of J. W. Galloway, Wathena, Mar. 28, 1860, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, April 4.)
- PRATT, CHARLEY, son of Stafford J., aged 11 mos., d. in Avon township, Sept. 27, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Sept. 29.)
- PRATT, MRS. SARAH D., formerly of Boston, Mass., aged 29 yrs., 8 mos., d. June 12, 1857, left three small children. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 18.)
- PRICE, WILLIAM LAWRENCE, son of John E. & Lavina J., aged 2 yrs., 11 mos., d. near Lawrence, Mar. 16, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 22.)
- PURCELL, JOHN, in Mr. Coburn's company of surveyors, frozen to death (Lecompton, *Union*, Dec. 25, 1856.)
- PURCELL, WILLIAM, in Mr. Coburn's company of surveyors, frozen to death. (Lecompton, *Union*, Dec. 25, 1856.)
- RALPH, TAPNEY, aged about 79 yrs., d. at Wathena, June 9, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, June 16.)
- RANKIN, ISABEL W., formerly of Crawfordsville, Iowa, aged 33 yrs., d. at residence of J. D. Walker, near Emporia, Jan. 22, 1858, of consumption. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 23.)
- RANSOM, EPAPRODITUS, former governor of Michigan, d. Nov. 11, 1859. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Nov. 17.)
- READ, ADDIE, dau. of F. W. & Amelia, aged 1 yr., 11 mos., 22 days, d. April 30, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 3.)
- READ, MRS. SOPHIA H., wife of A. D., of Tecumseh township, aged 38 yrs., d. April 17, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, April 21.)
- REAGAN, MOSES H., aged 64 yrs., d. in Burlington township, Aug. 14, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Aug. 18.)
- REBER, MATTHIAS, d. by suicide, June 3, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 7.)
- REED, EDWIN, E., formerly of Richmond, Ind., aged 23 yrs., d. Aug. 17, 1857, of burns. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 22.)
- REED, FRANCIS FUGENA, son of George M. & Laura Maria, aged 3 yrs., d. Jan. 18, 1861. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Jan. 26.)
- REED, LILLIE G., dau. of Dr. T. & Mary A., of the Connecticut colony, aged 12 yrs., d. at Wabaunsee, Aug. 25, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 19.)
- REED, MINNIE FLONDA, dau. of Dr. T. & Mary A., aged 21 mos., 4 days, d. at Wabaunsee, of scarlet fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 8, 1858.)

- REES, THOMAS, son of G. H., of Americus, aged 22 yrs., killed by fall from wagon, Dec. 9, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 27.)
- REYNOLDS, — —, son of A. T. & Mary R., aged 5 weeks, 6 days, d. at Auburn, Sept. 17, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 15.)
- REYNOLDS, ELIZABETH, of New York City, aged about 67 yrs., d. near Wakarusa, Aug. 9, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 11.)
- RHODES, JAMES, one of Buford's South Carolina men, killed by Wm. Weaver, Free-State man, in self-defense, Dec. 18, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 23, 1858.)
- RICE, EDDIE POTTER, son of Mrs. Julia A., aged 9 yrs., d. Oct. 28, 1860, of typhoid fever. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Oct. 31.)
- RICE, MAJ. IBZAN J., associate editor of *Leavenworth Journal*, d. Sept. 27, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 3.)
- RICE, MRS. LEVINA B., wife of H. D., aged 37 yrs., d. Feb. 9, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Feb. 24.)
- RICHARDS, EFFIE E., dau. of Orrin C. & Lydia, aged 4 yrs., 5 mos., d. Oct. 3, 1859. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 15.)
- RICHARDSON, A. J., aged about 30 yrs., d. at LeRoy, Coffey county, Nov. 28, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 8.)
- RICHARDSON, FREDDIE LOOMIS, son of A. D. & M. Louisa, aged 3 mos., 8 days, d. in Sumner, Oct. 30, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 11.)
- RICHARDSON, GEN. WILLIAM P., member of territorial council, d. at house of Dr. Woods, Feb. 14, 1857, of apoplectic fit. (Lecompton, *Union*, Feb. 25.)
- RICHMOND, ROLLIN M., of Quindaro, formerly of Barnard, Vt., d. in St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 13, 1858, of congestive fever. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 9.)
- RICKABAUGH, MRS. LUCINDA, wife of Joseph, aged 17 yrs., 10 mos., d. March 19, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, March 26.)
- RIDDLE, ELI WILSON, formerly of Venango county, Pa., aged 25 yrs., 1 mo., 17 days, d. at residence of Isaac Cody in Salt creek valley, May 28, 1855, of cholera. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 1.)
- RIKER, JAMES MOORE, son of A. D. M. & Emily A., d. July 11, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 19.)
- RITCHEY, — —, infant dau. of Dr. A. J. & Fanny, d. June 8, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 9.)
- RIVERS, GEORGE L., son of Benjamin & Catharine, aged 18 yrs., 9 mos., d. Sept. 8, 1860, of disease of the lungs. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Sept. 26.)
- ROBERTS, ISAAC NEWTON, son of Isaac N. & Matilda, aged 16 yrs., d. near Big Springs, Shawnee county, Dec. 20, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 29.)
- ROBERTS, MRS. MARTHA H., mother of the senior editor of the Oskaloosa *Independent* (J. W. Roberts), aged 61 yrs., d. Oct. 13, 1860, of asthma. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Oct. 31.)
- ROBINSON, FREDERICK C., aged 32 yrs., d. at Palmer, Mass., Mar. 4, 1860, of lung consumption. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 22.)
- ROBINSON, LOUIS CELESTIA, child of Seth W., & Salome M., aged 19 mos., 25 days, d. at Haness creek, Taylor county, Iowa, Sept. 3, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 29.)
- ROBINSON, S., killed by R. Mahaffy, on Eagle creek, south of Emporia, Feb. 20, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Feb. 27.)

- RODERIQUE, DR. MICHAEL A., late of Hollidaysburg, Pa., aged 48 yrs., d. June 11, 1857, of gastritis. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 20.)
- ROE, EDWARD, son of J. W. & Eliza, aged 4 yrs., d. near Council Grove, Sept. 17, 1859. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Sept. 26.)
- ROGERS, WILSON, murdered, July 20, 1860, William White accused of the murder. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Aug. 11.)
- ROHRER, MRS. MARY, mother-in-law of C. F. Holley, of Savannah, Mo., aged 75 yrs., d. April 12, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 18.)
- ROLAND, MRS. — —, consort of Milton, aged 25 yrs., d. at Ottumwa, Jan. 6, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Jan. 17.)
- ROLF, E. G., aged 40 yrs., d. at residence of Judge A. I. Baker, near Agnes City, Mar. 13, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 26.)
- ROLLINS, JOHN, aged 61 yrs. d. June 23, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 28.)
- ROOT, CLARENCE MELVILLE, son of Dr. J. P. & T. E., formerly of Greenwich, Mass., aged 4 yrs., 9 mos., d. at Wyandotte City, May 4, 1857, of scarlet fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 9.)
- ROSENBURG, EMANUEL, aged 24 yrs., d. July 8, 1858, of hemorrhage of the lungs. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, July 10.)
- ROSS, GEORGE, formerly of Maine, aged about 35 yrs., d. July 30, 1858, of typhoid fever. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 12.)
- ROSS, MRS. MARY E., wife of Wm. W., aged 25 yrs., d. near Shelton, Sept. 29, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 7; "Records of Burials in Topeka Cemetery, 1859-1880.")
- ROUNDY, ARLINGTON, son of J. L. & Mary A., aged 10 yrs., 1 mo., d. July 23, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 2.)
- ROUNDY, EMILY, dau. of J. L. & Mary A., aged 2 yrs., 3 mos., d. July 15, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 2.)
- ROY, A. D., formerly of Lindon, Ill., died as a result of confinement in Leocompton prison, by Proslaverymen. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 22, 1857.)
- ROY, JOHN B., an old Indian trader and son of John Baptiste Roy. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 12, 1859.)
- ROZZEL, ELIZA, wife of Alfred, d. at Columbus, Aug. 8, 1859. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Aug. 13.)
- RUARK, OLIVER, of Ohio, of Samuel Ferandis' train, while en route to Ft. Riley, d. near Osawkee, on Grasshopper river, Sept. 9, 1855. (Lawrence, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 17.)
- RUCKER, MRS. JULIA, wife of George W., formerly of Shelby county, Ky., d. at Mt. Vernon, Oct. 3, 1857. (Doniphan, *Kansas Constitutionalist*, Oct. 7.)
- RUSHMORE, J. A., son of Geo. H. & Helen, aged 1 yr., 6 mos., d. at American House, July 2, 1858, of congestion of the lungs. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, July 3.)
- RUSHMORE, JOHN, son of G. H. & Helen A., aged 4 mos., d. Aug. 29, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Aug. 30.)
- RYAN, LIZZIE, aged 7 yrs., 1 mo., d. of diphtheria. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 11, 1861.)
- RYAN, MINNIE, dau. of the Rev. J. E. & Mary D., d. July 24, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, July 28.)

- RYAN, PATRICK, brother of John, of Topeka, aged 41 yrs., d. in New Orleans, June 27, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Aug. 11.)
- SADLER, WILLIAM P., of Salem, Mass., aged 31 yrs., d. at Emporia House, Sept. 6, 1860, of bilious fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 8.)
- SAFFORD, A. C. W., of Lawrence, member of Douglas county bar, brother of Jacob, of Topeka, d. at Galesburg, Ill. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Jan. 21, 1860.)
- SAFFORD, H. C., d. 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 13.)
- SALISBURY, HARRIETT, wife of James P., aged 32 yrs., 7 mos., 6 days, d. at residence in Stranger township, Leavenworth county, Oct. 4, 1860, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 12.)
- SAMPSON, MRS. ELIZA W., formerly of Maine, wife of Turner, aged 48 yrs., d. Sept. 2, 1859, of dropsy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 3.)
- SARBEE, JULIAN, son of S. H. & A. A., aged 13 mos., d. Oct. 6, 1859, of congestion of the lungs. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Oct. 8.)
- SAUNDERS, WALTER C., son of R. E. & Lizzie, aged 15 mos., 6 days, d. Oct. 19, 1855. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 3.)
- SAVAGE, — —, dau. of Joseph, aged 2 yrs., 6 mos., d. Aug. 19, 1859, of dysentery. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 22.)
- SAVAGE, — —, son of Joseph, aged 6 yrs., d. Aug. 27, 1859, of dysentery. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 22.)
- SAVAGE, MRS. AMANDA B., wife of Joseph, aged 30 yrs., d. near Lawrence, June 17, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 2.)
- SAVAGE, CHARLES LEONARD, youngest son of Joseph & Amanda B., of Lawrence, formerly of Hartford, Vt., aged 1 yr., d. in Kansas City, Mo., April 5, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 7.)
- SAWIN, ARABELLA M., dau. of Calvin H. & Francis B., formerly of Westminster, Mass., aged 6 yrs., 3 mos., d. at Wabaunsee, Aug. 13, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 22.)
- SAWIN, HARRIETT F., dau. of Calvin H. & Francis B., formerly of Westminster, Mass., aged 1 yr., 5 mos., d. at Wabaunsee, Aug. 13, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 22.)
- SAWYER, D. W., formerly of New York, aged 27 yrs., d. at residence of Mr. Tanner, of congestion of the brain. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Aug. 2, 1859.)
- SAYERS, DANIEL, aged 65 yrs., d. at his residence on Mission creek, Aug. 28, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 1.)
- SCAGGS, DAVID S., d. at American House, Aug. 24, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 28.)
- SCALES, EUNICE, aged 19 yrs., d. June 30, 1857. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 4.)
- SCALES, NATHANIEL, only remaining son of Wm. & Caroline S. D., formerly of Temple, Me., aged 17 yrs., 17 days., d. at Topeka, Aug. 2, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 11.)
- SCALES, WILLIAM, aged 54 yrs., d. Mar. 28, 1857, of bilious fever. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 30.)
- SCALES, WILLIAM S. D., youngest son of Wm. & Caroline S. D., formerly of Temple, Me., d. in Topeka, May 28, 1855, of typhoid fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 2.)

- SCHEROFF, MATTHIAS, a Prussian, drowned at Dooley's ferry, Johnson county, June 20, 1858, left wife and two children in or near Kenosho, Wis. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, July 10.)
- SCOTT, JAMES H., late of Union county, Ind., d. June 10, 1857, left wife and children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 20.)
- SCOTT, COL. THOMAS F., aged 34 yrs., d. Sept. 6, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 12.)
- SEAMANS, WILLIAM, of firm of Weaver & Seamans, formerly of Defiance, Ohio, aged 60 yrs., d. Sept. 14, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 15.)
- SETH, C. C., chief of the New York Indians, aged 45 yrs., d. at the City Hotel, Fort Scott, Mar. 26, 1860. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Mar. 29.)
- SEYMOUR, THE REV. GIDEON, of Gardner, Johnson county, d. at Fredonia, Ill., Dec. 19, 1858, of bronchitis. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 5, 1859.)
- SHAFT, D. WEBSTER, son of Mrs. Jane, of Chase county, aged 14 yrs., d. at Junction City, Aug. 29, 1860. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Sept. 1.)
- SHANNON, GEORGE H., son of William A., aged 14 yrs., d. June 28, 1856, by drowning. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 5.)
- SHANNON, JAMES, aged 59 yrs., d. at residence in Canton, Mo., Feb. 25, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 19.)
- SHANNON, JOHN, son of Ex-Gov. Wilson Shannon, d. at the residence of his father in Lecompton, April 9, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, April 14.)
- SHARPLESS, WILLIAM, aged 32 yrs., d. on Big creek, Coffey county, Nov. 18, 1859. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 29.)
- SHAW, HENRY B., formerly of Morris, Otsego county, N. Y., aged 22 yrs., d. Sept. 23, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 30.)
- SHAW, DR. WILLIAM, of Newcastle, Pa., veteran of the War of 1812 and the Kansas war of 1856, aged 67 yrs., d. Sept. 3, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 24.)
- SHEEHAN, JAMES, of Wyandotte, killed by James Holland, Sept. 30, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 6.)
- SHELDON, LIZZIE BELL, dau. of Oglivie H. & Charlotte A., aged 6 mos., 10 days, d. at Superior, Osage county, Aug. 4, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Aug. 18.)
- SHENEMAN, ABRAHAM, aged 45 yrs., d. Oct. 12, 1859, of rheumatism of the heart. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Oct. 15.)
- SHEPHARDSON, LT. — —, d. at Ft. Leavenworth, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 23, 1855.)
- SHEPHERD, EDWARD MARCELUS, formerly of Fredericksburg, Va., d. at Lagrange, Ky., Sept. 29, 1855. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 9.)
- SHEPHERD, JOSEPH W., of Doniphan, superintendent of Overland mail station, killed by Comanche Indians near Ft. Chadbourne, Tex. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 28, 1860.)
- SHEPHERD, THE REV. PAUL, father of S. R., of Topeka *Tribune*, formerly of Shawnee county, aged 57 yrs., 5 mos., 6 days, d. at Dover, Mich., Nov. 9, 1860, of erysipelas. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 24.)
- SHERRARD, WILLIAM, shot in an affray at Lecompton, Feb. 21, 1857. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Feb. 23.)
- SHIELDS, MRS. MARY, wife of Hiram, d. in Tecumseh township, April 20, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 29.)

- SHIMMONS, — —, son of J. H., killed by lightning near Lecompton, July 18, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, July 28.)
- SHOBE, MARGARET JOSAPHINE, dau. of Jonas & Nancy, aged 4 yrs., 1 mo., 11 days, d. on Big creek, Coffey county, Sept. 11, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 10.)
- SHOMBRE, HENRY J., late of Richmond, Ind., killed in attack on "Fort" Titus, Aug. 18, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 1.)
- SHORE, SARAH, dau. of Samuel T. & Ellen, aged 1 yr., 4 mos., d. at Prairie City, Mar. 19, 1858, of inflammation of brain. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 27.)
- SIMMONS, MRS. JANE, wife of Francis, dau. of John & Elizabeth Sims, aged 32, d. June 20, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 9.)
- SIMPSON, MARION AUGUSTA, wife of W. F., aged 20 yrs., 9 mos., 15 days, d. Nov. 20, 1857, of typhoid fever. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Dec. 5.)
- SLACK, MARY E., wife of W. Y., d. at Chillicothe, Mo., Mar. 8, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 13.)
- SLY, CORNELIA MARY, dau. of John & Mary, aged 6 yrs., d. in Nemaha county, Sept. 17, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 7.)
- SMITH, FRANCIS G. WOODRUFF, son of N. W. & Eliza W., formerly of Meadville, Pa., aged 1 yr., 7 mos., d. at Independence, Mo., Sept. 4, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 22.)
- SMITH, FRANCIS W., aged 35 yrs., d. Nov. 15, 1858. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 17, 1859.)
- SMITH, DR. HAMILTON, d. at Ottumwa, by suicide. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 19, 1857.)
- SMITH, MRS. HANNAH B., wife of M. K., formerly of Orland, Steuben county, Ind., aged 23 yrs., d. Oct. 22, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 8.)
- SMITH, JACOB, of Brownsville, Pa., d. Sept. 24, 1855, of wound in thigh. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 9.)
- SMITH, MRS. JANE, wife of Jacob, age 27 yrs., d. July 21, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, July 28.)
- SMITH, LAURENCE, killed by Indians four miles from Pawnee Fork. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 12, 1859.)
- SMITH, MRS. LUCRETIA B., wife of Charles W., formerly of New Hampshire, aged 27 yrs., d. in Lecompton township, Aug. 17, 1859, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 3.)
- SMITH, MICHAEL, killed by Indians four miles from Pawnee Fork. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 12, 1859.)
- SMITH, GEN. P. F., commandant of U. S. forces for Utah, d. May 17, 1858. (Sumner, *Gazette*, May 29.)
- SMITH, MRS. SARAH, wife of A. W., aged 50 yrs., d. at Cottonwood Falls, Aug. 31, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 15.)
- SMITH, WILLIS H., son of Henry & Harriett, aged 22 mos., d. June 6, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 9.)
- SNELL, EDWARD, son of Richard N. & Eliza J., aged 6 yrs., 5 mos., d. June 3, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 6.)
- SNYDER, EMILY T., dau. of G. H. & Eliza, J., aged 3 yrs., 7 mos., d. Dec. 12, 1859, of croup. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 17.)
- SNYDER, HENRY, son of George H. & Eliza Jane, aged 5 yrs., 3 mos., d. Nov. 19, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 26.)

- Sorter, — —, of Quindaro, accidentally shot by Frank Tuttle, a 13-year-old boy. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, July 28, 1860.)
- Soule, Amasa, member of Leavenworth constitutional convention, d. at Lawrence, Sept. 28, 1860, of consumption. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 8.)
- Sparks, Emelie, wife of Stephen, aged 27 yrs., d. on Walnut creek, Mar. 6, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 9.)
- Spatzier, Mrs. Mary Ann, formerly of Leavenworth, aged 30 yrs., d. at Denver City, Sept. 24, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 9.)
- Speiter, Henry, formerly of Meadville, Pa., aged 20 yrs., d. at Topeka, June 4, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 30.)
- Spencer, Caroline Augustine, dau. of George W. & Sarah Ann, aged 15 yrs., d. July 12, 1860, of congestive chills. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 14.)
- Spicer, Mrs. Catharine L., wife of James, dau. of Dr. Richard Huson, formerly of Yates county, N. Y., aged 32 years, d. at Tecumseh, Oct. 23, 1858, of cancer. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 30.)
- Spivy, Lucy F., wife of J. Gill., of Oskaloosa, aged 19 yrs., d. in Providence, Boone county, Mo., Mar. 19, 1860. (Leocompton, *National Democrat*, April 5.)
- Stanfield, Elizabeth, wife of James M., aged 32 yrs., d. Oct. 7, 1860. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 24.)
- Stearns, Charlie, son of Charles M. & J., aged 20 mos., d. July 24, 1859, of malarial fever. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 6.)
- Steele, Mrs. Harriet S., wife of L. S., aged 20 yrs., d. in Bloomington, Sept. 3, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 22.)
- Steele, John Chalmers, son of the Rev. John A. & Catherine M., aged 14 yrs., drowned, June 11, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, June 16.)
- Stevens, Caroline A., wife of J. L., aged 34 yrs., d. at Tecumseh, Sept. 15, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 29.)
- Stevens, H., aged 43 yrs., d. Sept. 21, 1860. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Sept. 22.)
- Stevens, James, of Leavenworth, murdered, July 31, 1857, by John C. Quarles and W. M. Bays who were hung by the citizens the next day. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, Aug. 8.)
- Stewart, J. W., frozen to death, Dec. 5, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 26.)
- Stewart, Thomas, engineer of Steamer *Silver Lake*, killed by blast on levee. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, Oct. 1, 1859.)
- Stinson, Laura Esther, dau. of Thomas N. & Julia A., aged 2 yrs., 5 mos., 15 days, d. at Tecumseh, Feb. 26, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 22.)
- Stoddard, O. E., formerly of Leavenworth, aged 28 yrs., d. at Denver, Oct. 20, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 2.)
- Stokes, — —, d. from injuries after being thrown from a wagon, April 12, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, April 13.)
- Stone, Abel, of Shelby county, Ind., aged 22 yrs., d. May 8, 1857, of disease of the brain. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 28.)
- Stone, T. J., late of Sommerville, Mass., aged about 25 yrs., d. at Coal Creek, on the Wakarusa river, July 17, 1855, of disease of the liver. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 21.)

- STRINGFELLOW, HENRY RITENHOUSE, son of Dr. J. H. & Ophelia J., d. of erysipelas. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Nov. 13, 1855.)
- STRONG, HAROLD, d. Mar. 13, 1859, of rheumatis. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 15.)
- STUART, JOHN, of Newberry district, S. C., d. May 30, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 21.)
- SUTHERLAND, S., proprietor of the stage line between Lawrence and Leavenworth, d. June 2, 1857, of erysipelas. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 6.)
- SUTLIFF, GEORGE H., nephew of W. E., aged 18 yrs., d. June 23, 1859, of typhoid fever. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 30.)
- SUTTON, WILLIS, of northeast Missouri, of Samuel Ferandis' train, while en route to Ft. Riley, d. near Osawkee, on Grasshopper river, Sept. 9, 1855, of cholera. (Lawrence, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 17.)
- SWENY, ARAMINTA D., wife of G. W., dau. of John W. & Elizabeth Myers, of Holt county, Mo., d. near Cambridge, Mar. 29, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 19.)
- SWIFT, — —, son of A. C., aged 4 yrs., d. Feb. 15, 1860, of hydrophobia. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 16.)
- SWISHER, MRS. FRANCES ISABELLA, wife of Dr. W. B., aged 22 yrs., 10 mos., d. on Neosho, Nov. 5, 1858, of pernicious fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Nov. 13.)
- TAFT, MRS. JULIET, wife of Jerome B., late of Boston, aged 22 yrs., d. May 1, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 5.)
- TALLY, — —, son of B. S., aged 14 yrs., d. at Franklin, by lightning. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 30, 1859.)
- TARBELL, SYLVANDER, formerly of Ohio, aged 22 yrs., d. Aug. 19, 1857, of typhoid fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 22.)
- TARR, MARY JANE, wife of Jas., aged 23 yrs., d. at Hampden, Sept. 10, 1860, of consumption. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Sept. 15.)
- TATMAN, ALICE, dau. of William & Lucinda, aged 10 yrs., d. in Platte county, Mo., Jan 8, 1856. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Feb. 5.)
- TAYLOR, ORLO, son of Joshua & Bianca, aged 14 yrs., 9 mos., 3 days, d. Oct. 8, 1859. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 20.)
- TEATRE, INDA ELNORA, dau. of William & Martha A., aged 1 yr., 11 mos., 22 days, d. in Jackson county, Mo., Oct. 21, 1860. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Nov. 21.)
- THACHER, MRS. KATE ANGELL, wife of T. Dwight, d. Jan. 22, 1858, of consumption. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 30.)
- THAYER, JOSIAH, killed by pistol wounds inflicted by himself, July 20, 1860. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, July 20.)
- THAYER, LUCY ALMIRA, only dau. of Asa, aged 21 yrs., 4 mos., d. at Gardner, Oct. 13, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 11.)
- THEIR, — —, son of Jacob, of Eureka bottoms, aged 12 years, killed by being dragged by a horse, Jan. 13, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 20.)
- THOLAN, SOPHIA, dau. of Charles & Elizabeth, d. June 21, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 22.)
- THOMAS, — —, murdered, Mar. 30, 1859. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, April 2.)

- THOMPSON, MARY ALICE, dau. of A. M. & Elizabeth, aged 8 yrs., d. at parsonage, Sept. 8, 1859. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Sept. 15.)
- THORNTON, MRS. ELIZABETH, widow of Col. John, mother-in-law of Col. A. W. Doniphan, aged 57 yrs., d. at Liberty, Mo., Feb. 17, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 6.)
- THURSTON, ELISHA M., mayor of Manhattan, formerly of Charleston, Me., aged 48 yrs., d. Mar. 17, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 23.)
- TITLOW, MRS. MARTHA, wife of Albert, dau. of Capt. Hugh Wilson, Youngsville, Pa., aged 39 yrs., d. May 27, 1855, of consumption, left several children. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 1.)
- TODHUNTER, THOMAS, aged 29 yrs., d. at residence of Newton Patton, June 29, 1857, of consumption. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, July 1.)
- TOPPAN, WILLIAM, aged about 45 yrs., found dead, 4 miles from Osawkie. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 14, 1860.)
- TORTAT, HENRY, aged 48 yrs., d. at Tecumseh, July 6, 1857. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, July 22.)
- TOWNSEND, DANIEL, formerly of Wapello, Iowa, aged about 35 yrs., d. Aug. 31, 1857, of typhoid fever. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, Sept. 3.)
- TRACY, PATRICK, of Allen creek, Americus township, Breckenridge county, d. Feb. 8, 1860, of infection from wound in knee. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 1.)
- TRACY, FITCH R., d. at Flint, Mich., Sept. 16, 1859, of injuries received in a fall from a wagon. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Nov. 7.)
- TRACY, HARRY, son of John M. & Emma, aged 3 yrs., 2 mos., d. near Elwood, Jan. 13, 1861, of diphtheria. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Jan. 19.)
- TRACY, MARIETTA, dau. of Lewis, aged 17, d. near Elwood at home of brother, John M., Jan. 1, 1861, of diphtheria. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Jan. 5.)
- TRACY, MRS. SARAH, wife of Lewis, of Doniphan county, native of Kentucky, d. Mar. 12, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 27.)
- TRASK, ADDIE PAULINE, dau. of Ezra R. & Helen J., aged 1 yr., 8 mos., d. Feb. 12, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Feb. 18.)
- TRASK, EZRA GUY, son of Ezra R., aged 3 yrs., 8 mos., d. Feb. 27, 1860. (Emporia *Kansas News*, Mar. 3.)
- TRASK, FRANK SOUTHWICK, son of Edward & Lizzie, aged 2 yrs., 7 mos., 20 days, d. Aug. 31, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 1.)
- TROY, HANNAH FLORENCE, dau. of John Q. A. & Sylvia A., d. in Brown county, Mar. 13, 1860. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Mar. 22.)
- TRUNET, JAMES, d. at Douglas, Jan. 31, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 3.)
- TUFTS, MARY A., aged 32 yrs., d. at Eldridge House, Oct. 19, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 1.)
- TURNER, TALTON, aged 67 yrs., d. at residence near Glasgow, Oct. 14, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 30.)
- TURPIN, MARY A., dau. of A. I. & S. B., aged 21 yrs., d. at Westport, Mo., Feb. 26, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 8.)
- ULSH, JOHN S., son of Henry & Mary Jane, aged 8 yrs., 4 mos., d. on Rush Island, Mar. 10, 1859. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Mar. 17.)
- UTT, WILLIE, son of John H. & Priscilla, aged 1 yr., 9 mos., d. at Oregon, Mo., Sept. 24, 1857, of flux and lung fever. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 1.)

- VAN BLARICON, — —, killed by ox team, July 1, 1857. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, July 9.)
- VANHORN, ELIZABETH R., wife of B. F., aged 30 yrs., 6 mos., d. at Shell Rock Falls, Aug. 14, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 8.)
- VAN SYCKLE, MRS. SUSANNA, wife of S. B., d. at Eudora, Mar. 7, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 10.)
- VAN VECHTEN, ISAAC, formerly of New York, aged 47 yrs., d. Oct. 14, 1855, of cholera. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Territorial Register*, Oct. 20; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 20.)
- VEDDER, AARON ARMSTRONG, son of Edwin & Tabitha, aged 1 yr., 4 mos., 19 days, d. Sept. 13, 1858, of tubes mensesenterica. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, Sept. 16.)
- VESSER, — —, a half-breed Kaw, Pottawatomie by marriage, shot Aug. 25, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 1.)
- WADE, CORNELIA, dau. of John, aged 13 yrs., 9 mos., at Oregon, Mo., Sept. 22, 1857, of consumption. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 1.)
- WAFFLES, — —, of Moneka, member of a horse-stealing fraternity, shot by posse in Linn county. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, July 21, 1860.)
- WAGNER, FRED, of the Western Stage Company, aged about 18 yrs., drowned June 24, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, June 26.)
- WAIT, ADA, dau. of George & Martha, d. Nov. 15, 1860, of congestion of the brain. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Oct. 20.)
- WALDO, C. G., formerly of Pennsylvania, aged 23 yrs., d. at residence of Mr. Davis on Dow creek, Sept. 10, 1858, of lung disease. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 11.)
- WALKER, JOEL, d. Sept. 8, 1857. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Sept. 26.)
- WALKER, JOHN RANKIN, son of John D. & Catherine M., aged 2 mos., d. in Fremont, July 22, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, July 28.)
- WALKER, MARIA BELL, dau. of John D. & Catherine M., aged 2 mos., d. in Fremont, July 22, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, July 28.)
- WARE, A. J., killed by a Mr. Coram 30 miles west of Leavenworth, June 16, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 27.)
- WARNER, MRS. JENNETT M., wife of William B., formerly of Boston, Mass., aged 24 yrs., 9 mos., d. at Osawatomie, July 24, 1856. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 18.)
- WARREN, EDWARD, aged 56 yrs., d. on the Little Wakarusa river, Sept. 30, 1858. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 7.)
- WASSON, MARY J., late of Ohio, aged 25 yrs., d. at the home of Mrs. Killam, May 27, 1857, of inflammation of the bowels. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 6.)
- WATERS, HELEN ELIZABETH, dau. of H. P. & G. E., of Topeka, aged 15 mos., d. in Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 21, 1855. (Topeka, *Daily Kansas Freeman*, Oct. 30.)
- WATERS, HENRY P., of Providence, R. I., one of second emigrant aid party, aged 29 yrs., d. at Skelton, Oct. 30, 1857, of congestive chills. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Nov. 7.)
- WATSON, WILLIAM, native of England, d. at Bloomington, Nov. 13, 1857. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 26.)

- WATTLES, JOHN O., aged about 40 yrs., d. at Moneka, Sept. 21, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 1.)
- WEAVER, CAPT. — —, formerly of Pennsylvania, d. near Whiston, by gunshot accidentally inflicted, left wife and two small children. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 5, 1859.)
- WEAVER, JAMES LANE, son of Joseph & Lucinda, aged 3 yrs., d. in Tecumseh township, July 23, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 8.)
- WEDDLE, JONAH, d. at Kickapoo, Oct. 12, 1855, of typhoid fever. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 20.)
- WEIBLING, WILLIAM G., son of Harmon & Anna, aged 4 yrs., 4 mos., d. Feb. 8, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Journal*, Feb. 12.)
- WEILHART, A. PETER, German cabinetmaker from Massachusetts, drowned in the Kansas river, July 6, 1855, left a wife. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, July 9, 16.)
- WELLBORN, DR. JOHN C., aged 49 yrs., d. in Frankford, Mo., Oct. 26, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 22.)
- WETHERILL, ALICE, dau. of Benjamin K. & Marion, aged 2 yrs., 6 mos., d. Oct. 4, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 18.)
- WHELAN, ARZA L., formerly of Franklin, Lenawee county, Mich., aged 30 yrs., d. near Sacramento, Cal., Sept. 18, 1859. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 22.)
- WHITCOMB, INCREASE, formerly of Saco, Me., aged 50 yrs., d. near Wakarusa, Oct. 6, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 13.)
- WHITE, — —, d. on Wright's creek while returning from Pike's Peak, Nov. 3, 1859, by accidental discharge of a gun. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Nov. 7.)
- WHITEHORN, MRS. JULIETTE, wife of Dr. S., dau. of the Rev. & Mrs. Lovejoy, aged 21 yrs., d. Nov. 20, 1860, of typhoid fever. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Dec. 15.)
- WHITNEY, ROXY ANN, aged 28 yrs., d. Feb. 9, 1858, of erysipelas. (Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 13.)
- WILBURN, MR. — —, killed by lightning on claim about 13 miles west of Geary City, Aug. 24, 1857. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 29.)
- WILDE, JAMES, aged 28 yrs., d. April 6, 1860, of lung fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 21.)
- WILDER, EUGENE FRANCIS, aged 1 yr., 5 mos., 5 days, d. at Winthrop, Mo., May 28, 1860. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, June 23.)
- WILHART, MR. — —, recently of Massachusetts, aged about 25 yrs., drowned in the Kansas river, July 5, 1855. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 7.)
- WILHITE, SOPHIA M., wife of E. S., d. Nov. 16, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 21.)
- WILKES, ROSANNA, aged 16 yrs., d. at home of Mark Patty, May 26, 1860, of dropsy. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 2.)
- WILLIAMS, ELIZABETH JOSEPHINE, dau. of E. B., aged 3 yrs., 1 mo., d. Jan. 3, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Jan. 7.)
- WILLIAMS, ELLEN W., dau. of L. N. & Margaret, d. Feb. 14, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 19.)
- WILLIAMS, FIDELIA LAURELL, born in Newark, N. Y., dau. of L. D., aged 18 yrs., 6 mos., 29 days, d. at Osawatomie, Dec. 3, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 18.)

- WILLIAMS, MRS. HARRIET W. S., wife of Maj. Geo. O., aged 43 yrs., d. in Richland, Jan. 3, 1859. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 13.)
- WILLIAMS, ISRAEL, native of Wales, formerly of Delta, Oneida county, N. Y., aged 32 yrs., d. Mar. 8, 1860, of inflammation of lungs. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 10.)
- WILLIAMS, JOSEPH SYLVESTER, born in Fairville, N. Y., son of L. D., aged 23 yrs., 7 mos., d. at Osawatomie, Nov. 13, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 18.)
- WILLIAMS, MARY EVANGELINE, dau. of J. M. & L. E., aged 4 mos., d. June 5, 1860. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, June 6.)
- WILLIAMS, SARAH EVELINE, born in Newark, N. Y., dau. of L. D., aged 20 yrs., 11 mos., d. at Osawatomie, Sept. 12, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 18.)
- WILLIAMS, T. MASON, eldest son of Judge Joseph, Fort Scott, aged 31 yrs., d. at Wyandotte, June 27, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 7.)
- WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, only son of Isaac, aged 1 yr., d. July 5, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 11.)
- WILLIAMS, WILLIAM O., formerly of Pilla, Iowa, aged 25 yrs., d. at Garno House, Oct. 25, 1857, of typhoid fever. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Nov. 7.)
- WILLIAMSON, — —, drowned near Florence, Feb. 11, 1858. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Feb. 27.)
- WILLIAMSON, — —, killed by Frances Scott on levee near McAlpine's warehouse, July 4, 1858. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, July 8.)
- WILMARTH, MRS. JULIA ANNA, wife of O., formerly of Providence, R. I., aged 35 yrs., d. April 21, 1856. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 26.)
- WILSON, — —, drowned in well, April 2, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, April 10.)
- WILSON, MARIA, wife of Levi, d. at Ft. Leavenworth, April 20, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, April 24.)
- WILTSE, JOHN, aged 26 yrs., 6 mos., d. at residence of E. G. Macy near Bloomington, Mar. 6, 1859. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 26.)
- WILTSE, MARY E., late of Preble county, Ohio, aged 20 yrs., 4 mos., d. on Rock creek, near Wakarusa, July 23, 1855, of an abscess of the lungs. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 11.)
- WILTZ, CAPT. — —, d. at Tecumseh, July 8, 1860. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, July 14.)
- WIMPLE, MARY S., only dau. of S. P. & N. A., aged 8 mos., 3 days, d. Dec. 6, 1856. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 8.)
- WINANS, ALFRED H., aged 33 yrs., d. at Shawnee Centre, April 11, 1860, of pneumonia. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, April 28.)
- WINANTS, ALVIN, d. by suicide in room at Garvey House, May 14, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, May 19.)
- WOOD, SARAH, dau. of William A., aged 8 yrs., 5½ mos., d. at Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 11, 1860, of scarlet fever. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, Jan. 21.)
- WOODFORD, MRS. PAULINE M., wife of the Rev. O. C., d. at Grasshopper Falls, Jan. 26, 1858. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 13.)
- WOODRUFF, R. W., drowned in Cottonwood river one mile south of Emporia, Mar. 7, 1859. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 12.)
- WOODRUFF, WILLIAM, first settler on Walnut creek, d. near Chelsea, Butler county, Dec. 1, 1859, of typhoid fever. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 10.)

- WOODS, LAURA, dau. of George & Nancy Jane, aged 1 yr. d. July 28, 1860. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 4.)
- WOODWARD, MR. — —, of Indiana, murdered near Hickory Point. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Jan. 3, 1855.)
- WOOSTER, CATHARINE A., wife of Edwin, aged 37 yrs., d. at Birmingham, Conn., June 7, 1857. (Elwood, *Advertiser*, July 16.)
- WRIGHT, FREDDIE A., son of C. A. & A. H., aged 3 mos., 20 days, d. Mar. 24, 1859, of inflammation of the brain. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 31.)
- WRIGHT, JOSEPH, d. Oct. 16, 1860. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Oct. 20.)
- YORK, ROBERT T., formerly of Bellevue, Ohio, aged 23 yrs., d. Nov. 1, 1857, of typhoid fever. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 5.)
- YOUNGMAN, ELIZA JANE, aged 11 yrs., 6 mos., 3 days, d. at Quindaro, Aug. 16, 1860. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 23.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

DOINGS AT FORT SCOTT IN 1868

From the Fort Scott *Monitor*, December 30, 1868.

MEETING OF THE BACHELOR CLUB.—A regular meeting of the Bachelor Club was held on Monday evening, Dec. 28th, President Crawford in the chair.

All the members of the club were present, including officers, a thing which had not occurred since last year. After the regular business was disposed of and several affecting speeches were made by the members, Vice President Goodlander offered the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, as leap year has passed, and but few proposals have been made by our lady friends, therefore

Resolved, That we, the Bachelor Club of Fort Scott, don't intend to wait four years longer for proposals.

Resolved, That we will on New Years day call on our lady friends, and adopt a more social intercourse with the fair ones, by which means we hope to take courage, and propose before another leap year comes.

Billy Robinson immediately jumped on a beer barrel and in a loud and stentorious voice, seconded the adoption of preamble and resolutions, with but one amendment, to strike out "social" and insert "conjugal" so as to read "more conjugal intercourse." The motion to amend was lost, and the original resolutions were unanimously adopted amid rapturous applause.

Mr. Dieffenbach offered the following additional resolution:

Resolved, That a copy of the resolutions be sent to the ladies, in order that they may be prepared to receive us.

The President stated that it would be unnecessary to send copies of the resolutions, for the ladies were always prepared to receive their friends on New Years Day whereupon Dieffenbach withdrew the resolution and offered as a substitute that "we all take a glass of beer, and adjourn," which was carried unanimously. The club adjourned to Bull's Head where the resolution was enforced.

A LETHAL TRIO

From the Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, April 15, 1870.

Major Arm[el]s took us to the Fort yesterday behind his fast pair of ponies. The name of one animal is "Calamity" and that of the other "Sudden Death." When Arm[el]s drives, the entire outfit goes by the title of Coronor's Inquest." . . .

CANDY PULLINGS IN SMITH COUNTY, THE HOME OF "HOME ON THE RANGE"

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 25, 1873.

A GOOD PLACE TO GO TO.—When we "go west" again, we propose to settle in Smith county, Kansas. Smith county suits us. It lies on the extreme north-western frontier, where there is plenty of grazing-ground, and where the chances to "grow up with the country," are all that could be desired. The

soil is the usual "rich black loam;" there is supposed to be "a never-failing spring of pure water," on each quarter section; and rich deposits of building stone that is "equal, if not superior, to the Junction City stone" have been (or will be) found conveniently adjacent to all the town-sites. At the time the census was taken in 1870, there were only sixty-six people in Smith county; and the county organization was not perfected until the first of February last. But things have changed in Smith county since then. In the November election, 441 votes were cast; taxes to the amount of \$37,500 were levied last year; school houses have been built, churches organized, and a newspaper established; and altogether, Smith county, like the uneasy soul of Old John Brown, goes grandly "marching on."

It is not, however, on account of its fertile soil, its perennial springs, its wealth of rock, its rapid increase of population, its schools, its churches, its taxes, or even its newspaper, that we look longingly to Smith county. All these things are common in Kansas, and most other counties have more of them than this one can boast of. But Smith beats them all on one thing. It is the county of candy-pullings. The materials and conveniences for this enticing diversion are not very plentiful, but the pulling is immense for all that. They probably pull more candy in Smith county, in proportion to population, than is pulled in any other section of country of like extent on the face of the habitable globe. The candy-pulling has superseded all other forms of social amusement in that locality, and the good people of both sexes and all conditions live and move in an atmosphere of unmixed and unchanging sweetness. They make their taffy of sorghum, and cook it in a camp-kettle, and go out into the open prairie, under the sweet moon and the twinkling stars, to do the pulling. The Smith county newspaper—the *Pioneer*, published at Cedarville—gives this description of how the thing is managed:

After cooking the sorghum a proper length of time, which time varies from an hour and a half to two weeks according to circumstances, you take it out and pull it, and the more you pull it the paler it will get, and then you go out and sit down on a pile of shingles and cool it. When it gets cool enough you take hold of one end and your girl takes hold of the other end and you pull and then she pulls, and by and by it breaks in two and you turn a double back-action hand-spring towards the north star and she walks off on her ear in the opposite direction.

If you want to change the programme you can take a chunk of the candy about as big as a small curly dog, and stretch it out exactly seventeen feet two inches and a half long, then take one end of it in your mouth and your duck takes the other in her's; then you commence chewing and prancing until you get yourself into a good state of perspiration, when you swallow eight feet seven inches and a quarter and clasp her in your arms, nose to nose.

There can be no guile in a people addicted to such recreations. The candy-pulling is full of pastoral simplicity; and where sorghum abounds, there all the virtues may be bored for with perfect confidence. Smith county is a good region to go to. There will be no wrangling there, and no wickedness. The reign of taffy is the reign of peace, innocence and supreme contentment. The Smith county folks have done well in the adoption of a social amusement. Let them stick to it and be happy.

IN THE CHIPS

From the *Kinsley Graphic*, January 17, 1880.

The County Commissioners at their last meeting issued an order to the township trustees that they would allow no bills for coal for the poor, in cases where the poor have teams to gather buffalo chips.

HOW IS IT NOW IN LANE COUNTY?

From the *Lane County Republican*, Dighton, December 5, 1888.

STAY WITH THE SOD SHANTY.—Winter is here, and there are families all over western Kansas that have a blue outlook before them. One can not go out in the morning and push back the sliding door of the great red barn, walk in and arouse the large number of fat cattle, horses and hogs; then turn to the over-flowing bins of oats and corn, and carry feed to them. The scene here in the west is different. The farmer arises in the morning, steps outside his sod house, and the scene that presents itself is indeed attractive and inspiring to view. Sod shanties are in the sky, changed into magnificent cathedrals; miniature forests are across the horizon; magnificent lakes appear where the last rays of the setting sun danced over the buffalo grass with naught to cast a shadow except the numerous prairie dogs, as they scampered about, and sat chirping merrily.

A city appears, smoke is seen curling from the chimneys; the tops of the church steeples glisten, indicative that the great illuminator of the world will soon appear, and sweep this scene of grandeur and beauty away, leaving the great, wild prairies spread out as natural as ever, ready to be brought under subjection, and be made to produce abundant crops, filling the hearts and homes of our people with joy and comfort. Even though the outlook is blue, stay with the sod shanty a little while longer, and success will surely greet you. The most pleasant memories are those which when experienced, seems the hardest to bear. When the time does come that you have your claims under subjection, and you can sow and plant with more surety to harvest, when you have the red barns, the fat cattle and horses, you can look back to the present times, and it will be an interesting story to tell your children as you are gathered about the fireside of the large white house with the green window shutters.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles in the series "This Month in Kansas History," by Cecil Howes, published in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, during the school year 1949-1950, included: "Ninety Years for the Santa Fe," September, 1949; "Pony Express Lived Only 18 Months," October; "Baker [University] Nears a Centennial," November; "A Year [1859] of Great Decisions," December; "Newspaper Frankensteins," January, 1950; "Largest Lake in Kansas," February; "Indian Missions in Kansas," March; "How Counties Got Their Names," April, and "Doubling the Crop Yield," May.

A column entitled "Do You Remember When?" composed of brief historical items, has been a regular feature in *The Modern Light*, Columbus, in recent months.

"The Newspaper Reporter and the Kansas Imbroglia," by Bernard A. Weisberger, is the title of an article in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, March, 1950. In the middle and late 1850's reporters for the large Eastern newspapers were present in Kansas to describe for their readers the contest between freedom and slavery. The article included brief biographical sketches of several of these reporters, including James Redpath, William A. Phillips, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Richard Hinton, Samuel F. Tappan, James M. Winchell, Richard Realf and John Kagi, and a discussion of their work.

A 60-page industrial section was published in the Topeka *Daily Capital* and the Topeka *State Journal*, April 27, 1950. Included were articles on the agriculture, industries, mineral deposits, railroads, educational institutions, churches, hospitals and history of Kansas and Topeka.

"Everybody Comes From Kansas," is the title of an article by Murdock Pemberton, a native Kansan, published in the *Pageant* magazine, New York, May, 1950. Brief sketches are given of the accomplishments of many Kansans who rank high in their fields of endeavor. The article was printed in the *Congressional Record* upon the motion of Sen. Harry Darby.

Subjects covered in historical articles by C. D. Smith in recent issues of the Blue Rapids *Times* included: Churches and news-

papers of Blue Rapids, May 4, 1950; banks and secret orders of Blue Rapids, June 1, and the career of Channing J. Brown, June 22.

A brief historical sketch of Ravanna, dead town of Hodgeman and Finney counties, by A. J. Myers, was printed in the *Dighton Herald*, May 10, 1950.

A brief sketch of Samuel Joseph Paintin appeared in the *Hill City Times*, May 18, 1950. Mr. Paintin came from Nebraska to Graham county in 1880 where he has lived ever since. His hobby is collecting Indian relics of which he now has a large number, including several hundred arrows.

"A story of Burlington and Coffey county during the first half of the 20th century, as told in words and in pictures," was printed in the 184-page, 23-section Mid-Century edition of *The Daily Republican*, Burlington, May 29, 1950. John Redmond, editor and publisher of the *Republican*, has been a Burlington publisher since the late 1890's.

The early history of the Santa Fe trail and its contribution to the national tradition of self-reliance is discussed in the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, June, 1950, by the editor, Dr. Robert Taft. Among other articles in the June number were "Kansas Botanical Notes, 1949," by F. C. Gates, and "Notes on Mohave Indian Children," by George Devereux.

Historical sketches of Frankfort and Marshall county were published in the *Frankfort Index*, June 8, 15, 22, 29, 1950, in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the incorporation of Frankfort.

Among historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: "William Gilpin Saw the Future as He Faced Challenges of the Early West," by John Edward Hicks, June 14, 1950; "Stephen Long of the [Steamboat] *Western Engineer* Agreed With Others the West Was Desert," by Mrs. Clyde Porter, June 27, and "Great Hand-Dug Well Recalls the Rush to Settle Western Kansas in the 1880's," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, July 5. Articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* were: "Remnants of Many Ghost Towns Recall Romance of Pioneer Efforts in Kansas," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, May 25, and "World Wonders From Prehistoric Period to Atomic Age Take Tourists Southwest," by W. Thetford LeViness, May 27. A special, 252-page edition of the *Star* was published June 4 in com-

memoration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of Kansas City.

A historical sketch of the early days in Lincoln county, prepared by the late Washington Smith, was printed in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, June 15, 1950. Permanent settlers first began arriving in Lincoln county late in 1865, when a group of six built a camp along the river near the east side of the county. Included in the article was a summary of the Indian raids in Lincoln county during the middle and late 1860's.

The history and progress of Wichita in the last half century are told in story and picture in a 156-page, 1950 Mid-Century edition of the *Wichita Eagle*, published June 18, 1950, in connection with Mid-Century week in Wichita. The week's activities ended June 25 with the burial at the municipal airport of a cylinder containing mementos, art and industrial objects, documents, pictures and many things commemorative of the past half century. The cylinder is to be opened at the centenary of the *Eagle* in 1972, again in 2000 and every 50 years thereafter.

A brief history of Wayside, Montgomery county, written in 1929 by Mrs. A. L. Blackmore, was published in connection with the 60th anniversary of the Wayside church, in the *Caney Daily Chronicle*, June 20, 1950.

"Victoria's Remittance Men Made Life Gay in Roaring '70's," by Ernest Dewey, the story of George Grant, an Englishman who founded the colony of Victoria, was printed in the *Hays Daily News*, June 22, 1950. Also, Raymond L. Welty's articles on old Fort Hays have continued to appear in the *News*.

A brief biographical note on Joseph G. McCoy, first mayor of Abilene, was included in an article in the *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle*, June 24, 1950. Some of the furniture and other items which belonged to McCoy have recently been offered to Abilene for display purposes by a daughter, Dr. Florence L. McCoy of Wichita.

A two-column article on the history of Hays and Fort Hays, featuring the part played by "Buffalo Bill" Cody, "Wild Bill" Hickok and Gen. George A. Custer, appeared in the *Ellis County News*, Hays, June 29, 1950.

A history of the Gove Methodist Church by Mrs. Edith Trustin was published in the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, Gove City,

June 29, 1950. The church was organized in September, 1886, the first services being held in a sod building.

The early history of the Belmont post office, Kingman county, by Mrs. John N. Starr, was printed in the *Kingman Journal*, June 29, 1950.

"The Story of 'Home on the Range'," by Kirke Mechem, appeared in the summer, 1950, number of *American Heritage*, Harrisburg., Pa., published by the American Association for State and Local History. It is a condensation of an article which first appeared in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Some of the early fourth of July celebrations in the vicinity of Atchison were noted by George Remsburg in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, July 3, 1950. The first celebration in the area—also the first in Kansas—took place July 4, 1804, when Lewis and Clark fired several shots from their boat on the Missouri river.

D. J. Bolejack's reminiscences of Kansas during the Civil War were printed in the *Barnes Chief*, July 6, 1950. Mr. Bolejack, now 98 years of age, came to Kansas with his father's family in 1862.

A brief history of Oskaloosa and a reproduction of a part of the first issue of the *Oskaloosa Independent* appeared in the July 6, 1950, number of the *Independent*. The town was laid out in 1856 by Jesse Newell and Joseph Fitsimons, and the first issue of the *Independent* was published by J. W. Roberts on July 11, 1860.

A history of the *Augusta Journal* was sketched in its issue of July 6, 1950. The present paper is a consolidation of the *Journal*, established in 1887, and the *Southern Kansas Gazette*, founded in 1873.

Clay Center as it was in 1900 was recalled by L. F. Valentine, co-owner of the *Clay Center Dispatch* and *The Times*, Clay Center, in the July 8, 1950, issue of the *Dispatch*. Many of the changes and some of the historical high lights of the last 50 years in Clay Center were mentioned in the article. Mr. Valentine was recently honored at a meeting of the Rotary club of Clay Center on completion of 50 years of newspaper work. Many prominent newspapermen of Kansas were present.

A brief history of Baxter Springs, by S. A. Douthit, was printed in the Baxter Springs *Citizen*, July 13, 1950.

A special edition of the Waterville *Telegraph* was published July 20, 1950, in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the incorporation of Waterville. Rural life and present-day agriculture, contrasted with the homestead days as illustrated by the story of John Sisco, pioneer, were featured. The town of Waterville is to be the subject of another special edition later this year.

Kansas Historical Notes

The first chapter of a paper on the armed forces in Doniphan county was read by H. H. Newman at a meeting of the Doniphan County Historical Society, May 12, 1950. The society has been given a room in the courthouse in which to display the historical articles that have been donated. One of the most interesting objects received by the society is John Brown's rifled carbine presented by Brig. Gen. Milton R. McLean.

The 76th anniversary celebration of the settlement of the Mennonites in Barton county and of the organization of the Bergtal Mennonite Church was attended by more than 600 persons, May 21, 1950. Besides a luncheon and services at the church four miles north of Pawnee Rock, a temporary museum which had been assembled at a near-by schoolhouse with exhibits contributed by the pioneer families of the county was visited. Oldest item in the collection was a German Bible printed in 1599.

A Wichita group devoted to the restoration and preservation of early city landmarks, chartered as Historic Wichita, Inc., was recently organized with Richard M. Long as president. Other officers are: Tom W. Fuller, vice-president; Rev. Jesse Clyde Fisher, treasurer, and William C. Hook, secretary. The officers, together with Harry C. Castor, Larry Roberts, Ewing Lawrence and O. A. Bell, constitute the board of directors. Reconstruction of Wichita's first permanent church building, erected in 1870, has been undertaken as the organization's initial project.

Dedication ceremonies for the monument erected by the Arthur Barrett chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in memory of Sarah Handley Keyes, member of the Donner party who died and was buried at Alcove Spring in 1846, were held May 30, 1950. William S. Eddy, Marysville attorney, gave the dedicatory address.

Old Shawnee mission in northeast Johnson county was viewed by approximately 500 people at an open house, June 4, 1950, sponsored by the Shawnee-Mission Indian Historical Society. Mrs. Harry Meyer, Lenexa, was chairman of the committee on arrangements. Mrs. John Barkley is president of the society.

The records and flag of the *USS Emporia* were presented to the city of Emporia at a ceremony in the Civic auditorium on July 4,

1950. Dr. O. W. Mosher, president of the Lyon County Historical Society, presided at the meeting, and the principal speakers were the two wartime commanders of the *Emporia*, Lt. Comdrs. Langford Anderson and R. F. Althausen. The ship's bell had previously been presented to the city by the late James Forrestal. A luncheon of the historical society, with Lieutenant Commander Althausen as the speaker, concluded the activities.

One hundred and fifty-one persons registered at the old settlers' picnic sponsored by the Clark County Historical Society at Ashland, July 4, 1950. Lewis Oswald, Hutchinson lawyer, was the principal speaker.

A 47-page illustrated booklet by Dr. Robert Taft reviewing the chemistry department's work in the Bailey chemical laboratory at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, was published recently under the title "Fifty Years in Bailey Chemical Laboratory." Included was a list of the publications of the laboratory's staff from 1900 to date.

Volume one of Dr. James C. Malin's *Grassland Historical Studies: Natural Resources Utilization in a Background of Science and Technology* has recently been published in lithoprint. This 377-page volume, covering geology and geography, is divided into two parts: Part one is concerned with wood and minerals for fuel and building material; part two is an early history of the town of Kansas (Kansas City, Mo.). Dr. Malin's grassland historical studies will be published in three volumes, the second and third to be issued later.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XVIII

Page 30, add to Footnote 31: In fact, a circular of the receiving committee, issued late in 1859, announced that "unless Thirty Thousand Dollars are raised or pledged for Monumental College, before January 1, 1861, signers shall not be held responsible for subscriptions. . . ." The signed statement of Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy, "Trustees of the Fund of A. A. Lawrence," added that the sum in their hands was then "pledged to Monumental College, on condition that Twenty Thousand Dollars in addition shall be raised or pledged for said object within the time specified." (Enclosed with Robinson's letter to Lawrence, dated November 12, 1859, and photostated in the collection of Frank E. Melvin.)

On page 55, the date of the marriage of William A. Phillips and Margaret C. Spilman was given as 1859. This date should be June, 1854. For reasons not now apparent, the first Mrs. Phillips has scarcely been mentioned in print, and the quest for information has proved unsatisfactory.

The most complete printed biographical sketch of William A. Phillips is that found in the *Salina Daily Republican*, December 1, 1893, which seems to be the source, or principal source for the perpetuation of the error in the marriage date. When the biographical sketch for the *Dictionary of American Biography* was being prepared in 1931 by James C. Malin, the manuscript was submitted to a nephew, A. B. Campbell, Jr., and wife for verification, and they made no objection to the date 1859. Subsequently, Miss Marion Klema made further investigations (master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1942) and turned up new information.

The Phillips' marriage occurred on the bride's birthday in June, 1854. Their first child, John, was born June 9, 1855, and they moved to Kansas the following October. Ten children were born to this union, five of whom did not survive infancy. Mrs. Phillips died of cancer at Los Angeles, June 22, 1883, and was buried there. Even here data are conflicting, as her age was given as 48 and 49 in the *Salina Herald*, June 28, 1883, and the *Saline County Journal*, June 28, 1883, respectively. The age of 48 is probably correct, because it fits into the other dates available.

These corrections in the record were offered to the editors of the *Dictionary of American Biography* for inclusion in the *Supplement* volume of that set, but they did not see fit to include errata or new information relative to matters already in print. The present would appear to be an appropriate occasion to make the corrections in hope that the errors may not be repeated further.

Page 202, Footnote 237: "By a wire drawlcek improvement" should read "By a wire drawblock improvement."

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